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SCALE OF OUTREACH IN MARKET SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT:

BUILDING THE EVIDENCE BASE



LEO REPORT 21



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LEO

Leveraging Economic
Opportunities

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DISCLAIMER

The author's views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

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ACRONYMS

AAER	Adopt-Adapt-Expand-Respond
AGP-AMDe	Agricultural Growth Program—Agribusiness and Market Development
BCC	Behavior Change Communications
CPM	Commodity Production and Marketing
DFID	Department for International Development
FTF	Feed the Future
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
LEO	Leveraging Economic Opportunities
M4P	Making Markets Work for the Poor
MAP	Market Assistance Programme
PCE	Projet Croissance Economique (Economic Growth Project)
PIRS	Performance Indicator Reference Sheets
PMP	Performance Monitoring Plans
PMLP	Project Monitoring and Learning Plans
PRIME	Pastoralist Areas Resilience Improvement through Market Expansion
PROFIT	Production, Finance and Improved Technology
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USG	United States Government
ZOI	Zone of Influence

I. SCALE OF OUTREACH UNDER FACILITATION

As a path toward achieving scale and sustainability in inclusive market systems development, many donors and implementers have adopted a facilitation approach that catalyzes changes in both the structure and dynamics of market systems. Feed the Future, the US Government’s global hunger and food security initiative, has adopted a value chain approach based on facilitation to improve agricultural productivity and nutrition, and to increase incomes at the household, community and market levels. A number of EU donors, including DFID and SDC, follow a similar approach to facilitating market systems development as part of their Making Markets Work for the Poor (M4P) programs.

A common element across these programs is that implementers do not have primary contact with target beneficiaries. The eleven cases included in this review represent interventions in agricultural market systems, where the programs’ target beneficiaries are smallholder farmers and herders. Instead of focusing the intervention activities at the producer level of the value chain, project¹ implementers in these cases focus their interventions on firms and groups at other levels of the value chain, especially firms that are linked to smallholders through value chain relationships. Within the context of agricultural market systems, project implementers might work primarily with 1) vertically linked firms, such as input suppliers, traders, processors, wholesalers and exporters; 2) horizontally linked producer associations, through cooperative and association leaders; or 3) firms in supporting markets, such as those providing financial, veterinary or transportation services.

Smallholders are reached as secondary contacts when they are targeted through these value chain relationships. The process of targeting farmers as secondary contacts is described in a report from the Samarth project in Nepal, which emphasizes that facilitation may be slower to reach target beneficiaries than approaches that interact more directly with target beneficiaries:

“...sustainable income increases in market systems development take time to be realized—and then be measured. Unlike in a more direct, but perhaps less sustainable approach, where a programme would intervene with farmers and record income increases in as short as one crop cycle, a typical Samarth-NMDP approach would be to first persuade a partner player (e.g., a national importer) to engage with a series of intermediaries (e.g., agro-vets), who in turn will interact and deliver services to farmers. Farmers then need to use this service to improve their on-farm practice, wait a crop cycle to see results and, usually to sell produce on the market to record an income increase. This, by definition, takes time to come about.” (Adam Smith International 2014a, p. 4-5)

In addition to targeting secondary contacts, another common strategy for reaching scale under facilitation is to amplify demonstration effects in order to attract imitation from large numbers of farmers and other firms.

¹ Throughout this document, “project” is used in the generic sense to refer to donor-funded activities rather than according to the USAID-specific definition.

The demonstration effects are intended to draw attention to, at the smallholder level, the benefits of project-promoted agricultural production and marketing technologies and, for firms at other levels of the value chain, to demonstrate the benefits of new, more inclusive business practices. Firms imitate the projects' private-sector partners by "crowding in" to form commercial relationships with smallholders, based on new, more inclusive business practices. Smallholders, for their part, imitate the new agricultural and business practices they observe among their neighbors, friends and family.

The same outreach strategies that contribute to scale and sustainability—namely, reaching target beneficiaries as secondary contacts and reaching them indirectly through imitation—also generate monitoring and evaluation challenges that can lead to undercounting the full outreach of these programs. While a facilitation activity might reach only a limited number of target beneficiaries as primary contacts, the majority of target beneficiaries (smallholders) will be reached as either secondary contacts, through their value chain relationships, or as indirect beneficiaries, through demonstration effects and imitation. This paper addresses the undercounting problem and contributes to the discussion of outreach and scale in inclusive market systems development by examining the recent evidence on outreach and inventorying the methods used to measure outreach to target beneficiaries.

The next section presents a conceptual framework for understanding different categories of outreach under facilitation, defining primary and secondary contacts, direct and indirect beneficiaries, and more. Section III introduces the research questions, the eleven cases of facilitation activities in agricultural market systems, and the outreach-related indicators that they report in their project documents. Section IV summarizes the reported results for these indicators, and details the variety of methods that were used to measure outreach to smallholders. The final section discusses some implications of the findings for improving the way that outreach and scale are measured and expanding the capacity to measure the full scale of outreach under facilitation.

II. OUTREACH FRAMEWORK

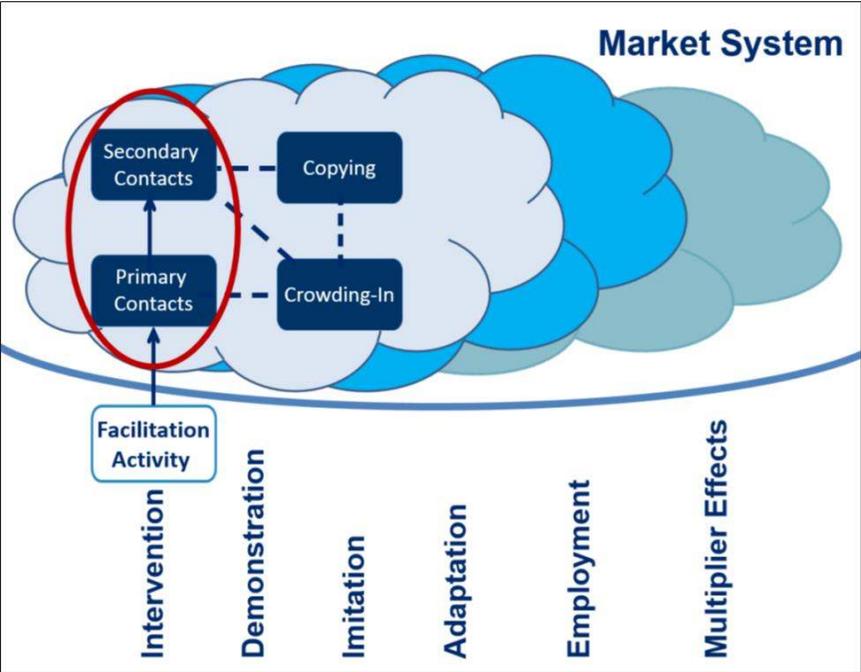
For the purpose of this study, outreach measures the number of people, households, farms or firms that have had specified types of contact with the intervention. Outreach represents the scale of a project in terms of the number of beneficiaries reached, although it only indicates the number reached and does not indicate the type or intensity of benefits received. Using the LEO taxonomy of facilitation contact groups, it is possible to differentiate between the direct and indirect beneficiaries of a facilitation activity (Dunn 2014). This section describes a conceptual framework for identifying facilitation contact groups and identifying direct and indirect beneficiaries. Finally, this section maps these outreach categories to the stages described in the Adopt-Adapt-Expand-Respond framework for measuring systemic change (Nippard, Hichins and Elliot 2004).

A. FACILITATION CONTACT GROUPS

For all of the cases included in this study, the interventions work to facilitate more inclusive agricultural market systems. Smallholder farmers may be reached by market system facilitation activities in a number of different ways, depending on the location of the intervention in the value chain. One hallmark of facilitation is that an intervention in one part of the value chain may be undertaken in order to target beneficiaries in a different part of the value chain.

Within the LEO framework, there are seven distinct contact groups representing potential beneficiaries of facilitation activities in market systems. In figure 1 (see below) the market system is represented by the area above the blue line. The intervention is shown by the box below the blue line in the lower left side. The direct beneficiaries of the intervention, as defined by the Feed the Future indicators (USAID 2014, p.7), correspond to the two contact groups enclosed in the circle directly above the box indicating the facilitation activity.

Figure 1: Facilitation Contact Groups



Source: Dunn 2014

DIRECT BENEFICIARIES

1. Primary contacts: Firms or individuals that come into contact with the set of interventions (goods and services) provided by the project. With agricultural development projects, there are many ways that this contact may occur, such as through project-funded training, business development services, technical advice, extension services, training materials, contracting models, solutions that reduce transaction or information costs (e.g., ICT), soft credit, and cost- or risk-sharing.

2. Secondary contacts: Firms or individuals that are connected to primary contact firms through value chain linkages. Under market system facilitation, it is often the case that the target beneficiaries are secondary contacts. For example, smallholder farmers are reached through their commercial relationships with other firms in the value chain that are the primary contacts of the intervention. The types of primary contacts that are used to reach smallholders include input suppliers, anchor (hub or demonstration) farmers, breeders and veterinarians, lenders, testing labs, wholesalers, processors, exporters and retailers.

Several of the projects included in this study work with agricultural input suppliers in order to reach and encourage smallholders to adopt new production technologies. In this case, the input suppliers are the primary contacts and smallholder farmers are the secondary contacts. Another strategy of agricultural market systems projects is to work with enterprises that provide supporting goods and services to farmers. For example, community members may be trained and supported by projects to provide custom work, such as plowing, spraying, or artificial insemination services, along with embedded training and support to smallholders. In this case, the newly trained community members are primary contacts while the smallholders are secondary contacts. Another approach for improving smallholder productivity and income is to establish demonstration farms or plots by supporting and training farmers who host the demonstration farms. The demonstration host farmers are expected to train and mentor other farmers. In this case, the demonstration host farmers are primary contacts while the farmers they train and guide are secondary contacts.

INDIRECT BENEFICIARIES

An important strategy for increasing scale under facilitation is to amplify **demonstration effects** that spotlight the advantages of adopting new production technologies and inclusive business models. The demonstration effects attract copying and crowding-in by firms occupying positions in the value chains similar to the positions held by the primary and secondary contacts discussed above. Unlike the copying and crowding-in firms, adapters can be firms located anywhere in the value chain. Multiplier effects extend the potential benefits to firms and individuals in the local economy and the broader market system.

3. Copying: Firms or individuals that copy new products, production technologies and business practices of secondary contacts at the target beneficiary level. Smallholder farmers in the imitation space copy the new agricultural production technologies that have been adopted by neighbors, relatives and friends who are (direct beneficiary) smallholder farmers in the intervention space. For example, a copying farmer might be a neighbor of a secondary contact farmer. This farmer, who observes and then imitates the secondary contact's new farming practices, would be "copying" the secondary contact.

4. Crowding-in: Firms crowd-in by imitating the new, more inclusive business models demonstrated by primary contact firms. For example, an agricultural input supplier might crowd-in the market by imitating primary contact firms that demonstrate new types of commercial relationships with smallholder farmers. Unlike primary contacts, crowding-in firms do not have direct contact with the intervention. Smallholders who do business with crowding-in firms are categorized as target beneficiaries reached indirectly, which places them

in the same category as “copying” smallholders. It is also possible, although somewhat less likely, for smallholders who are secondary contacts to develop commercial relationships with crowding-in firms.

5. Adaptation: Firms that adapt or respond to the practices promoted by the intervention, including firms at the same functional levels as the four previous groups (e.g., producer and input supplier levels) as well as other types of firms that enter or expand in response to the emergence of new business opportunities in the value chain. Examples of adapters include firms providing supporting services, such as transportation services, text messaging, packaging, financial services, etc.

6. Employment: This includes individuals who are newly employed by firms in all five previous contact categories as well as existing employees who experience improved wages, hours and/or working conditions. Some wageworkers will be employed in agricultural production, but an increasing number of individuals will work in warehouses, processing plants, transport services and other supporting goods and services. Given the importance of wages in generating income for the rural poor, wageworkers should be considered a key beneficiary group in agricultural market system facilitation (Mueller and Chan 2015).

7. Multiplier effects: Firms or individuals that receive profits or income generated by the circulation of additional money in the local economy (Snodgrass 2014). The “new” money originates in the initial profits and income spent by individuals and firms in all six of the previous contact categories. While all of previous categories relate to agricultural value chains, multiplier effects benefit firms and individuals in unrelated value chains, such as restaurants, hair salons, mobile phone dealers, clothing stores, grocery markets, hardware stores and repair shops.

OUTREACH IN AAER FRAMEWORK

The direct and indirect beneficiaries in the conceptual framework can be loosely mapped to the Adopt-Adapt-Expand-Respond (AAER) framework for measuring systemic change. The AAER framework was developed by the Springfield Centre in cooperation with the Katalyst project and is used by some DFID-funded projects (Nippard, Hichins and Elliot 2004). In the adopt stage, collaborating firms adopt and plan to continue pro-poor changes promoted by the project. In the adapt stage, project partners invest independently in the pro-poor change. Smallholders reached in the adapt and adopt stages correspond to primary beneficiaries. The expand stage includes copying and crowding-in, with smallholders reached as indirect beneficiaries. In the respond stage, non-competing players adjust their own practices in reaction to the changes from the first three stages. The expand stage in the AAER framework corresponds most closely with activities that occur in the adaptation space shown in figure 1.

III. STUDY METHODS: CASES AND INDICATORS

Included in this study are eleven recent agricultural market system development projects, with outreach data and information on measurement approaches taken from official reports and published documents. The document review was supplemented by in-depth interviews with expert informants, which were especially helpful in providing details on measurement approaches. All of the projects included significant market system facilitation components and were funded by either USAID or DFID, sometimes in collaboration with other donors. Information from the eleven cases was used to address these key research questions:

- What evidence exists on outreach to smallholders under agricultural market systems facilitation?
- What methods were used to collect and compile the outreach data?
- To what extent does reported outreach distinguish between primary and secondary contacts, and between direct and indirect beneficiary groups?

This section introduces the eleven cases included in the review, describes the methods used in the study, and defines the indicators that were related to measuring outreach.

A. CASES INCLUDED IN REVIEW

The study considers evidence on outreach from eleven projects that were being implemented in Africa and Asia at the time of the study:

1. Katalyst III in Bangladesh
2. AGP-AMDe in Ethiopia
3. PRIME in Ethiopia
4. MAP in Kenya
5. Samarth in Nepal
6. Propcom Mai-Karfi in Nigeria
7. PCE in Senegal
8. NAFKA in Tanzania
9. Ag Inputs in Uganda
10. CPM in Uganda
11. PROFIT Plus in Zambia

Seven projects were funded by USAID, as part of the Feed the Future (FTF) initiative, and four projects were funded by DFID, some with additional funding from SDC and Danida. The projects worked in a range of agricultural value chains; while the majority focused on crops, several included livestock components. All of the cases included significant facilitation elements and were active at the time of the study. The characteristics of these eleven cases are described in table 1, including full project names, value chains in which they intervened, project budgets and years of operation.

Table 1: Cases Included in Review, by Country, Project Name and Value Chain

Country and Project	Full Project Name	Value Chain(s)	Project Information
Bangladesh Katalyst III	Katalyst Phase III: Agriculture for Growth in Bangladesh	Vegetables, maize, fish, seed, fertilizer, ICT, packaging, media	£12 million over 5 years, 2013-2018 DFID, SDC and Danida funded
Ethiopia AGP-AMDe	Agricultural Growth Program – Agribusiness and Market Development	Sesame, chickpeas, wheat, maize, coffee, honey	\$49 million over 5 years, 2011-2016 USAID funded
Ethiopia PRIME	Pastoralist Areas Resilience Improvement through Market Expansion	Livestock	\$57 million over 5 years, 2012-2017 USAID funded
Kenya MAP II	Kenya Markets Assistance Programme II	Dairy, livestock, supply chain management, water, inputs, media, extractives	£15.9 million over 5 years, 2011-2016 DFID funded
Nepal Samarth	Samarth (formerly Market Development Program)	Vegetables, aquaculture, pigs, ginger, dairy, tourism, mechanization, media	£14.5 million over 5 years, 2011-2016 DFID funded
Nigeria Propcom Mai-karfi	Propcom Mai-karfi: Making Agricultural Markets Work for the Poor	Soy, soap with hand washing, village chicken, fertilizer, tractors	£26.5 million over 6 years, 2011-2017 DFID funded
Senegal PCE	Economic Growth Project	Rice, maize, millet	\$47 million over 5 years, 2009-2014 USAID funded
Tanzania NAFAKA	NAFAKA Staples Value Chain Activity	Rice, maize	\$30 million over 5 years, 2011-2016 USAID funded
Uganda Ag Inputs	Agricultural Inputs Activity, Feed the Future Value Chain Project	Agricultural Inputs	\$7.5 million over 5 years, 2012-2017 USAID funded
Uganda CPM	Commodity Production and Marketing Activity, Feed the Future Value Chain Project	Maize, beans, coffee	\$23 million over 5 years, 2013-2018 USAID funded
Zambia PROFIT Plus	Production, Finance and Improved Technology Plus	Soybean, sunflower, horticulture, groundnuts, maize	\$24 million over 4 years, 2012-2016 USAID funded

B. STUDY METHODS

Information for this study came from a combination of document review and in-depth interviews of expert informants. The documents reviewed for the study are included in the reference list at the end of this report. These included both standard project documents and *ad hoc* reports. In general, the standard reports provided consistent information on the indicator definitions and measurement results, while the ad hoc reports provided information on measurement approaches, especially for sub-components and specific value chains.

For the USAID-funded activities, the types of reports reviewed included the following:

- Annual Performance Reports
- Quarterly Performance Reports
- Annual Work Plans
- Performance Monitoring Plans (PMP)
- Project Monitoring and Learning Plans (PMLP)
- Performance Indicator Reference Sheets (PIRS)

In a few cases, the review included baseline reports, barrier analyses, behavior change communications evaluations and annual outcomes studies.

For the DFID-funded activities, the types of reports reviewed included the following:

- Business Cases
- Annual Reviews
- Logical Frameworks and
- Annual Results Reports.

In addition, the DFID-related document review included rapid assessment reports, modules from M&E handbooks, portfolio development strategies, project presentations and case studies.

In-depth interviews with expert informants provided the latest data for certain projects, explained methods for counting farmers under specific indicators, and clarified the types of data used in calculating the indicators. These discussions also provided an opportunity to explore the methods used by value chain actors to count the farmers they reach and to explore in more detail any innovative methods used by implementing agencies to count farmers. In some cases, information was obtained from key informants through an exchange of email if an interview was not possible. The interviews also uncovered experiments with counting methods that have been discontinued for various reasons.

C. OUTREACH INDICATORS

More than 30 indicators of outreach to smallholder farmers are reported in this study. These include standard and custom indicators, indicators related to activity outputs and outcomes, and indicators that rely on different definitions of outreach. Most of these indicators are described in this section, where they are presented (for convenience) in three main groups:

1. Feed the Future Indicators, USAID-funded activities
2. Custom Outreach Indicators, USAID-funded activities
3. Custom Outreach Indicators, DFID-funded activities

Definitions for these indicators are provided in tables 2, 3 and 4, respectively. The USAID-funded activities report both standard and custom indicators, while the DFID-funded activities all rely on custom indicators.

In most cases, the indicator definitions combine farmers, small-scale entrepreneurs and larger firms into a single, aggregated measure. Since the number of larger farms and firms is normally only a small fraction of the total count (less than five percent), the results from these indicators represent a slightly inflated estimate of the number of smallholders reached. In some cases, it is possible to disaggregate smallholders from other firms, but these disaggregated counts are not provided in project documents. Similarly, most of these indicators can be disaggregated by gender of the beneficiary, but only aggregate numbers are included in this study.

FEED THE FUTURE INDICATORS, USAID-FUNDED ACTIVITIES

All of the USAID-funded activities reported outreach results using standardized FTF indicators. The two FTF indicators included in this study are defined in table 2 (see below). The official guidance associated with these indicators clarifies that only direct beneficiaries should be counted. Therefore, smallholders reached indirectly, such as through copying, are not included for the purpose of reporting on these indicators. The FTF Indicator Handbook (USAID 2014) distinguishes between direct and indirect beneficiaries using the same definitions that are used in the outreach framework for this study (see section II).

Table 2: Feed the Future Indicators for USAID-Funded Activities

Indicator Number	Indicator Definition
FTF Indicator 4.5.2-5	Number of farmers and others who have applied new technologies or management practices as a result of USG assistance.
FTF Indicator 4.5.2-7	Number of individuals who have received USG supported short-term agricultural sector productivity or food security training.

It is important to note that these two indicators do not attempt to measure the total number of smallholders reached by an activity. Instead, they measure smallholders who adopt new practices (4.5.2-5) and smallholders who receive training (4.5.2-7). Since these two groups may overlap, it is not possible to add the results together to calculate the total number of smallholder direct beneficiaries. In addition, there may be farmers who directly benefit from an activity but who do not fall into the new practices or training categories.

Additional information on these indicators is provided in the FTF Indicator Handbook (USAID 2014). Referring to FTF indicator 4.5.2-5, the handbook explains:

“This indicator measures the total number of direct beneficiary farmers, ranchers and other primary sector producers (of food and non-food crops, livestock products, wild fisheries, aquaculture, agro-forestry, and natural resource-based products), as well as individual processors (not firms), rural entrepreneurs, traders, natural resource managers, etc. that applied improved technologies anywhere within the food and fiber system as a result of USG assistance during the reporting year. This includes innovations in efficiency, value-addition, post-harvest management, marketing, sustainable land management, forest and water management, managerial practices, and input supply delivery. Technologies and practices to be counted here are agriculture-related including those that address climate change adaptation and mitigation (including, but not limited to, carbon sequestration, clean energy, and energy efficiency as related to agriculture). Significant improvements to existing technologies and practices should be counted.”

The handbook provides the following guidance for FTF indicator 4.5.2-7:

“The number of individuals to whom significant knowledge or skills have been imparted through interactions that are intentional, structured, and purposed for imparting knowledge or skills should be counted. The indicator includes farmers, ranchers, fishers, and other primary sector producers who receive training in a variety of best practices in productivity, post-harvest management, linking to markets, etc. It also includes rural entrepreneurs, processors, managers and traders receiving training in application of new technologies, business management, linking to markets, etc., and training to extension specialists, researchers, policymakers and others who are engaged in the food, feed and fiber system and natural resources and water management.”

CUSTOM INDICATORS, USAID-FUNDED ACTIVITIES

In several of the USAID-funded activities, implementers have developed custom indicators to measure total outreach to smallholders, which serves to compensate for the absence of a comprehensive FTF indicator. Custom indicators for four of the USAID-funded activities are included in this study. These custom indicators are defined in table 3 (see below). In one case, the AGP-AMDe activity in Ethiopia, the custom indicator includes smallholders reached both as direct beneficiaries and as indirect beneficiaries. Two of the indicators refer specifically to beneficiaries reached directly. In the case of PRIME in Ethiopia, beneficiaries are defined in terms of households rather than farmers.

Table 3: Custom Outreach Indicators for USAID-Funded Activities

Country and Project	Indicator Definition
Ethiopia AGP-AMDe	Number of beneficiaries supported by AGP-AMDe assisted value chains (including both direct and indirect beneficiaries).
Ethiopia PRIME	Number of households reached.
Tanzania NAFKA	Number of direct beneficiaries (including farmers, service providers, and clients of service providers).
Uganda CPM	Number of farmers benefiting directly from activity interventions. (Also known as “Number of farmers/beneficiaries reached as result of USG assistance.”)

CUSTOM OUTREACH INDICATORS, DFID-FUNDED ACTIVITIES

Similar to the indicators used in USAID activities, the DFID indicators tend to focus on smallholders who are direct beneficiaries. There are some exceptions, including the Samarth activity in Nepal, which considers smallholders who are indirect beneficiaries through copying. The outreach indicators used in the DFID-funded activities were all custom-defined, meaning that there were no standard indicators that were used across all four of the activities. Table 4 (see below) lists the custom outreach indicators reported for the four DFID-funded activities, along with their definitions.

Table 4: Custom Outreach Indicators for DFID-Funded Projects

Country and Project	Indicator Number	Indicator Definition
Bangladesh Katalyst	Outcome Indicator 2	Number of additional farmers and micro, small and medium enterprises benefitting.
	Output Indicator 1.1	Number of additional farmers and micro, small and medium enterprises using new or improved services and/or agriculture inputs.
	Output Indicator 1.2	Number of additional farmers and micro, small and medium enterprises accessing new or improved services and/or agriculture inputs.
Kenya MAP	Outcome Indicator 3	Total estimated number of beneficiaries with increased annual income.
	Outcome Indicator 4	Number of beneficiaries and households estimated within selected market systems with an increase in enterprise performance.
	Outcome Indicator 5	Number of beneficiaries estimated within selected market systems showing changes in their capacity to participate in markets.
	Output Indicator 1.1	Total number of small-scale farmers and micro entrepreneurs able to access new market opportunities and/or inputs, support services, products and information.
Nepal Samarth	Outcome Indicator 1	Number of farmers and small-scale entrepreneurs improving their productivity or competitiveness in the market systems.
	Outcome Indicator 2	Number of farmers and small-scale entrepreneurs showing significant changes in their business practices.
Nigeria Propcom Mai-karfi	Outcome Indicator 1	Number of poor farmers and small-scale rural entrepreneurs that record an increase in sales, productivity and/or quality, as a result of program activities.
	Outcome Indicator 2	Number of poor farmers and small-scale rural entrepreneurs that make changes in the way they run their business as a result of program activities.
	Output Indicator 1.2	Number of poor farmers and small-scale rural entrepreneurs who access new inputs, services, technology as a result of program activities.
	Output Indicator 2.1	Number of poor farmers and small-scale rural entrepreneurs who adopt a practice change, or are affected by a market system change that contributes to their improved resilience.

IV. EVIDENCE ON SCALE

Reported scale of outreach to smallholders is presented in this section, along with an inventory of data collection methods used by project implementers to collect outreach data. The range of methods used to measure scale of outreach includes simple counts from participant lists, information compiled and reported by project partners, estimates based on related data and informed assumptions, survey data, and methods that combine multiple approaches. The outreach results reported in project documents primarily focus on smallholders reached as direct beneficiaries. Only a few implementers reported on attempts to measure indirect outreach to smallholders, even though market systems facilitation activities are designed to reach a large number of smallholders as indirect beneficiaries, through processes related to crowding in and copying.

Most smallholders are reached as secondary contacts, although some are reached as primary contacts. Prominent examples of smallholders reached as primary contacts include lead farmers, demonstration host farmers, and leaders of farmer associations. In practice, project documents and outreach statistics rarely distinguish between primary and secondary contacts. It can be assumed that most of the smallholder farmers included in the outreach statistics are reached as secondary contacts, since this an intentional design feature for the facilitation approach used in these market systems development projects.

A. RESULTS ON SCALE OF OUTREACH

The results on scale of outreach to smallholders are presented in table 5 (see next page). Most of the available results fall under the direct beneficiary category, while less information was found on outreach to farmers as indirect beneficiaries. Table 5 lists outreach statistics according to the project, indicator and outreach categories that were defined in Section II.

In reviewing table 5, it is important to keep in mind that each entry represents an outreach measurement that corresponds to a specific definition and scope of outreach. Many of the listed indicators differ in their underlying definitions of outreach. Since each entry represents a result obtained under a unique definition and/or measurement approach, it does not make sense to add the data across rows or columns. In addition, most of the indicators report partial measurements of outreach based on specific ways that projects might interact with smallholders. For cases in which an outreach statistic is considered to be a comprehensive measure of outreach to smallholders, the number is displayed in the first column under “Total Smallholder Beneficiaries.” Entries in the other columns, by contrast, should be considered to be partial measures of outreach, defined according to the indicator and outreach category.

In addition, it is important to keep in mind that the purpose of the table is to summarize the available data on outreach and identify the data gaps. The results in the table are not intended for comparison of outreach across projects. In fact, there are several reasons that cross-comparisons are problematic. Among the factors limiting comparison across projects are the variability in project budgets and time periods. While some projects are reporting on outreach results related to a long-term effort that has been focused in a given value chain and geographic area, other projects are reporting on outreach results from a set of interventions that have been in place for only a year.

Table 5: Evidence on Scale by Project, Indicator and Outreach Category

Country and Project	Indicator Type and Number	Total Smallholder Beneficiaries	Smallholder Direct Beneficiaries			Smallholder Indirect Beneficiaries
			Total	Primary Contacts	Secondary Contacts	
Bangladesh Katalyst III (cumul. 12/2014)	Output Indicator 1.1		158,800			
	Output Indicator 1.2		276,400			
	Outcome Indicator 2		533,100			
	Outreach by Sector				Vegetables 454,838 ¹	
Ethiopia AGP-AMDe (cumul. 6/2014)	Custom Indicator	553,867				
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-5		62,203			
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-7		78,742	6,920 ²	67,210 ³	
	Outreach by Sector				Maize 298,172 ⁴	
Ethiopia PRIME (cumul. 9/2014)	Custom Indicator	46,708				
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-5		5,610			
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-7		37,553			
Kenya MAP (cumul. 9/2014, except as noted)	Output Indicator 1.1	116,964				
	Outcome Indicator 3		54,469			
	Outcome Indicator 4		59,460			
	Outcome Indicator 5		80,709			
	Outreach by Sector (cumul. 12/2013)			Supply Chain 2,000	Inputs 18,054 Dairy 12,084 Supply Chain 2,261	
Nepal Samarth (cumul. 3/2015)	Outcome Indicator 1		80,200			
	Outcome Indicator 2		90,700			
	Outreach by Sector				Vegetables 23,000 ⁵	Ginger 4,711 ⁶
Nigeria Propcom Mai-karfi (cumul. 1/2014, except as noted)	Outcome Indicator 1		229,576			
	Outcome Indicator 2		229,576			
	Output Indicator 1.2 (cumul. 11/2013)	315,030				
	Output Indicator 2.1		227,066			

Country and Project	Indicator Type and Number	Total Smallholder Beneficiaries	Smallholder Direct Beneficiaries			Smallholder Indirect Beneficiaries
			Total	Primary Contacts	Secondary Contacts	
Senegal PCE (ann. 9/2011)	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-5		19,973			
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-7		22,328			
Tanzania NAFKA (cumul. 9/2014)	Custom Indicator	481,047	104,781			
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-5		81,063			
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-7		92,655			
	Other					585,340 ⁷
Uganda CPM (ann. & cumul. 9/2014)	Custom Indicator	109,633				
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-5		52,276			
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-7		116,613			
Uganda Ag Inputs (ann. & cumul. 9/2013)	Custom Indicator	30,000				
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-5		--- ⁸			
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-7		167			
	Other					17,400 ⁹
Zambia PROFIT Plus (cumul. 9/2014)	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-5		70,505			
	FTF Indicator 4.5.2-7		71,370			

¹ Farmers buying vegetable seed minipacks, estimated through mid-2013.

² Farmer trainers and lead farmers trained by value chain in FY 2014.

³ Farmers trained by value chain in FY 2014.

⁴ Farmers linked to new types of maize buyers and markets.

⁵ Farmers buying new or high quality seeds (23,000), visiting demonstration plots (11,000) and trained by agro-vets (1,173).

⁶ Ginger farmers buying inputs from crowding-in agrochemical dealers.

⁷ People reached annually by behavior change communication activities including print and radio messages.

⁸ Ag Inputs Activity is not required to track this indicator.

⁹ Farmers reached by marketing events (15,000) plus farmers reached by audience-led radio programming (2,400).

Another factor is that the outreach statistics are based on indicators that define outreach in very different ways. Even where there is standardization across indicators, as in the case of the two FTF indicators, there is still variability across projects in terms of budgets and project life cycle. Finally, and in some ways most importantly, the entries in table 5 provide information about outreach but do not indicate the level or magnitude of benefits received. Some of the largest outreach statistics may be associated with relatively small benefit levels, while some of the smallest outreach statistics may be associated with benefits at much higher levels.

Without comparing results across projects, it is still possible to see that there were several projects reporting outreach to more than half a million smallholders. Many projects reported outreach results ranging between 30,000 and 120,000 smallholders. Bearing in mind projects' differing budgets and schedules, some comparison is invited by the standardized FTF indicators. The indicator to measure technology adoption (FTF indicator 4.5.2-5) is also comparable to several custom indicators in DFID-funded projects, namely outcome indicator 5 in MAP, output indicator 2.1 in Propcom Mai-karfi and output indicator 1.1 in Katalyst.

B. INVENTORY OF METHODS USED TO MEASURE OUTREACH

Project implementers, project partners and third-party evaluators used a variety of methods to measure outreach to smallholders. This section discusses the approaches that were used to collect and compile the outreach data. Some of the approaches are standard, such as listing attendees at a training event. On the other hand, farmer tracking tools, customer lists and customer databases are more closely associated with facilitation, since they routinely place data collection responsibility on the shoulders of project partners. Other approaches seek to estimate outreach using information on related variables, such as a project partner's volume of input sales to (or product purchases from) smallholder farmers.

ATTENDANCE AND PARTICIPANT LISTS

One of the most straightforward methods used to measure outreach is to record the names of people who attend an event. This approach is especially useful for counting the number of smallholders reached through training interventions, but it can also be used to record participation in marketing events. At each event, the names of participants are listed using registration forms or attendance sheets. Attendance information is collected on an on-going basis at each event, then compiled and reported quarterly and annually. The most common approach is to record attendance on paper forms, which requires subsequent transcription into digital format. Alternatively, attendance data may be collected digitally, using hand-held technology.

At the most basic level, a simple count of the number of event attendees can be recorded and aggregated across events. However, in order to reduce the possibility of double counting, it is necessary to record some type of unique identifying information, such as participants' names or mobile phone numbers. This unique identifying information is then used to compare lists, remove multiple entries for the same person and, thus, ensure that each individual is counted only once.

Responsibility for data collection normally rests with those who conduct the training or organize the event. Project implementer staff would be responsible for collecting attendance data when they conduct "training of trainers" for lead farmers, demonstration host farmers and association leaders. Then, as training cascades down to secondary contact farmers, data collection on training attendance becomes the responsibility of the group or individuals who organize the training. In the NAFKA project, for example, village-based agents are responsible for collecting attendance data as they train farmers in their village.

FARMER TRACKING TOOLS

Farmer tracking tools are more detailed and can be applied in more situations than simple attendance lists. For example, participation data might be recorded on a farmer tracking tool by a demonstration host farmer who provides training almost daily to individuals and informal small groups. In addition to being responsible for counting the number of farmers that they train, demonstration host farmers might use farmer tracking tools to record information on the uptake of new technologies. At PROFIT Plus in Zambia, for example, lead farmers and demonstration host farmers use a farmer tracking tool along with farmer field school registers to monitor outreach. Thus, a farmer tracking tool can be used to record information on both the farmers who are trained and the farmers who adopt the new technologies.

At NAFKA in Tanzania, village-based agents who sell seeds to local farmers track the adoption of improved seeds. Using a farmer tracking tool provided by NAFKA, the village-based agents track customer purchases including what inputs are purchased, by whom and at what cost. New demonstration host farmers working with the CPM activity in Uganda receive a tote bag that contains an integrated set of farmer tracking tools to be used by the host farmers to monitor outreach related to training and technology adoption.

At PCE in Senegal, where lead farmers are the hubs for disseminating farming techniques, standardized data collection forms are used to monitor training and outreach. These forms capture all the information needed to quantify and track beneficiaries and to link the information to other success measures. Project partners and networks that conduct the trainings are responsible for collecting data and consolidating it into a database at the partner level, with support and guidance provided by PCE staff. The partner database is shared with PCE either through links to the PCE server or through physical exchange of data storage media, such as CDs.

CUSTOMER LISTS AND CUSTOMER DATABASES

In many cases, project implementers have little or no contact with smallholder farmers. Instead, implementers have primary contact with larger firms at the input, supporting services, or product buying levels. Project implementers work to promote pro-poor improvements in the business practices of these private sector actors and in the commercial relationships that they have with smallholders. Just as in the situation of cascade training, the projects' private sector partners are responsible for collecting data on the number of smallholders that they reach through their new business practices.

While customer lists and customer databases are efficient means for project partners to collect and submit outreach data, they (project partners) may not have sufficient incentives to do so. Project implementers might encourage their partners to maintain accurate customer databases not only as a way to collect outreach data, but also as a way to improve their competitive position and foster their appreciation of smallholders as profitable clients. Despite the possible business case for collecting certain customer data, it can be difficult to convince private sector actors to maintain accurate databases, which leads to the need for supplementary data. For example, project implementers for Propcom Mai-karfi in Nigeria triangulate the outreach data they receive from project partners by supplementing it with farmer surveys and qualitative research.

Implementers for MAP in Kenya experimented with several approaches to encourage project partners to collect better outreach data. For example, MAP piloted the use of mobile phone surveys for customer market research. The use of mobile phone technology has been particularly successful in the dairy value chain, where the platform was used to support authentication and customer ratings for artificial insemination services. Another ICT service has been launched that provides a text or call hotline for dairy farmers to report on insemination and veterinary services. Similarly, the Ag Inputs activity in Uganda established a hotline that farmers can use to report counterfeit agricultural inputs. Some ICT platforms include data management capabilities

for conducting market research with farmers, while also collecting data on the number of farmers reached and the number of farmers adopting improved production practices and inputs.

Another approach used in Kenya MAP to work with project partners to collect and maintain accurate customer lists was based on exploiting the information generated by referral networks. To promote copying by farmers, Kenya MAP encouraged input suppliers to leverage the social capital within farmers' networks to actively stimulate the uptake of technology. Input suppliers were persuaded to use testimonials and undertake referral advertising, which involved providing benefits to farmers who referred their friends to the supplier. Project implementers asked their partners to track these referrals as a way to measure outreach to smallholders who become beneficiaries by copying other farmers from their social networks.

ESTIMATES BASED ON SALES VOLUME

Within the cases included in the review, there were two examples of using information on sales volume, in conjunction with survey data, to estimate the number of smallholders adopting new production technologies. In Katalyst II, the precursor project to Katalyst III in Bangladesh, project implementers wanted to know the number of smallholder farmers who had purchased a new seed variety packaged in smallholder-friendly mini-packs, thus adopting this Katalyst-supported technology. As reported in the case study, project implementers wanted to trace seed packs to individual smallholder farmers, but the seed pack vendors were not able to track and report accurate information on the smallholders buying the seed packs.

Instead, project implementers adopted an alternative approach based on data about the total volume of sales, as reported by the companies producing the seed packs. This information on sales volume was combined with survey results to estimate the total number of smallholders who had purchased seed mini-packs. Enumerators listed the customers buying from 15 seed pack vendors during the peak sales period. From these lists, they sampled smallholders to determine how they used and benefited from the seed packs. Based on the listing exercise and survey, the project reported that 285,000 farmers had bought seed packs in one year.

A second example comes from the Samarth project in Nepal. This example is especially interesting because the technique was used to measure outreach to smallholders as indirect beneficiaries. Samarth estimated that there were 4,711 copying smallholder farmers (indirect beneficiaries) in the ginger value chain as of March 2015. These ginger farmers were customers of two market actors that had crowded-in to the market for agro-chemicals. The agro-chemical dealers imitated the business model that Samarth had introduced with its project partners. The outreach to indirect beneficiary farmers was estimated by obtaining the fungicide sales volume from the agro-chemical dealers and by conducting a survey of farmers. Using the sales volume and survey data, the Samarth staff calculated the number of farmers who had used the new agro-chemicals.

ESTIMATES BASED ON GROUP SIZE

In a couple of cases, project implementers used information provided by farmer cooperatives and farmer associations to estimate outreach to smallholders. One approach was to have the leaders of the farmer association track and report on outreach to their members. At PCE in Senegal, farmer groups and producer networks were responsible for collecting data on the uptake of new technologies. Another approach was to use information about the number of members in a group to estimate total outreach. The AGP-AMDe activity in Ethiopia used this approach to estimate outreach to indirect beneficiaries. Once the leaders of a cooperative were trained and the cooperative received a program grant, project implementers assumed that all members of the cooperatives would be trained.

CROWD AND LISTENERSHIP ESTIMATES

Two of the projects reported on outreach through behavior change communications (BCC) that relay project-promoted messages to farmers. These interventions, which typically use radio broadcasts as a means of disseminating messages, can reach large numbers of farmers. For example, NAFKA in Tanzania reported that BCC activities (including radio and print material) reached more than half a million people in 2014. Although NAFKA reports outreach numbers for BCC activities, these are not included in official outreach indicators.

Another example is provided by PROFIT Plus in Zambia, which was beginning (as of September 2014) to develop instruments for capturing data on listenership and the application of technologies promoted through BCC. There are other examples in which projects reach farmers indirectly through marketing and promotional events that are not intensive enough to qualify as trainings and through radio programming not included in BCC campaigns. For example, Ag Inputs in Uganda reported reaching 2,400 farmers through initial efforts to promote audience-led radio programming.

ANNUAL AND AD HOC SURVEYS

As might be expected, most of the projects used data from annual and ad hoc surveys to measure some aspect of outreach to smallholders. For example, AGP-AMDe, PRIME and NAFKA used annual surveys to measure technology adoption related to FTF indicator 4.5.2-5. Both PROFIT Plus and NAFKA conduct annual surveys with samples of farmers who are reached by demonstration host farmers and lead farmers, as well as cross-checking the monitoring data. Because they sample from farmer lists provided by private sector project partners, these surveys are only capable of counting farmers in the direct beneficiary category, both as primary and secondary contacts. While these indicators are generally designed to measure changes in target beneficiary behavior or benefits received, they also provide information on scale of outreach.

In addition to assessing uptake of new technologies and practices, other important uses of survey data include cross-checking (validating) data supplied by project partners and estimating outreach by combining survey data with information collected by one of the other methods. For example, Samarth in Nepal combines data from farmer surveys with data supplied by primary contact firms to measure outcome indicator 1. In this example, the “number of piglets experiencing an increase in body weight in a shorter period of time” is measured by surveying farmers, while data on the “number of farmers rearing cross-bred piglets” is tracked and reported by pig buyers. Both measurements contribute to the indicator, based on the link between crossbred piglets and rapid weight gain that contributes to farmer productivity.

C. COUNTING INDIRECT BENEFICIARIES

Given the importance of attracting indirect beneficiaries as a means for achieving large-scale outreach, it might be surprising that some projects do not explicitly mention demonstration and imitation in their documents. Demonstration and imitation are discussed in the outreach framework (in Section II), where imitation is defined to include both crowding-in by businesses similar to project partners, and copying by smallholder farmers who imitate the new production technologies demonstrated by other smallholders.

Approximately half of the cases in the review discuss indirect beneficiaries. Documents associated with DFID-funded projects were more likely to refer to imitation and copying, while documents from USAID-funded projects discussing imitation were more likely to use terms like “spillover” to describe the same phenomena. In terms of the Adopt-Adapt-Expand-Respond framework used by Samarth and other DFID-funded projects, copying by smallholders occurs in the “expand” stage of systemic change.

Four of the projects included in this review reported data on outreach to indirect beneficiaries. The most interesting example was provided by the Samarth project in Nepal, which measured outreach to smallholder farmers as indirect beneficiaries in the ginger value chain. The Samarth example is described above in the discussion of methods for estimating outreach based on sales volumes. A second example, from the AGP-AMDe activity in Ethiopia, is described under methods for estimating outreach based on group size. In this example, members of farmer cooperatives who attended a project-sponsored activity were counted as direct beneficiaries while group members who did not attend were counted as indirect beneficiaries.

A couple of projects reported outreach to smallholders as indirect beneficiaries through activities related to behavior change communication. NAFAKA in Tanzania reported that they had reached 585,340 smallholders through BCC, while Ag Inputs in Uganda reported 17,400 smallholders reached through audience-led radio programming and marketing events. Some other projects, including CPM in Uganda, Propcom Mai-karfi in Nigeria and PROFIT Plus in Zambia, mentioned possible future plans to measure outreach to indirect beneficiaries.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This study looked at the evidence on outreach from eleven market system facilitation projects. These projects were designed to promote inclusive growth in agricultural value chains. While a variety of indicators were used to measure specific types of outreach to smallholder farmers, more comprehensive indicators for measuring total outreach were less common. Moreover, all of the official indicators focus on measuring outreach to direct beneficiaries, while beneficiaries reached indirectly are missing from the evidence base. This section provides some recommendations for closing the evidence gaps.

A. RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1. Donors should encourage project implementers to experiment with new measurement approaches in order to reduce systematic undercounting of outreach to both direct and indirect beneficiaries.**

Based on the review of project documents, it is clear that secondary contact farmers are being undercounted. Potential categories of farmers who might not be included in the direct beneficiary counts include farmers accessing financial services, those using publicly available ICT services (such as market price information services), and those who benefit from grants made to a range of value chain actors. More information is needed on how grant recipients are required to report the beneficiaries of activities supported with FTF activity funds. The evaluation experience with BCC campaigns suggests that FTF activities may need to cast a wider net, both geographically and in terms of types of farmers, when they are surveying farmers to evaluate program results.

The monitoring of indirect beneficiary farmers, and particularly copying farmers, was the weakest of all the areas examined. Although some of the FTF activities mentioned the importance of spillovers, not one of them appears to be monitoring copying farmers. A few of the DFID-sponsored projects have experimented with measuring outreach to indirect beneficiaries. Most notably, the Samarth project in Nepal identified smallholders reached indirectly through the use of customer lists that were obtained from crowding-in businesses. Kenya MAP experimented with identifying copying farmers by tracing them through input suppliers' promotional and referral campaigns. Donors should support experimentation with these and other approaches for measuring indirect outreach as a first step for developing guidance on measuring the full outreach of facilitation projects.

- 2. Donors should provide a few standard indicators of outreach in order to facilitate the aggregation of outreach results across multiple projects.**

The results of this study reinforced previous findings that there is limited standardization of outreach measurement across agricultural market systems development projects. Feed the Future requires that implementers report on several standard indicators of outreach, which permits the aggregation of data on major outreach categories across the entire FTF program. The DFID-funded projects that were reviewed

for this study do not use standard indicators, which makes it impossible to aggregate outreach results across projects.

3. Donors should encourage implementers to report on total outreach to target beneficiaries.

While FTF provides a number of standard outreach indicators, none of these are comprehensive in the sense of representing the total number of smallholder farmers who directly benefit from a project. The review found that implementers for four of the eight FTF activities had closed this gap by developing custom indicators for reporting the total direct beneficiaries or total beneficiaries reached. This indicates that there is demand among implementers for a single indicator that captures the total number of farmers that benefit from facilitation activities. Ideally, the indicator would measure both direct and indirect beneficiaries. In the short term, however, donors and implementers may want to focus on ensuring that every project reports on the total number of direct beneficiaries. As methods are developed for measuring the number of smallholders reached indirectly (see item 1 above), then donors can provide additional guidance on incorporating this important component into measuring a project's total outreach

4. It is important to realize that reliance on customer and attendance lists when constructing sample frames will result in survey data that effectively hides the population of indirect beneficiaries.

The sampling approach for baseline and end line evaluations should be re-examined, taking into consideration the potential for collecting data on farmers who are indirect beneficiaries from facilitation activities. Alternative means for including copying farmers would be surveys that sample all smallholder farmers in a region or village, rather than just those who are identified as participating in project activities. For example, PRIME in Ethiopia reports that it conducts annual surveys to collect data for FTF and custom indicators. However, the survey sample is selected from lists of households who directly participate in PRIME market facilitation activities. NAFKA is using a similar approach in their annual surveys. These sample frames would need to be broadened in order to allow for the possibility of collecting data on copying farmers. For USAID projects, it might be useful to distinguish between approaches for counting copying farmers in the designated zone of influence (ZOI) for the USAID activity and approaches for counting copying farmers outside of the ZOI.

5. USAID should reexamine the issue of reporting outreach from behavior change communication.

One area in need of clarification is whether and how to count farmers who benefit from behavior change communication activities in FTF activities. As described in this report, some implementers are measuring outreach through BCC, but this information is not included in official project reports. Since BCC is becoming increasingly used as an intervention in market systems development, it makes sense that measuring the outreach from BCC is a necessary first step in understanding the value of this programming approach.

FTF indicator 4.2.5-7 counts farmers who have access to training, but only includes beneficiaries of “intentional, structured and purposed” interactions. Until now, individuals who have been exposed to BCC campaigns have not been counted in official indicators of outreach. USAID should reexamine this issue and consider providing guidance on how to categorize the recipients of different types of BCC messaging, how best to count them, and how to select indicators they could be used. It is possible that certain types of BCC recipients could be included in indicator 4.2.5-7, while the most straightforward approach might be to create a new indicator designed specifically for reporting on BCC. To some extent, the issues surrounding counting BCC beneficiaries also apply to measuring the outreach from certain types of ICT interventions that are accessible to the general public.

6. When private sector project partners are responsible for data collection, careful attention should be paid to ensuring that these partners have sufficient capacity and incentives for supplying good quality data.

Since facilitation projects generally work through private sector partners to reach target beneficiaries, sometimes the most practical way to collect outreach data is to delegate this responsibility to private sector actors. The more complicated the measurement approaches used, the more likely it is that resources will need to be allocated toward building data collection capacity within the project partner. For example, as farmer tracking tools collect more extensive and/or complicated data, the individuals responsible for using these tools will need more training and support. While data collection responsibilities can be required from project partners as a condition for receiving project support, a more effective incentive would be to develop the business case for collecting customer data. Still, it is important to keep in mind that good business practice may dictate a streamlining of data collection. The key informant interviews revealed that projects such as Kenya MAP are investing considerable time and resources in working with market actors to build their capacity for monitoring outreach. It would be instructive to collaborate with this and other projects to identify lessons learned and emerging best practices in developing capacity to collect data and use the tracking tools supplied by the project.

B. CONCLUSION

There is much discussion about evidence and the use of evidence to strengthen program design and to justify donor support for inclusive market systems development programs. This study has taken one step toward building the evidence base for outreach to smallholders from agricultural value chain projects. Perhaps more importantly, this study considers the approaches used by implementing organizations to collect evidence on outreach. The findings indicate that the current evidence systematically undercounts outreach and that new approaches are needed in order to generate a more complete understanding of the scale of outreach under market systems facilitation.

While the ability to compile accurate and comprehensive evidence on outreach is valuable in itself, it also provides the foundation for better impact evaluation. Ultimately, it is not enough to know how many people have been reached by a project; it is also essential to know how much and in what ways people have benefited from the project's interventions. As long as there are major gaps in the ability to identify and measure the full outreach of facilitation projects, there will be corresponding gaps in the ability to measure and understand their full impacts.

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