

**Chasing Capacity:  
Strategies of Farmer's Organisations as Change Agents**

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**Abstract:** Few works describe how – and to what extent – farmer organisations (FOs) strive to strengthen local life. My PhD research addresses this gap following a central question: what strategies do FOs use as change agents in underdeveloped rural areas? I aim at developing a typology of FOs' strategies as change agents. This paper presents the research setting built to address this matter.

Epistemological foundations of this research link to sociology of knowledge and discourse analysis, from a knowledge performativity approach. A development-based conception of agency (capacity development) is unpacked as a governance technology and rendered operational by means of multiple theoretical sources. Literature includes social studies of science and technology, institutional work and innovation intermediation.

The research follows an abductive rationale (Schwartz Shea, 2012). The specific research questions serve both the theoretical and the empirical inquiries. The theoretical realm recurs to capacity development as an interpretive reference. On the empirical realm, the research recurs to a multi-sited case study focused on Colombian cocoa-producer FOs in conflicted rural areas.

**Keywords (5 to 8):** Change Agency; Capacity Development; Governance; Farmer Organizations; Abductive Research; Cognitive Dimension of Institutional Work; Knowledge Repertoires.

## Introduction

This paper presents an account of ongoing work on a research about farmers' organisations strategies as change agents. This paper intends to openly discuss the rationale as well as its epistemological and methodological underlying choices. Following the panel purpose, the paper describes as thoroughly as possible the research pillars, as well as some hints about how upcoming data analysis and theoretical discussion could go.

The paper is divided in four main sections, divided in subsections. Follows a description. First section sets the scene of the research. Subsection 1 discusses literature on farmer organisations framing the scope of the inquiry. Subsection 2 presents the research questions and the underlying rationale implemented to address it.

Second section discusses the theoretical realm. Subsection 3 discusses the interpretive reference of this research, namely capacity development framework as a technology of governance. Subsections 4 and 5 discuss the foundations and structure of the knowledge repertoire approach, theoretical framework of the research.

Third section discusses the empirical realm. Subsection 6 presents the multi-sited case, Colombian cocoa organisations. Subsection 7 deepens on the case by discussing farmers' organisations drivers as change agents. Last, subsection 8 presents hints so as to how future analysis work could look like and reflects on analytic challenges.

### 1. Setting the research scene

#### *About Farmers' Organisations*

This paper refers to farmers' organisations (FOs) as any form of rural grassroots agency aiming collective action, this is, any "voluntary action taken by a group to achieve common interests" (Meinzen-Dick, DiGregorio, & McCarthy, 2004). This broad distinction attempts to account for the many forms collective action takes in rural areas. FOs have various legal status combining agricultural and non-agricultural purposes (Emprender-Paz, 2011; PROCASUR, 2011) and varying in legal presence from enterprises to non-governmental organisations. FOs grow in various forms: sometimes through community leadership; sometimes by isolated philanthropic efforts or specific advocacy. Most of literature addresses those being a result of rural policies or development projects<sup>1</sup>.

Various streams describe scholar attention to FOs' existence and roles. The works of Bratton (1986), Uphoff (1988, 1993) and Bebbington (1996, 1999) bring seminal approaches to the topic. Bratton's work defines collective action from an institutional perspective. Uphoff describes the grassroots level, aiming to achieve a scope of local

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<sup>1</sup> Although it is difficult to generalize, is useful to have a reference for the purpose of this research. This research focuses on middle size, economically sustainable small-farmer organizations with a local or regional reach, located in isolated rural areas. These organizations have an average of one hundred and fifty members, each of them owning between one and five land hectares.

institutional and organisational features. Bebbington discusses social capital in rural development, as an alternative for better understanding, addressing and promoting collective arrangements. The 'rise and routinization' of social capital in development practice could explain why many efforts to assess FOs followed these stream (Woolcock, 2010).

Economics is the prevailing disciplinary approach employed to analyse FOs. These works focus on market access and economic sustainability, and usually assess FO's performance in the frame of a policy, a region or a crop. Bratton (1986), (Berdegué, 2001) and (Yang, 2013) discuss performance of pro-cooperative policies in Zimbabwe, Chile and China, respectively. Moustier and others (2010) discuss FOs' access to supermarkets in Vietnam. Deng and others (2010) and Xiangping and others (2012) discuss the effectiveness of the professional cooperatives program in China. González and others (2005) take a look to FOs' access to organic markets in Mexico. Fischer and others (2012) and Shiferaw and others (2006) discuss features of FOs' market access in Kenya; while Hellin and others (2009) do it for Central America. In 2009, the Food Policy journal devoted a special issue to collective action. It discusses FOs involvement in value chains, from various cases and methods (Barham & Chitemi, 2009; Devaux et al., 2009; Gruère, Nagarajan, & King, 2009; Kaganzi et al., 2009; Kruijssen, Keizer, & Giuliani, 2009; Narrod et al., 2009).

Another stream, following disciplinary perspectives, considers FOs as service providers. PROCASUR (2011) present several cases about how FOs deliver financial services, namely insurance or microcredit. Trærup (2012) discusses FOs' potential for insurance provision through rural networks. Yadoo and others (2010) present FOs' role as rural electrification intermediaries. Hagmann and others (2002) describe FOs' ability to manage natural resources. Tole (2010) makes the case for FOs in forest management.

Also appears FOs' role in science and technology processes. Orrego and others (2013) analyse potato innovation systems in Bolivia, Ethiopia, Peru and Uganda assessing FOs' contribution. De Souza and others (1999) analyse causes for the successful adoption of sustainable technologies, of which FOs' membership is one. Abdulai and others (2011) come to the same conclusion for irrigation techniques adoption. Other analysis includes Gilbert and others (1990), who research farming systems. Bingen and others (2003) discuss categories of pro-poor farmer innovation policies.

### ***The many roles or the role at the grassroot level***

This summary illustrates FOs relevance as an actor at the rural grassroot level. It shows FOs as the closest institution to small farmers, often the only one (SARD, 2007). However, few works describe how – and to what extent – FOs create strategies to *co-produce*<sup>2</sup> public value in the rural sphere. Or, in other words, how FOs strive to strengthen features of local/rural life.

#### *Precedents on FOs' literature*

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<sup>2</sup> Following (Ostrom, 1996, p. 1079), coproduction is understood here as the process of participation in which "that synergy between what a government does and what citizens do can occur" takes place.

The topic has been indirectly analysed, addressing other drivers of collective action. Berdegué (2001) addresses FOs' networking action, to a basic extent. Indirectly, Schejtman and others (2009) discuss culture valorisation as a driving force for eleven community-based collective action initiatives in Latin America. Also indirectly, Tironi, Salazar, and Valenzuela (2013) present FOs' advocacy role against genetically modified organisms (GMOs) policies in Chile. Non-scholar sources bring other views. Emprender Paz (2011) present some community-based FOs preventing polarised military conflict. PROCASUR (2011) describes scattered cases showing FOs' advocacy and participation in environmental protection, gender inclusion and land access.

Thomas-Slayter (1994) analysis of institutions and structural change discusses institutional constraints, dissonance and gaps in the dialectics between African local organisations and national states. Thomas-Slayter draws attention to "local organisations [as] an important part of the local landscape [...] not to be dismissed but rather nurtured for the roles they can play in sustainable development" (1994, p. 1486). As it will be shown, international development agencies current rationales appear to be following Thomas-Slayter's advice. However, there is little evidence of it having been taken by national and subnational governments, today responsible for most of the underdeveloped rural regions of the world (IFAD, 2011).

## **2. Farmers' Organisations as change agents: research question**

The central question of the research is: what strategies do FOs deploy as change agents in isolated rural areas? The research aims developing a typology of FOs' strategies as change agents. This question aims to capture at the widest possible level the roles and means of FOs as institutional actors at the grassroots level, and, in this sense, supposes an experimental inquiry. To address it, the research will address three specific questions:

1. What purposes drive FOs' strategies as change agents?

This question aims to discover FO's driving motives beyond productive purposes, addressing how these diverse interests create or affect their discourses and strategies.

2. How do FOs strategize to coproduce the creation or preservation of institutions impacting local dynamics?

The question refers to FO's agency as institutional entrepreneurs. Its aim is to uncover FOs' rationales and strategies to advocate, locate and engage in diverse scenarios pursuing the creation and/or preservation of institutions affecting local processes.

3. How do FOs strategize to create, allocate and scale up local capacity assets?

The aim of this question is revealing FOs' rationales and strategies to create local change opportunities – this is, to promote complementary or alternative capability and capacity building efforts – by framing external interventions, creating alliances, involving third parties, participating in policy or politics and strengthening thematic networks.

A complementary dimension to this question refers to FOs' assessment of third-party involvement. The underlying assumption here is that externally formulated development projects operated in rural areas struggle with the aim of matching local priorities and acknowledging externalities hampering its implementation. Therefore FOs are often prompted to adapt to –and later on suffer the consequences– for taking shortsighted capability building opportunities.

A close reading of this research questions allows identifying of the various disciplinary streams framing the question. The selection of the expression “change agent” accounts for various ways of framing its action scope. First, that of institutional thinking, as an actor: “a single individual or a group functioning as a corporate actor (...) attaching a subjective and instrumental meaning” to its action (Ostrom, 2007). Second, from innovation studies, as a systemic intermediary: a systemic intermediary is an actor that “functions primarily in networks and systems (...), primarily operate in the public, public-private, but not exclusively in the private domain and focus on support at a strategic level” (Van Lente, 2003) prompting forms of intermediation, this is, acting “as an agent or broker in any aspect of the innovation process between two or more parties” (Howells, 2006). With this broadened scope I aim at capturing the interplay between both the cognitive and the institutional realm.

### ***Research rationale: assembling the puzzle***

The aim of this research, a close reading of farmers' organisations as change agents, defines its scope of interest. Accordingly, epistemological foundations of this research link to sociology of knowledge and discourse analysis. It is worth noting a dialogue with sociology of knowledge approach to discourse—SKAD—program (Keller, 2011). In spite of this research not being originally designed following SKAD, it shares its tenets, purpose and scope. It is likely that next analytic steps will make use of its tools.

In order to make the object knowable, this research frames an interpretive reference as a form of performative knowledge and further develops on its sources. This is, a development-based conception of agency (capacity development) is unpacked as a governance technology and rendered analytically operational. The resulting theoretical framework *constructs* on capacity developments' means, nurturing from various streams. Social studies of science and technology provide a frame of understanding of the object; institutional work provides conceptual tools related to institutions; innovation intermediation allows deepening on the means of the cognitive dimension.

The resulting framework allows addressing comprehensively the cognitive dimension of institutional work or, to phrase it on Foucault's light, making it possible specifying phenomena of knowledge/power intertwinement. As for this specific case the framework

allows addressing fields, settings and practices, making it possible to develop a typology of farmers' organisations strategies as change agents.

The fact that the framework itself constitutes a form of performative knowledge linking to capacity development (or for the sake of it, any form of power technology as policy or governance means) is inescapable. It is faithful, however, to an interpretive process and the purpose of addressing an elusive object. The result brings about outcomes on various disciplinary streams as well as on capacity development as a tool of development practice.

Operationally, the research follows an abductive rationale. The specific research questions serve both the theoretical and the empirical inquiries. They hold together the pieces of a theory/evidence puzzle in which clarifying theoretical resources and approaching empirical evidence allow delivering expected insights (Schwartz Shea, 2012).

### *The theoretical realm*

As said, the theoretical aim is finding or developing concepts allowing addressing change agency. Specifically, change agency strategies. To address this object, the capacity development framework plays as interpretive reference. It is a tool of development policy and practice and, as such, might be also a performative form of knowledge (Van Egmond & Zeiss, 2010). Capacity development refers to autonomy deployment in the pursuit of developmental value. Its sources are scattered and uneven in purpose and approach. As Alaerts (2009) points out, it is not based 'on solid and disciplinary research but rather on prima facie observation and intuitive analysis'. Mosse (2005) allows interpreting capacity development as a practice-based model emerging 'through critical reflections on practice' providing "'second-order' rationalisations [...] helping the way in which [...] practice is represented and communicated".

Capacity development is framed in the analysis as a governance technology embedding plausible foundations as an interpretive reference (Charmaz, 2014a, 2014b). Aiming to render capacity development analytically operational, theoretical tools are developed (Balanzó). These theoretical tools intertwine various disciplinary streams. On one hand, institutional work, building on institutional theory, inquires about change and stabilization of normative settings<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, innovation intermediation, showing a still scattered base with various tentative approaches, addresses the role of agency in innovation processes<sup>4</sup>. Both streams address multiple dimensions intervening in change efforts. Its findings complement each other, allowing a broader picture of an agent's strategies.

The result is a portfolio of knowledge repertoires of change agency, detailing the specific stances in which these forms of knowledge are deployed as agency means. Change agency is framed as pursuing means and effects both on the institutional and the

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<sup>3</sup> Among others: Battilana (2009); Lawrence, Leca, and Zilber (2013); Lawrence and Suddaby (2006); Pacheco, York, Dean, and Sarasvathy (2010); Zietsma and Lawrence (2010)

<sup>4</sup> Among others: Doganova (2013); Howells (2006); Kilelu, Klerkx, Leeuwis, and Hall (2011); Klerkx, Schut, Leeuwis, and Kilelu (2012); Van Lente (2003); Yang, Klerkx, and Leeuwis (2014)

cognitive dimension. Rather than linearly correspond to each other, these dimensions complement its various facets. The analysis infers a set of knowledge stances: knowledge-related patterns at the core of change agency strategies (See Section 5).

#### *The empirical realm*

On the empirical realm, the research recurs to a multi-sited study case. The inquiry requires emphasis on historical and present accounts of FOs' relations at the meso level. Rather than developing a comparative scheme between organizations, the inquiry develops thematic accounts unfolding reiterative threads (See section 6).

Selection of the case obeys to the aim of expanding the possibility of addressing FOs' strategies, while keeping an adequate balance in the heterogeneity of the cases. Other criteria respond to access, feasibility and safety means. As a result, it is decided focusing on Colombian cocoa-producer FOs located in isolated rural areas. The National Cocoa Network grants access with an agreement.

Next chapters further develop this description, with a general focus on the theoretical aspects. First section focuses on the epistemological-theoretical realm. Capacity development is discussed as interpretive reference and the knowledge repertoire perspective is presented. Second section presents the empirical realm: with a general description of the case and an illustration of preliminary findings.

### **3. Inner workings of a technology of governance**

This section discusses the rationales of the capacity development framework. It follows a twofold purpose. First, deepening on understanding of the framework as a discursive dispositive (Foucault, 1972; Keller, 2011). Second, assessing what framework's elements allow grounding theory (Charmaz, 2014a). The analysis describes capacity development as a tool of international development policy, by means of describing its background settings, discussing its epistemic status and deepening on its (concealed) assumptions. It also reflects on the reach and scope of its rationales as a point of reference for theoretical inquiries, identifying core building blocks.

#### **What is Capacity Development?<sup>5</sup>**

There are various definitions of capacity development, all of them originating from international development sector. A brief review of the most common include: United Nations' s (2008a), as "the process through which individuals, organizations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time". The World Bank (2009), defines the term as the "locally driven process of learning by leaders, coalitions and other agents of change that brings about changes in socio-political, policy-related, and organizational factors to enhance local ownership for and the effectiveness and efficiency of efforts to achieve a

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<sup>5</sup> This section will present analytical context useful to the purpose of understanding the identity of a change agent, as framed by the capacity development framework. It will highlight some features of the framework as a conceptual source. It is not intended to present here a thorough review of capacity development literature as a corpus, but rather to discuss its background and rationales.

development goal". The OECD (2006) uses "the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully". Finally, the ECDPM's (2009), defines capacity development as "change processes (in) the ability of a human system to perform, sustain itself and self-renew". Capacity Development is therefore a heuristic referring to increasing autonomy deployment processes in the pursuit of developmental value.

Tenets of capacity as a notion can be traced to Sen's and Nussbaum's works on human capabilities. Sen (from economics) and Nussbaum (from ethics and law) propose seminal insights for the human development framework (Gasper, 2003). In this framework, human beings and sustainability are to be regarded as the priorities for development efforts. Human capacities are understood as both the means and the ends of development. Acknowledging, creating and maintaining capacity is, in this sense, acknowledging, creating and maintaining development (UNDP, 2010a). "When we talk about capacity"—says Sen—"what we are ultimately looking for is for the capacity of human being, what they are capable of doing, what they have the freedom to do" (UNDP, 2010b). These principles are at the core of the concept's axiological references<sup>6</sup>.

Further, these concepts have helped building institutions within development practice, with ideas and involvement of both formal networks (e.g. OECD's GOVNET's reference DAC-OECD, 2006), informal networks (e.g. LenCD.org, 2013) as well as independent consultants (e.g. Morgan, 1997). Tracing back capacity development sources allows seeing its role as a battle ship in pushing change of international aid architecture. It took a couple of decades of transformation of aid underlying rationales, specially in the realm of technical assistance (Dabelstein, 2012). The concept as such helped framing alternative approaches, creating a path (e.g. Browne, 2002) and scoping and embedding new practices on development agencies (e.g. DAC-OECD, 2006; S. A. Otoo, Natalia; Behrens, Joy, 2009; UNDP, 2008b).

The term plays a role as an umbrella concept (Swierstra & Rip, 2007), nurtured from various development fields, scales and functions. It will be referred here as the capacity development framework, as referring to a single entity, in spite of its more or less scattered nature. Follows a description of its underlying rationales.

#### ***a. 'Theorizing' social learning***

The aim of the capacity development framework is making sense of social learning as a vehicle for 'development' or 'social change', unveiling the necessary means to strive for it (e.g. Brinkerhoff & Morgan, 2010; Taylor, 2007). Capacity development texts try to assemble the various pieces of the puzzle, addressing this subject as comprehensively as possible. This includes the distributed capabilities that learning and change of individuals, organizations and societies would imply (e.g. Alaerts, 2009; Kaspersma,

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<sup>6</sup> The term development is expressed in the human development framework as "a process of enlarging people's choices. The most critical of these wide-ranging choices are to live a long and healthy life, to be educated and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living. Additional choices include political freedom, guaranteed human rights and personal self-respect and the sustainability framework" (DAC-OECD, 2006) . When not used with brackets, the term development is referring to this definition.



2013; Morgan, 2005). But also the role that more complex social processes involving power, local history and change drivers play. DAC-OECD (2006) stresses how “capacity is not only about skills and procedures; it is also about incentives and governance”.

The link between these dimensions—the account of distributed capabilities and governance—suggests some practical understanding of the cognitive dimension of institutional work (see Lawrence et al. (2013)). But, what type of understanding is it? How is this object addressed within practice itself? In order to answer I will draw on various ways to address the matter.

A first topic refers to the *contents* of ‘social change’. What is ‘development’ on practice? Whose is ‘development’ practice? How is ‘development’ practice? These questions lay at the core of the framework, as a guiding puzzle of its texts. Further, lenses framing these questions imply a non-material understanding of change. Or at least imply more importance is given to non-material phenomena as a determinant of change. To specify these realm, Ferreira (2012) brings about the concept of social technologies as a practice object. Social technologies are “methods and designs for organizing people in pursuit of a goal or goals” (Beinhocker, 2006). According to Beinhocker, social technologies include institutions – in North’s sense (1990)– but also include “other ingredients such as structures, roles and cultural norms”.

Examples of social technologies are facilitation methodologies, management practices, electoral systems or rural small market cultures. Changes on social technologies, says Ferreira, suppose dialogues between various ‘local’ and ‘general’ knowledges. The use of the plural form for knowledge is deliberate: it implies convergence of multiple sources, rationales and values behind knowledge. These sources would refer to social technologies’ components, dimensions or processes. Dialogue between knowledges, it would be expected, creates new ways of understanding and constructing local realities.

A second topic refers to the epistemic nature of the capacity development framework. The work of Mosse (2005) on development allows interpreting the development framework as a practice-based model. Following Mosse, it is likely that this model emerged ‘through critical reflections on practice’ providing “second-order rationalisations [...] helping the way in which [...] practice is represented and communicated”. Following this thread, the epistemic value of the capacity development framework is bounded by practice to the scope of a model-based project-sized prescriptive approach.

This does not mean the framework lacks conceptual anchoring. Institutional thought is embedded in the approaches of the World Bank, OECD and United Nations. While the systemic complex adaptive thinking shapes, more explicitly, the ECDPM approach. This would allow to see the capacity development framework as a performative boundary object (Van Egmond & Zeiss, 2010). Capacity development texts, however, do not delve scholarly into these disciplinary fields. They do not give step-by-step accounts of its rationales and assumptions and do not discuss any disciplinary research (Alaerts, 2009). Some more detail on this matter will be discussed later.

A third topic draws into what is assumed as knowledgeable sources to nurture and reflect on capacity development within the practice. Along with the core capacity

development reference documents from international organisations, semi-formal and informal networks play a role as knowledge reservoirs. Here the notion of knowledge is closer to that of knowledge managers. These reservoirs include sector organizational and contact information, as well as reference sources. LenCD and Capacity, for example, display experiences (cases, editorials, critical reflections), practice-oriented resources (handbooks, concept notes, toolboxes) or focused peer-to-peer assistance (topic communities). Sometimes they also edit bulletins or journals. These networks are specially focused on capacity development as a topic. Other networks, such as km4dev—knowledge management for development—, link to them by means of its interest on addressing knowledge in development. This purpose accounts for knowledge functions, problems or tools, addressed by and to any setting within the world of development.

Scholar references nurturing these networks are scattered in types of content, purpose and approach. The references somehow resemble practice itself, in the sense of bringing analytical frames to describe, justify or explain practice. In order to do this, disciplinary sources are adapted or re-contextualized. Innovation studies or knowledge management languages appear often, although its 'natural' settings do not necessarily fit development rationales (e.g. Klerkx et al., 2011; Ngwenya & Hagmann, 2011). Interestingly, development industry is rapidly acquiring innovation languages.

Summing up, the capacity development framework constitutes a relevant source for 'development'. 'Development' refers to transformations (absorption, learning, innovation) in the realm of social technologies. The capacity development framework expresses understanding of complex layers of social processes and attempts addressing them, drawing on models. This models are here means of theory, providing abstract understanding of phenomena (Abend, 2008). Networks behind it nurture and share a set of (mostly experience-based) knowledge resources available to practice.

At the theoretical level, however, the framework is limited: first, core documents are focused on practice, with little expression of their relation to disciplinary sources. The texts embed disciplinary explanations as model rationales, in the form of normative references (e.g. S. A. Otoo, Natalia; Behrens, Joy, 2009). Related scholar work resembles practice itself bringing tools to enlarge its conceptual reach and its interpretative scope.

### ***b. Analytical scope***

The capacity development framework does not address explicitly an account of its analytical scope. It is possible to infer it, however, by means of its role and settings as a concept. This is, in other words, answering to the questions: what kind of practice does the concept inform and for whom?

As said, capacity development performs as an embedded tool of developing practice. It informs policymaking, project management and boundary relations with aid stakeholders and operators. Its regular setting is that of the meso level. The meso level is defined as the concrete sphere where encounters between diverse organizations take place. The sphere in which, in the interaction of actors in "fields, arenas or games (...) social orders (...) are constructed and reproduced" (Fligstein, 2001, p. 5). Meso level comprises the

interactions of diverse organizations, whatever their purpose and nature, and the forms of practice and institutional spheres they build on that process. These arrangements play roles at the local, regional, national and international levels.

The capacity development framework attempts to identify and address lasting features of the meso level. Although its rationale is situated at the project level, its concern for building enabling environments (e.g. DAC-OECD, 2006; S. A. Otoo, Natalia; Behrens, Joy, 2009; UNDP, 2008b) expresses understanding and intentional agency towards sustained governance and institutional depth (e.g. World Bank, 2012).

This form of agency, this is, pro-development-through-interaction-at-the-meso-level, is built and suggested by the collection of models informing the framework. These models are often presented as a result of learning processes (e.g. Browne, 2003; DAC-OECD, 2006; ECDPM, 2008). And inform, guide or frame practice by means of setting guidelines (e.g. UNDP, 2008c), assessment of previous experiences (e.g. ECDPM, 2008), evaluation criteria (e.g. S. Otoo, Agapitova, & Behrens, 2009), or facilitation references (e.g. JICA Research Institute, 2008).

### ***c. Identifying and Linking Capacity Levels***

How does the capacity development framework address capacity? Aforementioned definitions of capacity refer to individuals and organizations, but also to less concrete levels, such as the society, the system and/or the enabling environments. The framework assumes a close interrelation between these levels. Follows some detail of this approach.

The notion of enabling environment describes “the broader system within which individuals and organizations function and one that facilitates or hampers their existence and performance” (Land, 2009). In a sense, it describes an aggregation of social technologies, to use Beinhocker’s concept. The enabling environment is the changing – trending and/or conflicting – space of encounter between organizations and the cultures it is drawn upon. But also that of the multiple forms of institutions: the less tangible ‘rules of the game’ and the formal ones in the form of norms or policies (UNDP, 2008b). All these elements constrain or foster change. In spite of the difficulties of effectively addressing this level, it is regarded as a core objective of capacity development efforts.

The organizational level is perceived as functional to the enabling environment level. Therefore, the capacity development framework stresses the organization’s effectiveness at delivering on mandates as a core performance criterion (ECDPM, 2008; Mentz, 1997). From this starting point, various aspects referring to organizational capabilities extend the capacity development literature. The individual level, again, is subordinated to the organizational level. The capacity development approach supposes an evolution from a generic provision of disperse technical assistance and training initiatives to a more systematic comprehension of social learning processes and decision making, thus to a more strategic role of individual’s potential in organizational contexts (Browne, 2003).

### ***d. Change agents or the means of governance***

Who brings about change? The capacity development framework proposes that social change can be triggered and led by the diverse actors within society. The World Bank (2011) define change agents as “leaders, groups, coalitions and others that can initiate and drive positive changes towards the achievement of a development goal”. In this sense, neither the type of agent nor her impact scale is relevant, for developmental value is not exclusively a state matter (DAC-OECD, 2011).

The assumption that “*any* actor can initiate and drive change” suggests a specific understanding of policy and governance. Comes to mind aforesaid Ostrom’s definition of an *actor*: “a single individual or a group functioning as a corporate actor”, and of *action*: those “human behaviors to which the acting individual attaches a subjective and instrumental meaning’ (Ostrom, 2007). This understanding implies power distribution at multiple levels, *including* that of the international and non-governmental agencies authoring the framework.

In effect, pursuing ‘developmental’ value (as any other value) supposes defying (with more or less degrees of antagonism) a certain state of affairs. It is not difficult assuming that such an endeavour enacts a purpose, responds to (more or less legitimate and shared) motives, is expressed in a (more or less elaborated) discourse and is (more or less) contested by other actors. Policy, following this thread, is seen (and enacted) by the capacity development framework as the result of a multiple governance grid (Hupe, 2006).

The capacity development framework, as discussed earlier, does not overlook the existence of political struggle in these processes. However, following the rationale of social learning as social change, it emphasizes its contents. Or as Li (1999) understands it, renders it as a technical matter. Change agents, from this perspective, are vehicles of knowledge and institutional entrepreneurs (DiMaggio, 1988): they are means for the building of competence, organizational accountability and institutions.

In sum, the capacity development framework addresses the means by which actors play a governing role at the meso level. The framework is intended as a mean to inform practice, and is informed by theoretical sources and accounts of experience referring to practice itself. These models and the collection of models itself illustrate the inner workings of a governance technology.

### **Constructive means for theory grounding on capacity development**

What does this account of the capacity development framework unveil? In short: the capacity development framework illustrates a detailed example of the practical means of governance endeavours. Or, in other words, it shows detail of the means and rationales of a governance technology—of this development policy tool as *dispositif* (Foucault, 1972). Further, it shows the inner workings of a *change oriented* governance technology.

As said, the framework embeds theoretical and practical informed understanding of i) governance settings, set at the meso level; ii) governance manifold layered accounts, specified by capacity levels and interaction fields; iii) governance means, focused on the

realm of (social) cognition, iv) explicit embedding of various disciplinary streams. These features are able to set a reference landmark for a theoretical inquiry on agency.

What follows represents a constructive theoretical effort based on these assumptions and an interpretative reading of disciplinary references. It aims at setting theoretical anchors for this research so as to assess farmers' organisations strategies as change agents. In doing so, it also helps unveiling capacity development's (change-oriented) agency black box and informing scholarship from a practice-informed boundary-object model.

#### **4. Foundations of the knowledge-repertoire perspective**

Capacity development has been discussed here as a technology of governance, a form of agency at the meso level in pursuit of (public value-driven) change. It depicts change as possibly triggered in various ways and led by diverse types of actors. According to its tenets, a change agent should impact one or various layers of social life in order to promote change. Social change is expected as a result and a mean of change knowledge, expressed in skills and capabilities, as well as in individual and organizational roles, norms and institutions.

Accordingly, this paper sets the scope of change agency strategies as the performance of institutional work and innovation intermediation strategies. Institutional work is 'purposive action aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions' (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 215). Institutions are 'the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction'(North, 1990, p. 3). Innovation intermediation is the 'support of innovation processes between various parties' (Howells, 2006, p. 720) that aims to obtain and sustain knowledge-related assets such as skills, competences and/or new knowledges.

Further in this document I identify and address explicitly the various knowledge-related features visible on that combination and discuss its interplay. It is intended as a broad theoretical framework, focused on a rather generic view of agency and therefore useful to address specific settings of any agent. The exercise results in a knowledge-repertoire perspective showing change agency facets in the attempt of creating, stabilizing and expanding fields of practice (cf, Barnes, 2001; Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina, & von Savigny, 2001).

In the next sections I will discuss the two streams in which this theoretical model was built: On one hand, institutional work, building on institutional theory, inquires about change and stabilization of normative settings. On the other hand, innovation intermediation, showing a still scattered base with various tentative approaches, addresses the role of agency in innovation processes. Both streams have found that pushing change comprises multiple dimensions. Therefore its findings complement each other, allowing a broader picture of an agent.

## **Institutional work**

As referred, the notion of institutional work is used to describe 'the broad category of purposive action aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions'(Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 216). As a field of study, institutional work interconnects various roots. The first root brings agency to the fore of institutional change. It describes agency as 'dependent on cognitive (rather than affective) processes and structures [and] focuses on understanding how actors accomplish the social construction of rules, scripts, schemas and cultural accounts' (2006, p. 218). This foundation is based on contributions by DiMaggio (1988) and Oliver (1991) on institutional entrepreneurship and institutional processes, respectively. Therefore institutions—and change processes in institutions—are, in this sense, the result of deliberate agency.

A second root of institutional work comes from practice. The notion of practice is a contribution of sociology of practice. Practice draws attention to how institutions are expressed in embodied, incarnated forms. It refers to 'embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding' ((Schatzki et al., 2001, p. 2), quoted by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006)) [ENREF 58](#). Practice is an object of concern of change agency. Practice work, as a form of institutional work, studies 'how actors affect the practices that are legitimate within a domain (...[focusing]...) on how practices are created, maintained or disrupted' (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010, pp. 194-195). Practice as institutional work relies on knowledge processes: training, educating, theorising, building or strengthening skills and capabilities.

A third root of institutional work comes from boundary work. Boundaries draw borders between practices, organizations, constituencies or stakeholders. Boundary work refers to various forms of agency oriented to 'establishing, expanding, reinforcing, or undermining' these borders (Zietsma and Lawrence (2010, p. 194) about Gieryn (1983, 1999)). From a 'positioning' perspective of agency, these forms and contexts of boundary work create room for various agency repertoires, depending on the position and contexts of agency. Depending on the agency contexts, the agent will play various possible positions.

In a 'within' position, an agent creates ways to 'protect autonomy, prestige and control of resources' (Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) about Abbott (1988)). In a 'between' or 'outside' position, agency focuses on strategies to create connections. This is, being a boundary spanning actor (Bartel, 2001; Hargadon & Sutton, 1997) and, going some steps further, play various possible games at the borders. It might be managing cross-boundary connections, as Hoppe (2010a) describes for the case of science/government in the Netherlands. Or relate, in less collaborative contexts, to boundary breaching. This is, framing and mobilizing resources as strategies to influence opportunity structures (Benford & Snow, 2000; Zald & McCarthy, 1987).

A fourth root of institutional work brings to the fore the role of boundary objects. Boundary objects are any kind of processes or artefacts establishing a shared context between boundaries (Bechky, 2003; Carlile, 2002; Kellogg, Orlikowski, & Yates, 2006; Star & Griesemer, 1989). Boundary objects are relevant in the context of change agency, I argue, because shared contexts create room for repertoires of institutional

work and practice work. In global development, for example, projects, programmes and policies have special interest. Hoppe (2010b) discusses the extent to which such devices perform around climate change, to name an example.

Change agency describes forms of institutional work. As such, it is 'intelligent, situated institutional action (...[which is based on]...) the creative and knowledgeable work of actors which may or may not achieve its desired ends and which interacts with existing social and technological structures in unintended and unexpected ways' (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 219). Change agency, therefore, is an attempt to push forward the cycle of creation, maintenance and disruption of institutional change (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010).

This section described the role of agency as a force pushing change on institutions. It presented various theoretical aspects situating agency, practice, and boundary work as means of institutional work. It also described the role of boundary objects in institutional work. The next section discusses agency features of innovation intermediation.

### **Innovation intermediation**

It is argued that innovation intermediation is a complementary dimension of change agency. In the realm of development practice, the notion of innovation is rather generic. It stands for the incorporation of alternative ways of thinking, doing and organising. Its relevance resides on its change-oriented purpose and not on the extent of its originality. In this section I will briefly describe innovation intermediation literature in order to discuss some features of this dimension.

An innovation intermediary is defined as an organization or body that acts as an agent or broker in any aspect of the innovation process between two or more parties. Such intermediary activities include: helping to provide information about potential collaborators; brokering a transaction between two or more parties; acting as a mediator, or go-between, for bodies or organizations that are already collaborating; and helping find advice, funding and support for the innovation outcomes of such collaborations (Howells, 2006, p. 720)

As in the case of change agents, any actor can play the role of an innovator intermediary. It has been noted how public, private or civil actors perform this role. It has also been noted that this role can be performed as a specialized function (usually coined as "innovation brokering") or as one among other activities (Yang et al., 2014).

Innovation intermediation encompasses a wide range of functions. The World Bank (2007) points out how various support activities are as important as knowledge access in innovation processes. Some of these activities relate to institutional work, in various fields. A first field, related to norms and standards, includes fostering change in norms, regulations or other regulating practices. A second field, related to boundary work, includes activities to find and create connections between various actors and prompting

policy changes<sup>7</sup>. A third field relates to gatekeeping in networking activities, such as filtering and matchmaking (Kilelu et al., 2011).

Some other innovation intermediation functions relate to knowledge itself. Farmer cooperatives, for example, engage in 'generating contextual and integrated knowledge, filling the gap between segmented and fragmented expert knowledge (as present in the agricultural science system) and complex farm-level realities and everyday farming practice'(Yang, 2013, p. 77). Intermediation goes beyond knowledge brokering. Other functions such as organizational development and capacity building have been found to enlarge the picture, presenting other types of knowledge-oriented processes as a complementary support function (Kilelu et al., 2011).

Literature on innovation intermediaries has labelled some agents as systemic intermediaries. A systemic intermediary is an actor that 'functions primarily in networks and systems (...), primarily operate in the public, public-private, but not exclusively in the private domain and focus on support at a strategic level'(Van Lente, 2003, p. 255). Farmers' organizations, to enlighten the case in point, could be addressed also as systemic intermediaries in developing countries (cf. Klerkx & Leeuwis, 2009).

To some extent, literature seems to indicate that innovation intermediaries are change agents, in the sense that they have been referred to in this paper. It is arguable that the distinction resides on the agency context and the agent nature. Whereas in some contexts (territories, fields or sectors) the quality and extent of an innovation does not have a comprehensive impact, it might have it in others. Following this thread, it can be said that public, private, civil or hybrid agents deploy specific change concerns. Those pursuing comprehensive changes and driven by development-oriented values are likely to play the role of change agents as framed by capacity development.

This section introduced innovation intermediaries, discussing some of its functions. It described how innovation intermediaries perform various forms of institutional work. It briefly introduced the knowledge-related nature of innovation intermediaries and discussed its relation with the notions of change agency and systemic innovation.

In this section the paper deepened on the building blocks of the knowledge-repertoire perspective: institutional work and innovation intermediation. The section discussed the roles that agency, practice, boundaries and objects play as aspects of institutional work. It also presented a brief overview of innovation intermediaries' definition and functions. It highlighted common features with institutional work and noted some aspects in relation with change agency. The next section will discuss the knowledge-repertoires perspective.

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<sup>7</sup> Boundary work activities can exceed the realm of searching for innovation opportunity settings. Depending on the context, boundary work can relate to strategic positioning of the intermediary. Farmer cooperatives, to keep on the example, have been described as non-neutral intermediaries aiming to gain a better position for farmers in the agricultural value chain and the agricultural innovation system (Hussein, 2001). Therefore boundary work at this level implies also leverage strategies in markets and political arenas.



## 5. A knowledge-repertoire perspective on change agency

The section above discussed institutional work and innovation intermediation streams of literature. They are regarded as valuable conceptual references to create a comprehensive view on change agency. This section discusses the knowledge-repertoire perspective. As a whole, the section shows a strong focus on the cognitive dimension and its scope. It identifies and defines knowledge-based notions bringing together institutional work and innovation intermediation literature. Already identified common threads are discussed. The section highlights the dimensions or components in which these sources overlap as well as its place as knowledge stances in the knowledge-repertoire analytical perspective, discussed below.

This section presents a theoretical base, which allows addressing knowledge-related features of change agency in the realm of capacity development. Let us remember that as a framework, capacity development focuses on increasing autonomy deployment in the pursuit of lasting developmental value. Capacity development is both the means and the end of this framework. This section discusses analytically the knowledge-repertoire perspective to address change agency in this context.

The knowledge-repertoire perspective focuses on a cognitive dimension of agency in capacity development purposes. Here, change agency is rendered as an act of positioning (Downey, 1992) describing strategies as adaptive forms of practical coping (Chia & Holt, 2006). In this sense, a change agency strategy is a function of the agent's relative position in her context. Knowledge contents feeding these repertoires are context specific and relate to a specific appreciation of institutional and cognitive settings, but also to politic (Mosse, 2005) and calculative (Callon, 1998) embedded settings.

### Knowledge Repertoires

The expression knowledge-repertoires refer to a broad category of knowledge-related functions to be found in change agency processes. Following the tenets of this paper, this analysis links knowledge to a perspective of knowledgeable persons instead of that of abstracted knowledge types (Goldkuhl & Röstlinger, 2002).

#### *Knowledge Enactment*

Knowledge enactment refers to a base of given or incarnated knowledge (Berger, 1991; Varela, 2000). It draws from the assumption that all human action, speech and object embody knowledge. This assertion finds roots in cognitive science (Varela, 2000), sociology of knowledge (Markelova, Meinzen-Dick, Hellin, & Dohrn, 2009), the 'practice turn' of sociology (Schatzki et al., 2001) and knowledge management (cf, Goldkuhl & Röstlinger, 2002).

Here knowledge is enacted (related to the world-at-hand in which knowledge has a domain). Incarnated (received and shaped in a human bodily basis). And intersubjective (a product of human collective nature) (Maturana & Varela, 1990). Knowledge

enactment lies at the foundations of the knowledge-repertoire perspective. It stems the overarching cognitive dimension of the theoretical framework.

Knowledge enactment embeds two complementary analytical frames. First, it provides a setting to acknowledge the features of specific agents and their specific contexts. This accounts for the multiple relations of non-tangible human features (e.g. culture, organizational culture, cognition, capabilities, social capital etc.) as well as their location and (multiple possible relations) with a materially bounded space and time (Boisier, 2006). Rough shapes of figure 1 illustrate this idea, depicting the bounded nature of human experience as well as the diverse and multifaceted nature of its agencies.

A second analytical frame relates to practice as a form of enacted knowledge. Practice “consists of humans and their shared practical understandings, and codifications of such understandings in a common language, and also of material objects (artefacts) used in the practice” (Goldkuhl & Röstlinger, 2002). This is the base for knowledge storage. The ‘intentional or unintentional process leading to accumulated knowledge’ in which ‘the act of adding to the existing knowledge stocks in active use by an individual, group or organization’ takes place (Carlile & Reberich, 2003, p. 1187). Following this thread, *practice work* would be a means of change agency, while a *practice field* would be its end.

In effect, some specific features of this repertoire are forms of institutional work. Practice is a form of placing boundaries. Practice ‘determines what actions count as enactments of the practice’ (Goldkuhl & Röstlinger, 2002, p. 2). Practice is performed within a practice (meaning a context, a share code, a set of routines) and to some extent is determined for the practice itself. This normative backdrop of practice embodies a cognitive—enacted—dimension of institutional work.

Further, this feature is also the source of boundaries. Practice expresses the social technologies of any local culture at a given time, and therefore the features of inter-organizational exchange, encounter, clash, agreement or compromise at the meso level. This token applies for state agencies and international and grassroots organizations alike. Often local cultures depict ‘invisible’ or ‘contradictory’ knowledges hitting intended change settings (cf. Mosse, 2005).

As for the case of innovation intermediation, this repertoire refers to the boundaries of enacted knowledge. Enacted knowledge has a specific domain of experience, and a specific set of explanations of that domain (Maturana & Varela, 1990). Local processes start from enacted knowledge in a given context at a given moment. Exchange—at the spatial, organizational, functional or field level—implies shifting, scaling, expanding, re-creating or re-signifying the enacted knowledge base and/or the institutional settings.

Although these processes could or not imply boundary work in terms of institutional work, they might imply boundary effects in the practice base. In the scope of capacity development strategies, this also means the creation of practice spaces in which shared codes account for collaborative settings in which agency is shared. There is no need to stress the challenges (and the real extent of change) this implies both at the policy and the practice levels (Mosse, 2005).

### *Knowledge supply*

Knowledge supply refers to a broad range of practices bridging knowledge producers and users. It refers to an offer-demand relation in which the agent provides knowledge solutions to a knowledge user. Whether directly (on the assumption the agent has the solution herself) or indirectly, this is appointing suitable sources (Turnhout, Stuiver, Klostermann, Harms, & Leeuwis, 2013, p. 361).

This repertoire should not be associated solely with technical or expert forms of knowledge. Literature addresses also context-related knowledges, such as foresights, forecasting, intelligence and market research (Howells, 2006). Further, it is argued this knowledge base includes incarnated forms of knowledge. Experiencing contact with specific contexts, such as markets, organizations, procedures or fora are both forms of scaling a practice base and prompting boundary work.

As described above, knowledge supply often performs a support function in innovation intermediation. Depending on the agency context it might relate to capacity building or organizational strengthening efforts. But it might also relate to boundary setting efforts, as is often the case in policy advisory settings. Therefore, although this repertoire can be easily assimilated as a form of practice work (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010), it performs also in the realm of boundaries.

### *Knowledge intermediation*

Knowledge intermediation describes various forms of engagement within or between knowledge stakeholders. Here the institutional base is kept and knowledge stakeholders can be recognized as part of separate practice/interest fields or domains. Some literature refers to knowledge intermediation and some to knowledge brokering to describe similar phenomena. Knowledge intermediation brings to the fore the theoretical discussion about mediation (cf. Latour, 1994) and intermediation (Doganova, 2013; Meyer & Kearnes, 2013; Schlierf & Meyer, 2013). Knowledge brokering has enlarged a base of repertoires with an experimental approach (Schut, van Paassen, Leeuwis, & Klerkx, 2013; Turnhout et al., 2013). In spite of their backgrounds, I will refer to both terms as synonyms, using them interchangeably.

A first form of the knowledge intermediation repertoire is close to knowledge supply. It involves a clarifying role about the knowledge demand of the user (Turnhout et al., 2013). As showed earlier, for the case of rural organizations this role has been described as 'articulating and voicing demand of farmer's needs' (Yang et al., 2014, p. 116). This role resembles the retrieval phase of knowledge management cycles, focused on 'identifying knowledge that is likely to result in the satisfaction of a need or solution to a problem' (Carlile & Rebentisch, 2003, p. 1189), or as Howells (2006) describes it, filtering.

Another form is knowledge processing, generation and combination. Howells (2006) recognises two forms of this repertoire: first, a combinatorial form, in which the intermediary helps to combine knowledge. Second, a generation and recombination form, in which in-house result is combined with partner knowledge. This repertoire has been studied at the rural grassroot level. There are practices of 'engaging and

supporting actors (farmers, researchers) in participatory knowledge generation through facilitating demand led research or articulating experimental/local knowledge' (Yang et al., 2014, p. 116). In its more specialised forms, intermediation supposes forms of translation between domains and facilitation in pursue of 'doable problems' (Fujimura, 1987; Latour, 1994) within feasible inter-organizational frameworks.

In sum, knowledge intermediation repertoire stands for a variety of forms of knowledge circulation, scaling out and scaling up. As a function it can be attributed to a variety of agents, and supposes deployment of various possible repertoires, varying on innovativeness themselves. Effects on agents' positions, specific roles and repertoires are dependent on their innovation contexts (Kilelu et al., 2011).

### *Knowledge exploration*

The last repertoire is knowledge exploration. Knowledge exploration refers generically to practices of knowledge production. It accounts for various knowledge contents and sources nurturing *knowledge supply* and *intermediation*.

However, there is also knowledge exploration in the pursuit of joint quests, as it was pointed out in the knowledge enactment repertoire. Knowledge exploration tends to appear in settings in which uncertainty prevails. A salient feature of this repertoire relates to its effect in boundaries: they tend to blur, or re-define. This repertoire captures 'how knowledge inter-mediators account for the unpredictability and uncertainty of their practices and activities and the fact that new knowledge and identities arise out of this' (Schlierf & Meyer, 2013, p. 435).

Therefore, knowledge exploration repertoire has possible effects both at the innovation and the boundary levels. Doganova (2013, p. 450) describes as a distinctive characteristic of exploration the fact that 'the socio-technical collective involved cannot be known ex ante: it is a result of the exploratory process, rather than its point of departure'. Hoppe (2010a) discusses a similar image in a different setting. He raises a case about scientific advice and policy making in The Netherlands, describing how both advisors and policy makers to some extent, share knowledge production at a given time.

In this sense, knowledge exploration repertoire could be described as a form of co-production (Ostrom, 1996, 2005), and as such, a form of boundary work with a twofold possible outcome. First, as forms of practice innovation in a specific niche (cf. Geels, 2002), affecting practice to some extent (local, sectorial or regime level) by collaborative means. Or second, by describing mechanisms of boundary work as a form of change by engagement in collaborative/explorative settings (cf. Cajaiba-Santana, 2014). Later I will deepen on this specific feature of knowledge exploration a separate knowledge stance of the theoretical framework, as *boundary exploration*).

To synthesize, this section discussed knowledge repertoires, highlighting the knowledge-related dimension of change agency. It presented various knowledge repertoires: enacting, supply, intermediation and exploration. These repertoires describe forms of agency distilled from the realms of institutional work and innovation intermediation, nurturing the knowledge repertoire perspective as a comprehensive framework. The section discussed both their specificities and their overlaps. It elaborated on the

distinction of the various components and dimensions at play in change agency processes.

### Knowledge Stances

The knowledge-repertoire perspective assumes that change agency pursues means and effects both on the institutional and the cognitive dimension. Figure 5.1 presents this idea. Rather than corresponding to each other in a linear form, these dimensions support or complement its various facets. Change agency is here described as combinations of knowledge repertoires in the pursuit of creating, stabilizing and expanding a field of practice.

The figure illustrates the rough, uneven, incomplete, iterative, adaptive landscape of knowledge repertoires. Agency is depicted here in the performance of various repertoires deployed in the attempt of bringing change about. Repertoires of boundary exploration and practice work are shown as forms of positioning and expanding a practice base. Repertoires of knowledge exploration, intermediation and supply are shown as strategies to enlarge its cognitive base.

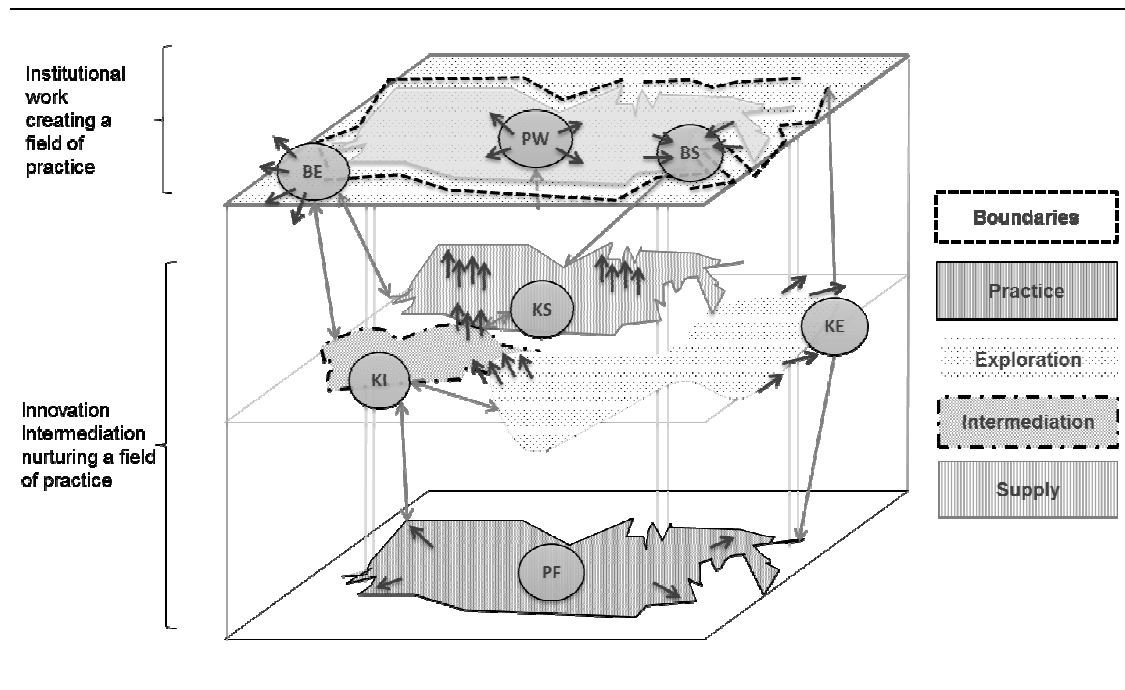


Figure 5.1. The Knowledge Repertoire Theoretical Perspective. The illustration depicts knowledge repertoires as interdependent dimensions. Layer at the top shows knowledge repertoires in function of institutional work. Boundaries, in dotted lines, are means to create and strengthen a field of practice. The middle and bottom layers show the interplay of innovation repertoires around practice. It illustrates the reinforcing dialogue of research, intermediation and supply repertoires nurturing a practice base.

The circled references focus attention on some specific points of the illustration. These numbers aim to capture critical components of the knowledge-repertoire perspective as means of an analytic synthesis.

Each circled number points at a specific knowledge-related change agent stance. The term stance accounts here for a knowledge-related setting specifying a 'situation'. This is, a set of conditions expressing the purpose or context of its agency. A stance specifies critical moments involving knowledge in which change agents incur. As such, stances work as heuristics addressing moments, scopes, situations and/or modes of performance of knowledge repertoires. Stances mark distinctions of overlapping features by pointing to specific knowledge-related contexts, impacting boundaries, institutions and/or practice. Knowledge stances might be intertwined, and at a given time could condition each other.

Pointers in the upper side of the illustration emphasize the cognitive dimension of institutional work. Pointers in the middle, point to specific modes of innovation intermediation. As it is seen, these knowledge stances perform both as means of institutional work and practice. A last spot, at the bottom, illustrates how it all sums up to the consolidation of a practice field. Follows a detailed glossary of knowledge stances, synthesizing this discussion:

**BE.** Boundary exploration: refers to meso-level collaborative quests. In this kind of quest, boundaries seem to be blurred, indicating forms of shared agency. Implications of collaborative quests vary for involved agents. Boundary exploration is a form of institutional work aiming creating opportunities for practice or expanding existing practice fields.

I will use a recursive example in order to convey more clearly the message. The rise of capacity development as a framework involved UNDP and OECD efforts, some of them in the context of multilateral networks such as GovNET (OECD, 2006). Tracing the history by analysing capacity development's texts makes it difficult to assess who is leading the process on various moments.

**PW.** Practice work: refers to knowledge exploration, intermediation and supply aiming to create, consolidate or disrupt a practice field. Practice work often includes boundary work as means of legitimacy on local or sectorial realms. Capacity development mis-en-scene included showcasing a book in Monterrey's Conference on Financing Development. (See: Fukuda-Parr, 2002). I will get back to this event later.

**BS.** Boundary setting: boundary setting refers to agency situation and deployment in relation to institutional (normative, inter-organisational) specifications. It can be addressed both as a noun and as a verb. Follows detail:

Boundary settings (as a noun) refer to any form of institutional arrangements at the meso level, varying according to practice fields. As such, boundary settings frame the extent of knowledge stances and contents on a specific field. Boundary settings exist either as a starting point framing agency or as a result of agency endeavours.

Here an example: at the very beginning, capacity development term renders a compendium of lessons learned, emerging reflections of evaluation results on technical assistance aiming to reform international aid. The term reframes “capacity building”, enlarging its reach. This process takes place within development practice and according to the boundary setting in which takes place. Its function within practice expresses both its epistemic extent and its role in practice work.

On the other side and after various endeavours fuelling boundary exploration (via supply, intermediation, and exploration), capacity development lays the grounding for a new boundary setting. Capacity development lays the language, the contents, the values of Paris Declaration and what would become a different architecture of international aid.

Boundary setting (as a verb) refers that form of boundary exploration aiming to create normative frameworks, collaborative arrangements or boundary positions that will perform as boundary settings.

**KS.** Knowledge Supply\*: refers to (more or less innovative) forms of knowledge delivery that might (or not) complement other stances. Contents of knowledge supply include local, contextual, technical, expert and/or scientific forms of knowledge. Forms of knowledge supply operate both within boundary setting and practice work stances. Referred as a form of practice work, it is worth mentioning a double possible role. On one side informing policy making (as from an expert advisory role), or deepening on practice. Some capacity development documents (e.g. OECD, 2006) perform for the former while others (World Bank Institute, 2012) perform for the latter.

**KE.** Knowledge Exploration\*: refers to knowledge unveiling/production processes. Knowledge exploration includes research, as broadly understood, but also access to unknown contexts and/or tacit knowledge scaling out or scaling up. As said, capacity development mis-en-scene was carried out in Monterrey’s conference. It is worth mentioning the presented book discusses results of UNDP’s technical assistance research program, implemented from the early 90s until 2003.

**KI.** Knowledge Intermediation\*: refers to forms of boundary work aiming to satisfy knowledge demands. Knowledge intermediation includes forms of filtering, translating, and local re-signification of knowledge. In the realm of development practice, the various formal and informal networks (e.g. LenCD, capacity.org, GovNET) play a role connecting capacity development’s concepts to other streams of development practice.

**PF.** Practice Field: refers to overarching developing contexts framing the extent, boundaries and contents of change agency efforts. As for the example in point, development practice.

Knowledge stances are here presented as an analytical outcome of the knowledge-repertoire perspective. As such, they are heuristics to identify and address knowledge

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\* Stances of knowledge supply, exploration and intermediation play a role in boundary exploration, boundary setting and practice work stances.

patterns in the capacity development framework. Overall, knowledge stances account for possible settings in which knowledge plays a role in the performance of change agency.

As specific settings, knowledge stances show diverse scales of timespan, location and impact. It is not possible at the theoretical level to give a detailed account of this aspect. It is for empirical research to show how change depicts overlapping dynamic of these stances.

In sum, strategies of change agency are presented as adaptive forms of practical coping. The analytic interplay between institutional work and knowledge intermediation, framed through knowledge repertoires, nurtures a set of knowledge stances. Knowledge stances describe specific knowledge-related strategic situations.

### **Final notes on the knowledge repertoire theoretical perspective**

Overall, this paper discusses a constructive theoretical approach to take the capacity development framework some steps further. The paper presents change agents as institutional entrepreneurs and innovation intermediaries, following this rationale: capacity development aims to promote social change by impacting abilities and skills at various levels, as well as affecting the rules of the game. Institutional work and innovation intermediation literature bring insights to understand this purpose. By intertwining them analytically, the paper illustrates a knowledge-repertoire perspective on change agency and a set of knowledge stances. These allow addressing specific knowledge-related practice contexts within the capacity development change agency scope.

The theoretical value of a knowledge-repertoire perspective accounts for a twofold purpose. First, addressing realms of knowledge at stake in change processes. This, as a mean to prompt further research and inform emerging policy settings, development practice and the myriad of local discourses and initiatives currently fostering change. Second, promoting a scope of practice and research allowing framing (capacity) development beyond the project level and the donor-focused scope. Which grants an opportunity to stress a recursive statement: the epistemic status of the capacity development framework (and therefore its conceptual scope) is but a result of the boundary setting in which it was created.

Further, the knowledge-repertoire perspective adds to the (still limited) corpus of theoretical literature dealing with change on a wider sense, as is the case of the study of transitions and social change. Theoretical approaches include strategic niche management (cf. Cajaiba-Santana, 2014), the multilevel perspective (Kemp, Schot, & Hoogma, 1998), innovation platforms (Geels, 2002) and the social innovation framework (Kilelu, Klerkx, & Leeuwis, 2013), for example. This paper delves on a development-policy tool (capacity development) to expand this base out of a mature form of social change practice.

Scholar work on these accounts often frames development processes as innovations. It would be possible also to frame it the other way around, when it comes to the achievement of grand challenges, for example. Further research is still needed to unveil to what extent, under what conditions, with what effects, these theoretical models are



interchangeable. The knowledge-repertoire perspective, here sketched, is intended to address change-focused sceneries (such as developing countries or socio-technical transitions), focusing on the interplay at the meso level.

Before finishing, a final note. It is worth remembering that this theoretical approach is meant as a heuristic tool. Clearly it accounts for phenomena with political and ethical implications. Li (1999) and Mosse (2005) accounts of development projects describe knowledge-intensive forms of disguising contradictory practice, as well as questionable forms of boundary work with project partners and so-called beneficiaries. It is likely that capacity development in volatile or sensitive contexts prompt 'grey' arrangements as forms of strategic coping. The focus on knowledge-stances and a cognitive approach will helpfully help addressing explicit as well as implicit forms of institutional work, thus maximizing the impact of diverse agencies on social change.

## **6. The multi-sited case: Colombian cocoa organizations**

### **Rationale and methods**

As said, the empirical realm recurs to a multi-sited study case. This case is developed with Colombian cocoa-producer farmer's organizations located in isolated rural areas. The National Cocoa Network grants access to the organizations. The inquiry focuses on historical and present accounts of FOs' relations at the meso level. Rather than developing a comparative scheme between organizations, the inquiry develops thematic accounts unfolding reiterative threads.

Fieldwork strategy focuses on joining Network activities to access a natural setting of the organizations. A first visit follows Network's training activities in regional nodes and the national assembly in early 2014. Focus groups and semi-structured interviews are carried out on this occasion. Further visits focus on locations likely expanding results of the inquiry, with specific interviews and other forms of participant observation. These visits are a result of thematic interest, e.g. what is the importance of cocoa for afro-descendant community councils' strategies? Or for emergent roles of the researcher: e.g. being appointed as an expert on the network or as intermediary with niche-specialized enterprises, private investors or training projects.

Subjects include mostly FOs' leaders, namely managers or council members, as well as staff of the organisations. Other subjects are international or non-governmental project officers and executives of business partners. Data includes transcription of audio, video and fieldwork notes. Coding follows a tentative combined strategy. Some codes are assigned according to the theoretical approach, identifying 'knowledge stances'. Some others emerge of data and are tentatively linked to the former. Emerging codes refer, for example, to detail of contexts, objects (as means of agency) appearing reiteratively, or field-related forms of 'stances'.

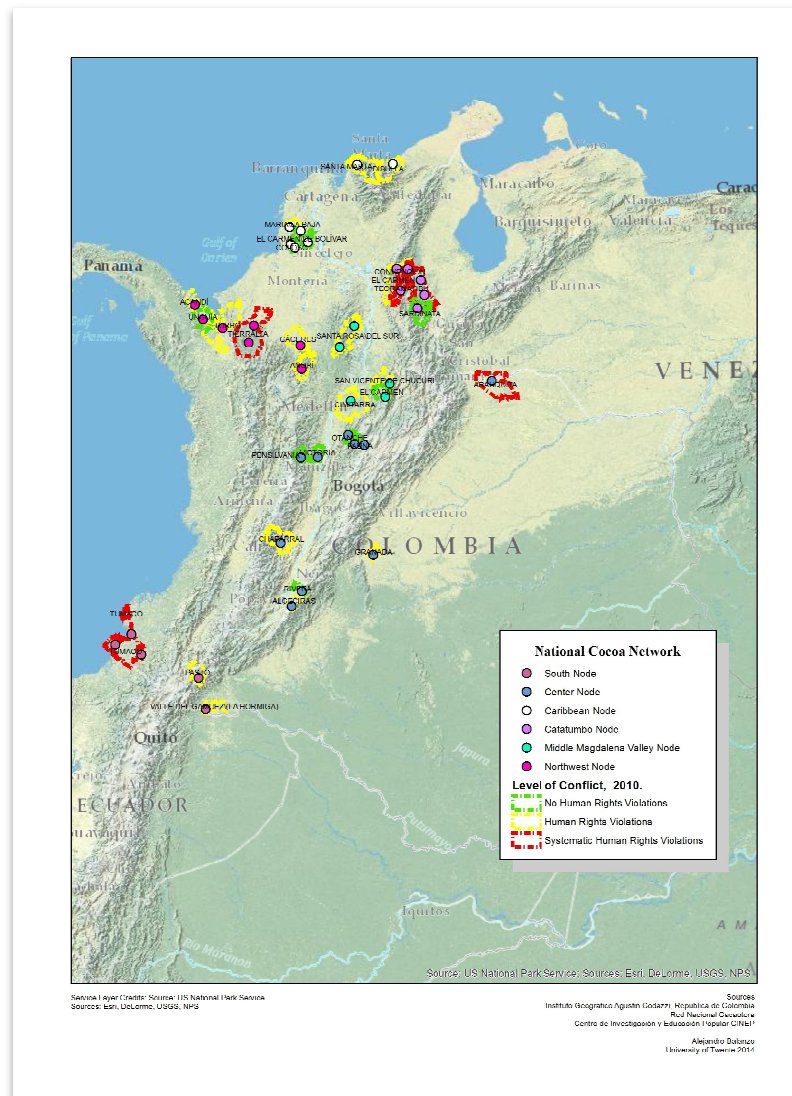
### **The context**

National Cocoa Network unites 43 farmers' organizations from isolated regions in Colombia, namely Nariño Bio-Geographic Pacific, Catatumbo Mountain Range, South of

Huila, Western Boyacá, Santa Marta Mountain Range, Magdalena River Valley and North-Western Antioquia.

These organizations are located where it used to be (or still remain) narcotraffic-related illegal coca crops. This implies that these organizations deal with specific features of illegal contexts and practices. One of these features refers to the (possible) existence of other illegal crops (e.g. marihuana in Magdalena valley), other illegal activities (e.g. smuggling in La Guajira), or conflictive legal products (e.g. emerald mining in Western Boyacá).

Another refers to the location of these territories in the strategic map of Colombian civil war. This refers to the role of the territory (e.g. as a strategic corridor, a hiding place, a historical fort), and the type of presence of armed actors (e.g. one or various guerrillas or paramilitary groups, combatting or not for territorial control).



Map 6.1. Location, National Cocoa Network member organisations.

A last condition of isolation relates to local political dynamics, parallel to the armed conflict, rooted on historical and cultural features shaping each region's public means and effects, including, of course, corruption practices.

In sum, this description illustrates an uncertain, (geographically and institutionally) isolated and normatively weak environment. Map 6.1, National Cocoa Network, illustrates location of these organizations. In order to illustrate the state of affairs at the

local level, the map also describes the degree of human rights violation per municipality in 2010 (CINEP, 2014).

### Cocoa Market in Colombia

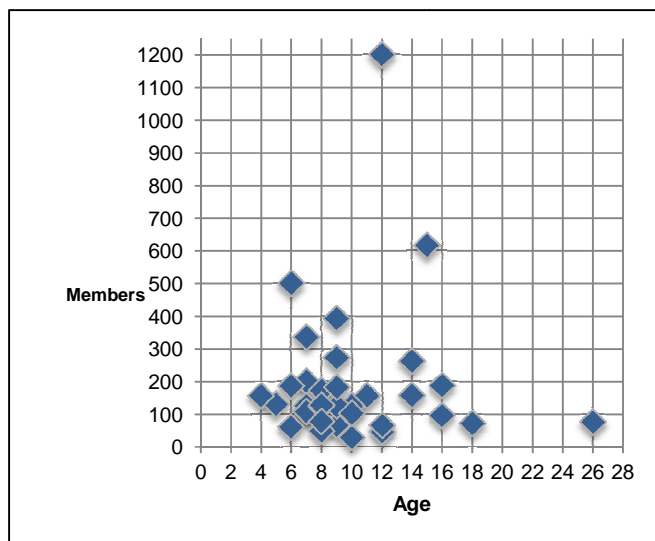
As it is the case with coffee, Colombia has the potential to produce special cocoa, by virtue of being a crop origin. (Castellanos, Torres, Fonseca, Montanez, & Sánchez, 2007). However, national market provides little incentives to follow that direction.

Being Colombia a plain hot chocolate drinking country, mainstream local market does not buy much (nor remunerate) quality value (e.g. grain origin, post-harvest techniques or differentiation based on certificates). There is usually higher demand than offer and there are few processing factories. Meaning that the chain looks as an oligopoly towards the end. (O. Catatumbo, 20/01/14; O. Centro, 23/01/14; O. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14; O. Sur, 27/01/14). The fact that there is permanent demand favours cocoa breeding, which explains the focus of illegal substitution programs on this crop and the role of processing factories as allies.

Paradoxically, certainty of market access at the local level frustrates the potential of international market access, which requires meeting certain quality standards (requiring investment and added value). National Cocoa Network and other third parties (niche exporters, international organisations, NGOs) share the purpose of accessing differentiated markets. However, national production reaching the standards is still scarce (I. C. 001, 16/06/14)<sup>8</sup>.

### The organizations

Unsurprisingly, history of these organizations is linked to illicit crop substitution programs. Most of them came to existence as a result of these, but some of them played (or still play) a role as



Graphic 6.2. National Cocoa Network Organizations. Distribution by age and number of members

project operators. Allies in these programs include international organisations (e.g. UNDP, European Union, and USAID), non-governmental organisations (as intermediaries or fund providers) and state actors, mostly from the national level (e.g. the Social Prosperity Department, a program of presidential office). National projects are often supported by international organizations.

<sup>8</sup> "Llenar un contenedor que satisfaga el estándar es todavía una tarea titánica en Colombia". Note of the author: literal quotes from interviews will be displayed as footnotes.

Member organizations of the National Cocoa Network assemble small landholders. Cultural and geographical diversity accounts, however, for a more complex understanding of the term 'farmers'. Two of these organizations are community councils (a regulated collective form of land property for afro descendants). One of them is an indigenous reserve. Together, the organizations group about 6.500 members and 30.000 hectares of cocoa production (DPS, 2012).

These organizations differ in various aspects. Graphic 6.2 depicts heterogeneity according to number of members and age of the organizations. They also differ in purpose. All of them provide technical assistance for cocoa. 5% transforms raw material into any other product, 17% provide financial services (such as micro-credit or insurances), 31% combines cocoa breeding with other agricultural, agroforestry or livestock products (DPS, 2012).

## 7. What are Farmers' Organisation drivers?

"Constructing Cocoa Culture"<sup>9</sup> is a tale about exploring alternatives: a farmer decides between investing on non-profitable or illegal resources. The farmer just does not know what is worst, but opts for investing on his peace of mind, singing happily as he used to do before (G. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14)<sup>10</sup>. A *Guajiro* leader wrote this tale. He keeps it always on his *mochila* (traditional bag). It is an example of the kind of things he does promoting cocoa breeding among small holder farmers in La Guajira, northern Colombia (O. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14). The tale includes idiosyncratic elements of local and

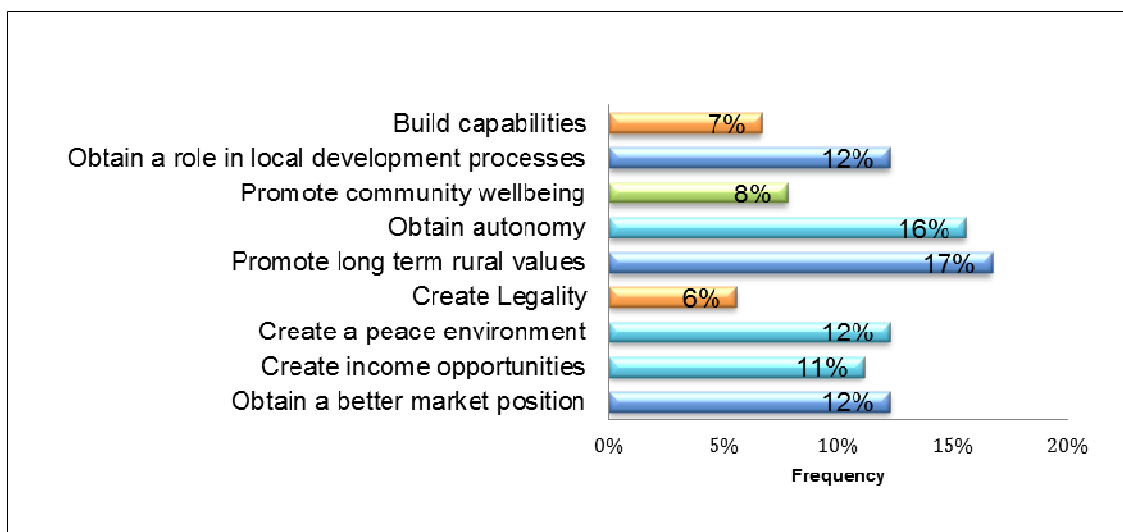
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<sup>9</sup> 'Consternados con constantes conflictos, campesinos colombianos caribeños, con casta costeña, comúnmente conocido como Carlos Costa, caminaba cansado con 150 caballos castrados conducidos con cuerda de caña. Como Carlos Costa continúa cansado contrata con unos carneros, comprometidos con cuidar cuantiosa caballería. (...)  
Cuando caminan, cuatro colonos carneros cantan con Carlos canciones conocidas, cuando cantan Candelaria, cumbia compuesta con cariño, 14 caballeros caporales controlan 50 corceles cimarrones con crepas color dorado, ...considerado contrabando....  
Como comparten camino conjuntamente cuatro caballeros caporales conversan con Carlos Costa, convienen comercializar caballos, Cipriano Cerdeño, comandante caporal, con conciencia caprichosa, considera canjear caballos castrados con corceles cimarrones, (...)  
Carlos Costa calla calmadamente contemplando campos cultivados con cacao. (...) . Convencido cada cual canjean corceles cimarrones con caballos castrados, culminada cuantiosa comercialización celebran comiendo cabra condimentada con cebolla cabezona, consumen cerveza, comparten cigarros cubanos. (...)  
Cuenta cada centavo conseguido, comienza comprando campos cultivados con cacao, contrata campesinos cacaoteros capacitados, construye casas campestres, compra clones certificados, comercializa cada cosecha con casas chocolateras colombianas, contrae convenios con centros comerciales capitalinos, compra computadores completos, crea correo comercial, compra celulares con cámaras, contrae cuenta corriente, consigna cada centavo, conoce chicas cariñosas, contrae contrato civil casándose con Cristina Cadena, (...)  
Cristina con Carlos comen chocolates con crema, contemplan cada cosa conseguida comercializando cacao, Carlos Costa comenta concienzudamente, ¡Caramba Cristina, ¿cuánto cuesta construir cultura cacaotera con cuatro centavos conseguidos comercializando caballos? Carlos Costa culmina cantando contento como cuando caminaba cansado con 150 caballos'.

<sup>10</sup> "Los caballos castrados son lo improductivo...vea le voy a decir es que si ustedes se dan cuenta el tipo anda cargando con cosas improductivas, ¡mire el chicharrón que cambia! ¡castrados por contrabando que es peor!".

rural cultures. And illustrates with some detail—and beautiful art—the landscape and the scope of transformations taking place in the region.

Focus groups' conversations often illustrated this kind of local history backdrops. The present is showed from the perspective of (a change journey) from the past. This time framing is also used to describe the state of affairs in the organisations, that of ongoing projects and the reach and scope of future plans. Along with this backdrop, the conversation delves on objects considered as valuable, justifications, interests, and prioritizing criteria. These are understood here as organisation's drivers. Graphic 7.1 presents an overview of reiterative topics identified as drivers. The graphic refers frequency of each of these drivers in data coding, categorized as thematic clusters. Frequency expresses reiteration of the topic, indicating its relevance.



Graphic 7.1. Drivers of Farmers' Organisations. Frequency account.

Follows detail on each of these clusters. First thematic blocks focus on valorative, long term drivers. These drivers often relate to wider social processes. This block groups those clusters describing territorial contexts and its effects on long-term rationales. A second block presents more concrete drivers of the organizations as such. These relate with positioning strategies. This cluster allows describing rationales and boundary strategies around short term, visible aims.

### Values: core drivers

#### *Promoting long-term rural values*

Various threads link to the category of promoting long-term rural values as an organisational driver. The first refers to youngsters' wellbeing in rural areas<sup>11</sup>. This

<sup>11</sup> "Hoy en Colombia hay una gran dificultad que debemos atacar y el problema es que el campo se va envejeciendo, mire yo recuerdo productores que hace diez años vivían en el campo con

concern is often explained from a specific understanding of the role of the (rural) family. Family is framed as having the responsibility of avoiding migration of family members in search of opportunities<sup>12</sup>. This responsibility sense shows also the intention of performing as an example (G. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14), showing that it is possible projecting a future, with a long-term perspective, even when there is no much money involved (G. Sur, 27/01/14). In the case of afro-descendant community councils, this point of view is expressed by means of a constitutive document. This document, called a Life Plan, describes a five to ten year vision of community aims (004, 16/06/14).

A second thread linking to long-term rural drivers refers to identity. References to rural tradition are expressed as values and show an identity that organisations strive to position (Downey, 1992). As said, descriptions refer to personal and familiar aspects underlying rural roots (G. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14). But they also refer to features of rural life, with an extended, perhaps territorial, understanding<sup>13</sup>: family bonds, working and protecting land, rural cultures (G. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14).

A last driver referring to long-term rural values refer to overcoming violence. This thread focus on a sensitive subject in which fear of (reappearance of) ruptures appears<sup>14</sup> (G. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14). This subject is closely connected with the search of peace or legality, discussed below. Here, however, it points to its concrete scope of realization in community settings. Peace (legality, development) is not just a matter of income. It is

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dos y tres hijos en su finca y hoy diez años después, está el solo y los pelados no quieren volver porque no ven negocio, cuando yo como hijo veo que mi papá se queja, que no da para la comida, que se quiere ir para otra actividad, pues yo como hijo yo volver a sufrir a donde mi papá pues no, pero ya que el campo sea un tema rentable y productivo los muchachos van a volver, pero hoy el campo se está envejeciendo. Yo creo que tenemos que trabajarle al tema del arraigo, hacer que la gente se enamore del pedacito de tierra que tiene, sea muy productiva o no tan productiva pero que se enamore y que ese cultivo sea productivo también y ahí entra la responsabilidad de nosotros como organizaciones, como gerentes o como representantes hay que trabajarle eso” (G. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14).

<sup>12</sup> (Se trata de) “la familia porque es que nosotros los campesinos somos campesinos y debemos cultivar la tierra, y la educación entra por casa, no motivar al hijo a que se vaya para la ciudad a hacer no se qué cosas, la empresa la tiene en el campo” (G. Noroccidente, 16/01/14).

<sup>13</sup> “Primero la familia, dos, el arraigo a la tierra, tres, la raza que me identifica con la naturaleza en todos los aspectos, mirando de las cosas que nos da la tierra y en las cosas que debo incluir para protegerlas”.

<sup>14</sup> “Y el tema de motivación familiar mío fue que la mayoría de mis hermanos eran coqueros, cuando arrancó el programa yo dije ¡A mí lo que me gusta es esto, a mí no me gusta la coca!, yo por accidente me metí a ahí y el reto y la motivación que yo tuve fue, ¿Cómo yo lograba que parte de mi familia y parte de mis hermanos erradicaran y se metieran en el cultivo de cacao? La primera vez que yo le dije a mis hermanos, porque era hermano si hubiera sido un desconocido me pegan, me dijeron de todo y yo les dije si ustedes no le hacen yo si le arranco. Y yo ya había hecho donde me regalaron mi pedacito una sociedad, eran como 10 hectáreas con unos primos y ahí yo arranco, por fortuna a los dos años a la mayoría les habían arrancado o fumigado y yo dije ¡Oiga si esta región ya empezó a cambiar de lo ilegal a lo legal! para mí se convirtió como en un reto familiar el ver como mis hermanos y familiares erradicaban y sembraban cacao”

also a matter of wellbeing, values, trust, respect<sup>15</sup> (G. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14). Follows a detailed description.

### *Create a peace environment*

The interviews often describe a narrative about the unforeseen effects of breeding coca. According to this narrative, farmers could not see the consequences coca would bring when they started producing it. The worst effect refers to violence, with a twofold meaning. A first form of violence refers to social friction by means of individualism, laziness and avarice<sup>16</sup>(002, 10/06/14). A second form refers to involvement of armed groups in the business and its effects for the territories (002, 10/06/14; G. Catatumbo, 20/01/14; G. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14; O. Noroccidente, 16/01/14) .

Therefore, peace as a related driver aims transforming this unsatisfactory state of affairs, in various levels. A first level refers to personal awareness, in which peace is described as a personal experience, result of personal choice. The underlying argument is that breeding illegal crops implies anxiety, even if it is a source of great income. Therefore, wellbeing is framed as a state of mind resulting also from productive decisions<sup>17</sup> (G. Sur, 27/01/14). A second level relates to collective affairs. It is understood that trust, ease and stability are favourable conditions to social cohesion and collectively addressing

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<sup>15</sup> “pero adicionalmente que la familia se sienta bien, las familias que hoy tienen mucha plata pero no viven bien, ahí no hay autoestima, no hay valores, no hay respeto, ahí prevalece (la plata) por encima de lo que son las personas”

<sup>16</sup> Entonces todo el mundo empezó a sembrar coca, a sembrar coca. Pero nadie dijo ni vimos las consecuencias de lo que genera la comercialización y la transformación de los cultivos de coca como tal. Porque como dice es una mata como sembrar cacao: hay que fertilizarla, desyerbarla y cuidarla igual. Pero el tema es las consecuencias que eso trae de aceptar los procesos con los ilícitos.

—Dígame una de esas consecuencias.

La violencia, claro. Al haber abundancia de dinero, hay descomposición social. Bueno, eso ahí se permiten muchas cosas. Lo único que interesa es la plata. A los jóvenes no les interesa estudiar. Como hay recurso fácil entonces todo el mundo se la gasta más fácil y bueno, eso da para que el tema social se empiece a descomponer y a salirse de las manos realmente de lo que tiene que ser.

Entonces ahí pues tras de eso vienen hechos de violencia porque entonces ‘Que yo quiero ser más que el otro. Que yo tengo ya plata. Que yo no me dejo. Que yo le quito, que yo le robo, que yo le tumbo.

Empiezan los grupos al margen de la ley a poner los ojos en regiones donde el negocio se pone de un gran tamaño, donde el lucro puede ser bastante para ellos. Entonces empiezan a meterse y a tener injerencia en el negocio y empezaron a tener presencia ya acá. Ya trataron de meterse la guerrilla por un lado, y posteriormente los paramilitares. Entonces eso hizo que la gente dijera No!.

<sup>17</sup> “la tranquilidad y la paz no tienen precio. Porque muchas veces por mucho dinero que se tenga pero si no tiene paz, no se es una persona realmente... ¿Cómo se dice...? Sanos. No es una persona saludable, porque, por mucho dinero que tenga uno, muchas veces llegan las enfermedades por la intranquilidad. Enfermedades, que por mucho dinero que tengan, no van a poder ser sanadas, y los van a llevar a la tumba”.

common interests. Peace is framed as a condition of freedom and participation (O. Noroccidente, 16/01/14).

### *Create Legality*

Peace as a driver is closely link to the promotion of legality. Facts as the assassination of two leaders and the abduction of another can give an idea about the intensity of the conflict and the interests at stake.<sup>18</sup> (002, 10/06/14). Leaders emphasize local leadership legitimacy as a key persuasion tool (003, 16/06/14). Later I will come to this aspect, autonomy as a driver. Related to legality promotion, leaders often express the belief that change processes take place mainly because they are an example of the possibility of change. Further, they acknowledge leadership (both theirs and others') as a vehicle of *improvement*<sup>19</sup> (002, 10/06/14).

### *Gain autonomy*

Autonomy as a driver refers to ownership of decision about local views and priorities. It appears in various forms. First, it appears as a demand of ownership of available means for 'social change'. This demand has an expression in practical terms, as ownership of projects implemented at the local level. This brings various aspects that will be discussed later. As a value, however, ownership is framed as a mean of stability<sup>20</sup>. It expresses concern about local energy powering—and remaining powering—local processes (002, 10/06/14).

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<sup>18</sup> Hubo (...) un líder de cacao que fue asesinado por eso. Y creo que en Colombia en muchas regiones ha pasado. Empiezan a generar cambios para transformación para generar que muchas personas, que conscientemente saben que lo que se está haciendo está bien, pero no les conviene (...)

Entonces hubo el asesinato del líder de los cacaoteros (...) fue de las situaciones más difíciles. No era fácil llegarle a la fuerza pública y decirle que el líder fue el que me la echó o fue Fulano el que me la trajo. Pero fueron generando conciencia (...) porque por ejemplo [Líder Centro], de acá de Pauna, era uno de los que más tenían coca ¿Sí? Entonces digamos que nosotros nos basamos en nuestra propia realidad. Nosotros contamos lo que hemos visto y lo que hemos vivido (...) entonces de una u otra manera vivimos en carne propia toda la transformación.

Y la gente lo conoce y sabe que estuvimos dentro del cuento entonces por eso yo creo que el proyecto ha tenido impacto. Diferente a cuando viene una persona que no conoce, que no ha vivido y que venga a hablar del tema entonces '¿Usted para qué viene a hablarme de eso?' Pues ya el proyecto empieza a tener credibilidad en el proceso.

<sup>19</sup> Yo creo que lo interesante del tema es que este proceso se está dando porque los que estuvimos ahí metidos en ese conflicto, que somos nosotros los campesinos, los que tenemos una finquita allá, nos dimos en la tarea de hacer el cambio. Y algunas personas que tenían más vocería, a tomar las riendas de estos proyectos, con liderazgo, con vocería; ellos nos han permitido mejorar en el tiempo

<sup>20</sup> "De pronto si llega alguien de afuera, alguien externo, mientras que hubiera estado acá, pues bien, pero ¿si se va? Se pierde de nuevo... Entonces desde adentro como lo estamos viendo nosotros, eso nos ha permitido mantenernos, que el vínculo se sostenga todavía. Es seguir abriendo puertas a la gente de la región que se vincula a este proyecto".



Autonomy also appears in leaders' narratives as self-determining and expresses the basis of political stances. Here their voice: "they call us poor. We are not poor; we don't need mountains of money to be well. Our aim is managing what we have, get trained in every aspect to be free and own knowledge"<sup>21</sup> (003, 16/06/14).

Which also expresses a view and a purpose towards political actors and institutions: "we can speak, we can do things; also politics, we are independent, we can do our own politics, a healthy politics, a culture politics in which we can see our sons, in which we can see our leaders. We've managed this with our own criteria"<sup>22</sup> (G. Sur, 27/01/14).

### **Entrepreneurship of futures: the short-term drivers**

Other drivers refer to more concrete aspects of farmers' organisations' operation and aims. These drivers implicitly describe the various roles the organisations play at the local/sectorial level, and hint at the strategies they deploy in everyday life as means of coping with emerging situations. Overall, the aim of these organisations is seen as promoting social change (mostly framed as people's wellbeing) in conflictive/unstable environments, using cocoa as a material alternative.

A first dimension of this aim refers to create the space for cocoa to access the territory as an alternative practice. Beyond promotion with farmers, this requires various arrangements at meso level. The process involves (reiterative and understood as illegal by Colombian state) negotiations with armed groups at the local level (004, 16/06/14; Asmbl, 14/02/14; G. Catatumbo, 20/01/14). The process also involves negotiation with the state and international organisations, defining the terms and scope of (cocoa) projects. This is, defining the products, beneficiaries and the rules to manage remaining neighbouring illegal crops (004, 16/06/14; G. Catatumbo, 20/01/14; O. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14). Further, when war has made it impossible for private or public actors to operate, farmers' organisations scale their operations, mimicking other actors' roles. This is, assuming its institutional role and its responsibilities as employers. Again, often this arrangements take place 'under the table' (G. Sur, 27/01/14).

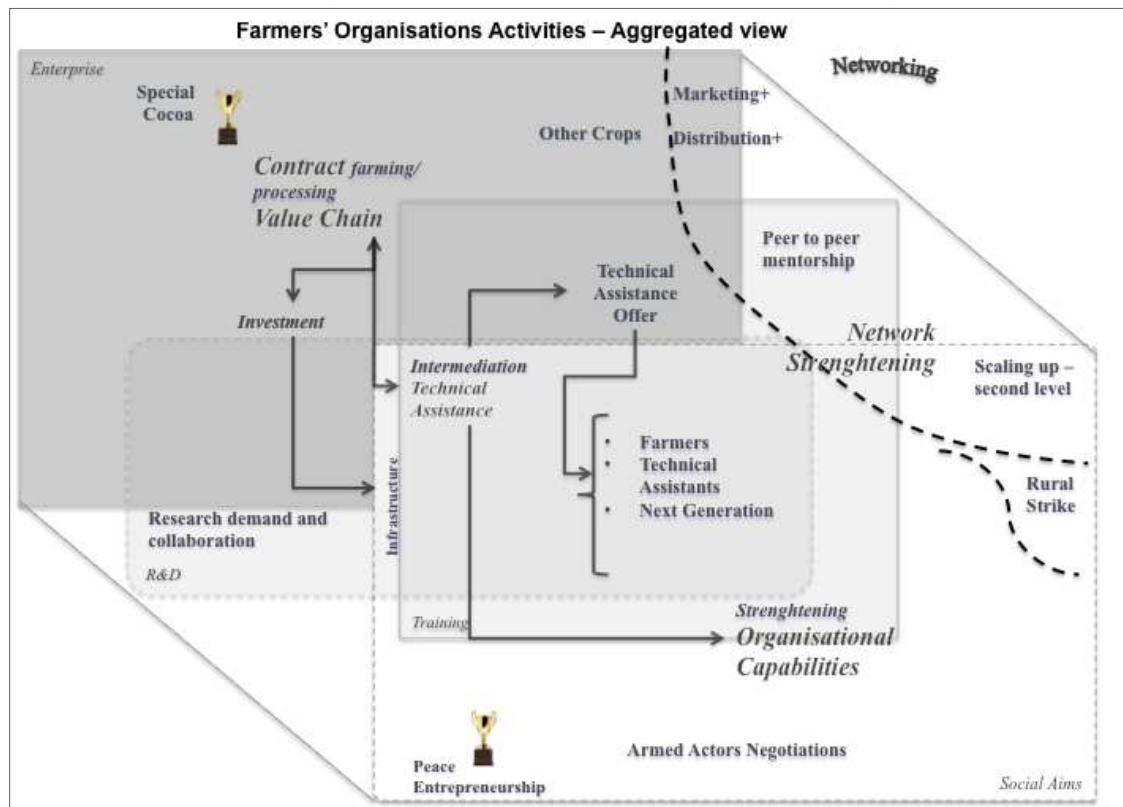
Before deepening on concrete drivers, it is worth describing briefly the scope of activities of these organisations so as to inform the reader about this specific context. Graphic 4 illustrates an aggregated of activities by organizations of the National Cocoa Network. The graphic synthesizes 2014 report of activities, presented by each node in the national assembly (Asmbl, 14/02/14). The graphic layers these activities by dimensions, in an attempt to illustrate the various intervening fields and rationales.

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<sup>21</sup> "A nosotros (...) nos dicen pobres. Nosotros no somos pobres, ni tampoco necesitamos montañas de dinero para vivir y satisfechos. Nosotros a lo que estamos apuntando es a organizar lo que tenemos, capacitar a nuestra gente en todos los aspectos para ser libres y tener el conocimiento". Translated by author.

<sup>22</sup> "Nosotros podemos hablar, nosotros podemos hacer las cosas; los temas políticos también nosotros, somos independientes, podemos hacer nuestra propia política, una política sana, una política de cultura, en la que miremos reflejados a nuestros hijos, miremos reflejados nuestros líderes. Todo esto lo hemos estado manejando desde nuestro propio criterio."

Graphic 7.2 describe activities in various realms. Some of them relate to access and stabilization in conflictive territories. Other activities deal with resource attraction and allocation in various aspects (e.g. organisational means, capabilities, technological development). The graphic also describes specific modes of networking linked to these activities. Follows detail describing drivers related to the concrete sphere of action of farmers' organisations.



Graphic 7.2. Drivers of Farmers' Organisations. Frequency account.

*Create income opportunities, finding (a favourable) market position*

A reiterative remark on the conversations states that adoption of cocoa as an alternative crop entails the adoption of a market-oriented culture. Not solely on attention to productive and market specificities of the crop, but because its breeding supposes assuming (and enacting) market rationales. The role of 'rural entrepreneurs' replace that of 'harvesters'. This aim is understood as a profound change<sup>23</sup> (002, 10/06/14).

<sup>23</sup> "Si esto lo vemos como una empresa, si dejamos de ser cosecheros, como decimos, y nos volvemos productores, la cosa cambia. Si esto es producción de cacao y yo sé que en cinco Has. me permite vivir holgadamente, entonces ahí está el cambio. El cambio debe ser total y fundamental. Digamos que aquí sí sembraban. Los que estaban en el campo sembraban maíz, cacao, café, algunas vacas, pero de ahí no pasaba. El tema ahora es pro-duc-ti-vo".

Connected with this aim comes that of finding favourable market positions, in response to conditions of local markets. Traditionally, intermediation has paid ill service to smallholders. Overcoming disadvantageous intermediation mechanisms appears therefore as a reiterative driver. Manoeuvres on this realm describe a double effect.

On one side, triggers a role of farmers' organisations as local market regulators. The aim of setting a minimum local price, implies the priority of market regulation over that of profitability<sup>24</sup> (O. Catatumbo, 20/01/14). Observation showed that the reach of this role varies from one case to the other, depending on variables such as the maturity and size of the organisation, or the heft of cocoa in the local basket. As an operative rationale, however, regulating cocoa's local price is a common priority.

On the other, entails devising coping mechanisms to counteract market disadvantage<sup>25</sup> (G. Catatumbo, 20/01/14). Peer networking outstands as a reiterative strategy. It is due, in some cases, to actual settings in which the organisations were created (002, 10/06/14; G. Centro, 23/01/14; G. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14), as a tool to overcome logistic challenges (004, 16/06/14; G. Noroccidente, 16/01/14; O. Sur, 27/01/14), or as a way to obtain development incentives (I. L. 001, 13/01/14; I. O. 001, 05/02/14; 002, 10/06/14).

Therefore features of the networking strategy are context specific. The same rationale applies in the case of the National Cocoa Network, perceived as a natural result for organizations to play a role in the sectorial realm<sup>26</sup> (G. Catatumbo, 20/01/14). It is understood that in order to counteract policy and market effects of Colombian cocoa's oligopoly, smallholders need a shared platform.

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<sup>24</sup> "...y sin embargo sirve porque usted controla los precios. Así sean cien pesos mas usted controla los precios.

—Si, siempre ha servido.

Ahí sirve usted como de regulador".

<sup>25</sup> "A mi lo que me motivó de este cuento de la asociación es que yo veía que allá me iba a vender un kilo de cacao y me pagaban y me lo pagaban como querían. Llegaban lo colocaban en la báscula y lleva 50 kilos, casi el bulto a 55 kilos, y era lo que decían ellos, entonces un día me tocaron el tema que sería bueno que la asociación, que existía hace 5 años ya, 6 años; pero no había habido la motivación un fondo de comercialización y ahí yo fui e investigue y si que estaba la plata, entonces yo dije qué hay que hacer para sacar esa plata, para comenzar a comprar el cacao y pagarle bien a la gente?... Y si, se hizo, se buscó, se hicieron las cosas y se desembolsó esa plata, y la tenemos trabajando ahorita".

<sup>26</sup> "Hoy las asociaciones cacaoteras han entendido que solas no pueden. Si los agricultores en un momento entendieron que no se podía solos, que debían asociarse, hoy en día las asociaciones han entendido que al sector cacaotero es mejor manejarlo desde el punto de vista global, ó sea hay que entender que hay situaciones que no puede manejar cada uno".

### *Playing a role in local development*

These organisations play a role *de facto* stabilizing conflictive territories. Not just mediating to make possible implementing a new practice and delivering services<sup>27</sup> (Asmbl, 14/02/14), but also creating a path for other institutions to be able to deliver services (e.g. the bank, technical assistance, the state)<sup>28</sup> (G. Sur, 27/01/14).

“Playing a role” as a driver refers to obtaining effective recognition of this role by third parties. This is, in other words, positioning an identity as boundary bridges between farmers and other actors<sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup>(004, 16/06/14; G. Catatumbo, 20/01/14). Organizations expect this would strengthen their likelihood as partners of public and private institutions for processes affecting the local realm (O. Noroccidente, 16/01/14). Concretely, farmers’ organisations aim at collaborative arrangements in which this condition is expressed in (increased) independence for resource prioritizing and management.

An underlining thread of this concern responds to volatility of local (political) institutions. Farmers’ organisations explain there is a permanent tension on collaborative agreements with authorities at various levels. Party interests or corruption practice conflicts with a *de facto* condition of ‘previous approvals’ or ‘collaborative’ work<sup>31</sup> (G. Sur, 27/01/14).

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<sup>27</sup> “Hoy las cuarenta organizaciones al menos están ejecutando un convenio o un contrato, ninguna organización de la red ha cerrado el chuzo o el letrero, han cambiado gerentes, aciertos y desaciertos pero hoy esas cuarenta estamos vigentes y eso demuestra la capacidad de gestión (...) y de hecho si uno sumase hoy todos los contratos (...) estamos operando un gran porcentaje para el sector cacaotero”.

<sup>28</sup> “Yo creo que todo parte de raíz por la apertura de espacio. Esa es la visión que yo tengo. Cuando llegué, digamos, allá donde nosotros, en el 2006, ni el banco prestaba un peso, ni había ningún [Servicio capacitación técnica], ni había nadie. Era una zona totalmente desprotegida pues, del Estado”.

<sup>29</sup> “Entonces el Sr. Gobernador, que es el del municipio, él no va a llegar allá al territorio en donde estamos nosotros. Entonces él debería trabajar de la mano con nosotros, y trabajaría mucho mejor. Lo haría él como gobernador y el alcalde de Tumaco. Entonces nosotros seríamos como una segunda alcaldía. Lo que él no puede hacer, lo que él no se da cuenta, nosotros sí, y seríamos nosotros los voceros de él. Entonces trabajaríamos mucho mejor, haríamos con poca plata, muchas cosas. Pero esas cosas no se manejan...”.

<sup>30</sup> “Y hay agricultores que tienen mucho más conocimiento que uno pero lo que pasa es que no les damos el espacio para que se sienten aquí y trabajen, entonces esa gente siente que el Estado y las regiones los valoran y la diferencia está ahí, en empezar a hacer trabajo social, hablar con la gente, la gente es consciente. Yo sí creo que el Estado debe considerar esa condición de que la asociación no solamente es un representante de los agricultores sino que también es la representante del Estado ante esos productores”

<sup>31</sup> “Yo lo que quiero decir es que las organizaciones no pueden ser políticas y es decir hoy APROCASUR le está haciendo campaña a Luis Pérez del partido equis, porque si el partido equis no pasa y ganaron los zeta esos zeta las van a acabar. Entonces las organizaciones como organizaciones tienen que estar al margen, pero el otro punto es que las organizaciones tienen que trabajar con la institucionalidad, con las alcaldías, gobernaciones, ministerios. ¿Y eso cómo lo hacen?”

The organizations have deployed various strategies to cope with this kind of situations. First, direct political engagement (with negative results for isolation of elected cadres or capture by patron-client party practices) (O. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14). Second, support to organisation's allies as a form of 'indirect' political engagement (004, 16/06/14; O. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14). Third, implementing pre-electoral sectorial fora with candidates (O. Centro, 23/01/14). Last, obstructing projects implemented without previous consultations or limited local participation (004, 16/06/14).

### *Building local capabilities*

A last driver of farmers' organizations refers to their interest in strengthening capabilities (and securing use of) local workforce<sup>32</sup> (G. Centro, 23/01/14). To this extent, organisations manoeuvre to provide training services directly, or intermediate with various actors (state, international organisations, non-governmental, sectorial) to deliver it. Various rationales connect to this driver. Follows a description.

- Staffing the local with local talent

First refers to the aim of capitalizing local human resources to the maximum extent possible<sup>33</sup> (G. Sur, 27/01/14). There is an interest in creating a human resource base for incipient institutions. Local talent has here an extended meaning and also includes outsiders willing to contribute<sup>34</sup> (003, 16/06/14).

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Nuestra organización ha ejecutado varios proyectos de los cuales ha solicitado cofinanciación del departamento y la alcaldía, nunca así tenga una reunión se les invita, nunca dan el aporte que tienen que dar, tenemos que suplirlo nosotros de alguna u otra forma y ellos se hacen los de la vista gorda.

Casi siempre no aportan económicamente sino a través de la UMATA que mandan algunos técnicos que orienten, que al final no son técnicos.

—¿Cómo hacen ustedes para suplir eso?

A veces nuestros hijos han estudiado una carrera técnica y uno los orienta por ahí y si necesitamos al técnico ahí lo tenemos, de pronto al agrónomo y ahí nos apoyamos en él. Nosotros nos auto apoyamos en la organización para sacar adelante nuestro cultivo, no apoyamos nosotros mismos o apoyamos a un profesional con nuestros propios recursos.”

<sup>32</sup> “Nosotros como campesinos y representantes no podemos quedarnos atrás del mundo, debemos ir a la par con ellos y estos espacios nos permiten eso, pero tenemos que mirar, si no podemos proveernos nosotros mismos de las herramientas, nos podemos proveer de los conocimientos pero no de las herramientas como tal, pues a ver quién nos las puede suministrar y hay las formas así que debemos empezar a articular quién nos puede ayudar”.

<sup>33</sup> “Se contrataron unos técnicos, no todos, algunos sí sabían de cacao, otros se formaban en cacao, otros se basaron del internet, pero algo se hizo. Entonces dijimos, “Bueno carajo, ¿y entonces qué? ¿Nosotros qué somos entonces?”. Cuando que todos los recursos, todos, todos, deberían quedarse en la zona. Que hay uno que suministre insumos, que hay uno que suministre información y bueno, de todo”.

<sup>34</sup> “De igual manera en el material humano, hoy lo que nosotros necesitamos como decir, vertical. Aquí en el Pacífico necesitamos 60 ingenieros agroforestales y aspiramos, para el 2020, tener esos 60 ingenieros agroforestales bien capacitados para poder pensar en lo que es ya los proyectos propios...”

This aim appears frequently with the intention of staffing the local level of national technical assistance programs (003, 16/06/14; G. Sur, 27/01/14). At least in one case a head of organisation has been also appointed as a trainer (O. Centro, 23/01/14). In various cases the organisations absorbed technical experts coming temporarily as part of external projects. These cadres play a role formulating and implementing more complex projects (002, 10/06/14; O. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14).

- Implement educative formulas

Various initiatives refer to educating youngsters (Asmbl, 14/02/14; O. Centro, 23/01/14; G. Noroccidente, 16/01/14). Some of them are implemented in collaborative settings with schools. Others are a result of specific training demands to national public services. Consistent with other drivers, outstands an initiative of long-term education aiming to educate rural leaders (O. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14).

- Co-produce relevant knowledge

Unsurprisingly, farmers' organisations also take part on rural innovation initiatives. These organisations manoeuvre to create research-intensive solutions. Data refers to various realms of collaboration, with universities, research centres and private enterprises. Specifically this processes focus on biological material accounts aiming for competitive clones (O. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14), experimentation with new biological materials (002, 10/06/14), or post-harvest experimentation aiming to access niche markets (G. Centro, 23/01/14). Impact of these innovations has exceeded the local realm. Mentioned collaborative settings have sub-regional impact (002, 10/06/14) and regional impact (Fonseca Rodríguez et al., 2011).

- Projects as schools

Another aspect worth mentioning refers to the function of rural development projects providing educative experiences. Here I am not referring to the aim itself of the projects, discussed earlier in various threads. I am rather referring to learning processes taking place along its implementation. Projects embed forms of knowledge appreciated as valuable by these organizations, such as accountancy and legal aspects of boundary relations. In this sense, projects 'enact' institutions of the outer world. Dealing with projects is seen as a form of training<sup>35</sup> (G. Sur, 27/01/14).

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—De la comunidad.

La misma región de la gente. No importa que sea indio, que sea blanco, quien venga al territorio, pero a lo que le apuntamos es a fortalecer el territorio. A eso nosotros le colocamos el valor agregado. Porque ya tenemos claro que si capacitamos el material humano, vamos a ser mejor"

<sup>35</sup> "—Y ¿eso cómo lo hacen? Como por medio de escuelas, reuniones, capacitaciones...

—Como lo que estamos haciendo hoy aquí. Uno llega, a la organización de uno. Tiene su reunión trimestral o semestral, o cada mes, y uno les replica, "vea se habló de esto, y esto, y esto" y se les explica, y ellos empiezan a acatar las cosas que se está haciendo. Y eso ha sido muy bueno porque el agricultor se ha formado, y uno como líder también se ha formado mucho. En cuanto a recursos, para nosotros ha sido fundamental [proyecto], porque eso nos va a dejar a nosotros formados. Con [proyecto], si usted no sabe trabajar, es muy bueno pero si usted no

## Final note on farmers' organisations Drivers

This section discussed drivers of coca organisations of the National Cocoa Network in Colombia. Section describes drivers in depth, also giving hints about the roles and strategies these organisations deploy in stabilizing isolated territories. Data highlights the projecting in time a rural lifestyle as the most important driver of these organisations. This is, in other terms, making sure the 'human scale' lifestyle remains (Cruz, Stahel, & Max-Neef, 2009). Rural traditions, family, nature and culture seem to be at the forefront of their priorities. These aims have incidence in the way these organisations strive to build institutions in regions in which they seem to play as its main vehicle.

It is also showed farmer organisations play various roles in access and stabilization of isolated territories. They are intermediaries for new productive cultures and strive to implement local market regulation mechanisms favouring small holders. They are also intermediaries for innovation and local talent formation. In sum, the section sheds light about priorities (and the kind of commitment) local communities have about local development in isolated regions. These organisations strive to position an identity as a vehicle for transitions, increasingly demanding autonomy.

## 8. A sight to following analytic process and (expected) results

Previous sections inform about the current state of the research. This section will speculate about how could next analytic steps look like. So far, research answered to the first specific question: what are farmers' organisations drivers? As seen, this question illustrates farmers' organizations as an actor relating to a context.

Subsequent questions provide the core elements to answer to the main question. What are FOs' strategies to change the rules of the game? What are FOs strategies to allocate skills and capabilities? It is worth remembering the research aims synthetizing results in a typology of farmers' organizations strategies as change agents.

As said, coding follows a tentative combined strategy. Some codes are assigned according to the theoretical approach, identifying 'knowledge stances'. Some others emerge of data and are tentatively linked to the former. Emerging codes refer, for example, to detail of contexts, objects (as means of agency) appearing reiteratively, or field-related forms of 'stances'. Overall analytic process supposes, therefore, arranging these codes so as to make sense of data, probe the theoretical approach and bring about meaningful inferences.

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sabe trabajar también es bien malo, porque eso le cierra las puertas también. Un [proyecto] mal ejecutado, cierra las puertas, un [proyecto] bien ejecutado, te abre caminos.

—Entonces ahí es como si el programa fuera una escuela. Entrar implica aprender...

—Sí, porque ahí se forma un gerente, se lo forma en la parte socio-empresarial; se forma al campesino, se lo forma en la parte técnica. Esto es una escuela si se le sabe aprovechar obviamente, y los recursos sí se van dando".

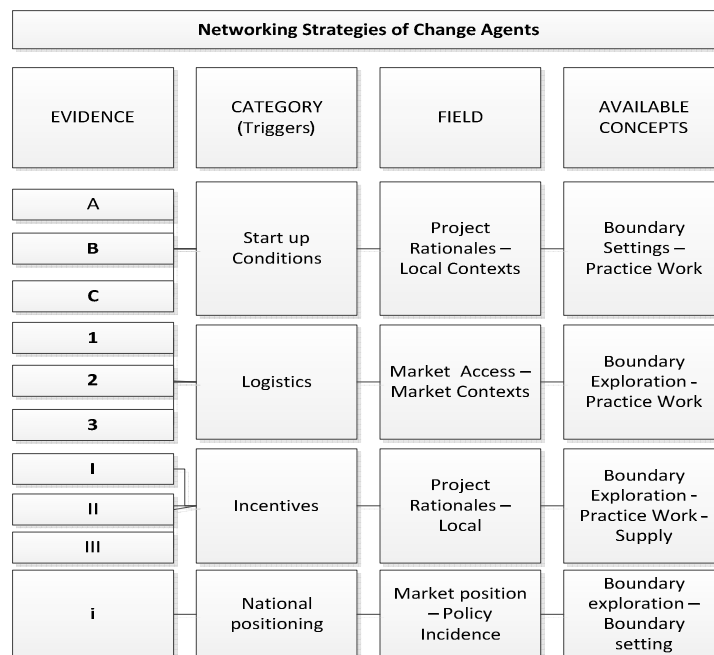
## Analytic exercise

For the sake of illustrating this process, I will show a couple of examples. Both take as reference some aspects discussed earlier in which ‘strategies’ appear. For each example I include a textual quote and an analytic scheme.

### Networking as a strategy of change agents

Quote: “Peer networking outstands as a reiterative strategy. It is due, in some cases, to actual conditions of the organizations when they were created (002, 10/06/14; G. Centro, 23/01/14; G. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14), as a tool to overcome logistic challenges (004, 16/06/14; G. Noroccidente, 16/01/14; O. Sur, 27/01/14), or as a way to obtain development incentives (I. L. 001, 13/01/14; I. O. 001, 05/02/14; 002, 10/06/14). The same rationale applies in the case of the National Cocoa Network, perceived as a natural result for organizations to play a role in the sectorial realm (G. Catatumbo, 20/01/14). It is understood that in order to counteract policy and market effects of Colombian cocoa’s oligopoly, smallholders need a shared platform”.

Analysis: Graphic 8.1 disaggregates this quote and speculates about a plausible analytic path. First column refers evidence. Second column refers linkages between evidence, in this case “triggers of networking as a strategy”. Third column speculates about a specific field to which this evidence would be linked.



Graphic 8.1. Analytic outlook. Networking strategies of change agents.



It is worth mentioning some of these fields are existing tentative codes specifying reiterative subjects, as early described. Fourth column speculates about what available specific concepts of the framework could be brought into account for the sake of explanation.

### Dealing with local authorities

Quote: “An underlining thread of this concern responds to volatility of local (political) institutions. Farmers’ organisations explain there is a permanent tension on collaborative agreements with authorities at various levels. Party interests or corruption practice conflicts with a *de facto* condition of ‘previous approvals’ or ‘collaborative’ work (G. Sur, 27/01/14). The organizations have deployed various strategies to cope with this kind of situations. First, direct political engagement (with negative results for isolation of elected cadres or capture by patron-client party practices) (O. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14). Second, support to organisation’s allies as a form of ‘indirect’ political engagement (004, 16/06/14; O. Magdalena-Caribe, 14/01/14). Third, implementing pre-electoral sectorial fora with candidates (O. Centro, 23/01/14). Last, obstructing projects implemented without previous consultations or limited local participation (004, 16/06/14)”.

| Coping with local authorities: strategies of Change Agents |                                 |   |   |
|--|---------------------------------|---|---|
| EVIDENCE   | CATEGORY<br>(Coping Strategies) | FIELD                                     | AVAILABLE CONCEPTS                                  |
| A  | Direct participation            | Local Contexts – Political practice field | Boundary Exploration - Practice Work Clash          |
| 1  | Support                         | Local Contexts- Institutions              | Boundary Settings - Practice Work                   |
| I  | Pre-elections sectorial fora    | Local Context- Institutions               | Practice Work – Knowledge Supply and Intermediation |
| i  | Blocking                        | Local Context – Institutions              | Boundary setting                                    |

Graphic 8.1. Analytic outlook. Strategies to cope with local authorities

Analysis: Graphic 8.2 disaggregates this quote and speculates about a plausible analytic path. First column refers evidence. Second column refers linkages between evidence, in this case “coping strategies with local authorities”. Third column speculates about a specific field to which this evidence would be linked. As said, these fields are already

tentative codes. Fourth column speculates about what available specific concepts of the framework could be brought into account for the sake of explanation.

Taking notes for following analytic steps

As simple as shown, this exercise already illustrate some challenges for further analysis and exposition of results. First refers to the need to specify a hierarchy for analysis and exposition. To that extent, I plan next step will focus on describing separate 'fields', still drawing solely from empirical data. By doing so I will create separate bases for analytic purposes, on the assumption that each field describes separate phenomena and analytic settings.

### **Final comments as means of conclusions**

Various aspects of this research deserve deeper conversation. I look forward to it. Perhaps the more outstanding relates to the fact that brings about and connects various disciplinary streams in order to address its object. Hopefully it will have the strength to feedback these disciplines by circulating, showing other possible connections, relating to forms of practice.

I have work hard to present it as an account of backdrop after backdrop discernible layers. I must confess it has taken me a while to find sense and escape a taste of whimsical use of concepts. If something remains, I can do less but acknowledge this error. I will excuse myself by explaining this outcome as a result of the effort of making knowable a rather elusive specific object. Hopefully I will be excused and (what I think is) a useful theoretical framework will compensate my error.

I also look forward peer discussion will deepen my understanding of the SKAD program. I am sure it will make it easier for me to go about following analytic steps of my research. I am gladly surprised about how the rather intuitive and experimental research path I took on the theoretical realm connects effectively with the procedural tools the program offers linking to the empirical realm. I hope this dialogue will strengthen rigour of my research.

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