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1 **Responses of sub-Saharan smallholders to climate change:** 2 **strategies and drivers of adaptation**

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9 **Abstract**

10 Rural farm households in sub-Saharan Africa are vulnerable to climate variability due to their
11 limited adaptive capacity. This paper explores how adaptation strategies are adopted by small-
12 holders in sub-Saharan Africa as a function of their adaptive capacity. The latter is characterised
13 by five types of capital: natural, physical, financial, human, and social. We use responses from
14 farm households in sub-Saharan Africa dating from 1536 obtained by Climate Change,
15 Agriculture and Food Security (CCAFS). This data provides information on the adoption of
16 adaptation practices during the study period as well as information with which we develop
17 indicators for the five types of capital. The results suggest that all the five types of capital
18 positively influence adoption of adaptation practices. Human and social capital both displayed a
19 positive and significant effect on the uptake of most adaptation practices. This finding suggests
20 that the effect of less tangible kinds of capital such as knowledge, individual perceptions,
21 farmers' networks and access to information may be stronger than normally assumed. Directing
22 more development policies towards enhancing human and social capital may therefore be more

23 cost-effective than further investments into physical and financial capital, and could help in
24 overcoming social barriers to adaptation to climate change.

25 **Keywords:** Capital; Adoption; Farm-household; Sub-Saharan Africa; Mixed logit

27 Many farm households in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) are vulnerable to climate change due to both
28 their strong dependence on agricultural production, and a limited resilience to cope with
29 changing conditions (Schlenker and Lobell, 2010). Moreover, agriculture in rural SSA is the main
30 source of one's livelihood and is the main contributor to GDP. At the same time, agriculture in
31 SSA faces enormous challenges. Firstly, in growing enough food to support the rapidly growing
32 population; in the last two decades the population in SSA has almost doubled (from 0.64 billion
33 in 1998 to 1.05 billion in 2018) and is projected to reach 1.7 billion by 2050 (Livingston et al.,
34 2011). Secondly, there is increasing international pressure to not expand agricultural land at the
35 expense of natural habitats for wildlife. Finally, climate change forecasts predict a decrease in
36 production of between 8 to 22 percent in key staple crops such as maize, sorghum, groundnut,
37 millet, and cassava by 2050. Predictions were based on various model specifications with a
38 historic time series in the data sources (1961–2000 for NCC or 1961–2002 for CRU 2.1)
39 (Schlenker and Lobell, 2010). These challenges need to be considered when developing policies
40 that increase household food security, reduce poverty, improve livelihoods and facilitate climate
41 change adaptation (AAP, 2013; Beddington et al., 2012; IFAD, 2013).

42 Numerous studies in Africa have contributed to understanding how to promote the adoption of
43 adaptation measures at the farm-level (e.g. Below et al., 2012; Bryan et al., 2013; Deressa et al.,
44 2009; Gebrehiwot and van der Veen, 2013; García de Jalón et al., 2016 and 2017; Nielsen and
45 Reenberg, 2010; Silvestri et al., 2012). However, most studies evaluate the adaptation process
46 by analysing how socioeconomic characteristics influence adaptation for example, by measuring
47 farm household traits such as education, farm size, ownership, access to credit, and other
48 variables that can be directly observed. Few studies have focused on how the adoption of
49 practices is influenced by the five types of capital: natural, social, physical, financial, and human.
50 This may be due to the fact that these five types of capital are difficult to characterise and
51 quantify.

52 The five forms of capital are defined as stocks or flows that have the capacity to produce flows
53 of economically desired outputs (Goodwin, 2003). All forms of capital can be seen as indicators
54 of wealth (e.g. Lange, 2004; Goodwin, 2003; Figge, 2005) or resilience (e.g. Thornton et al., 2006;
55 Nelson et al., 2005). In addition, they can act as predictors of the uptake of adaptation strategies
56 to climate change (e.g. Wheeler et al., 2013; Below et al., 2012; Iglesias et al., 2011).

57 Human capital refers to the productive capacities, knowledge, and personal attributes that make
58 an individual more productive (Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 2013). In farming systems, indicators of
59 this capital could be the number of people in the farm-household, education and attitudes
60 towards the environment and climate change.

61 Social capital consists of trust, understanding and cooperation between individuals and groups
62 (Goodwin, 2003). Thus, the exchange of climate change information between farmers and
63 institutions could be considered indicators of social capital. Indicators of this capital could also
64 include memberships of agricultural associations, the access to information on climate and
65 extreme weather events or the use of social networks (García de Jalón et al., 2018).

66 Physical capital is formed by manufactured assets generated by applying human productive
67 activities and are used to provide flows of goods and/or services (Goodwin, 2003). It refers to
68 assets such as infrastructure and technology that may improve farm production. Indicators of
69 physical capital in farming systems could include farm assets such as mechanical ploughs,
70 irrigation systems, electronic assets, livestock and land holdings, and agricultural inputs.

71 Financial capital is related to the capital stock that facilitates economic production. Indicators of
72 this capital could be off-farm and on-farm income, access to credit, having a bank account and
73 remittances.

74 Natural capital refers to the resources and services of the natural world which yield valuable
75 flows of goods and services into the future (Costanza and Daily, 1992). In farming systems,
76 natural capital is mainly represented by agro-climatic characteristics which predetermine the
77 suitability for agriculture such as climatic (e.g., temperature, precipitation, humidity, solar
78 radiation) and soil (e.g., texture, structure, % organic matter, pH and depth) conditions.

79 A large body of literature has aimed to study the drivers of adaptation at the farm-household
80 level in SSA (e.g. Deressa et al., 2009; Nielsen and Reenberg, 2010; Silvestri et al., 2012; García
81 de Jalón et al., 2017). The fact that only few studies focused on the effect of the five types of
82 capital could be explained by the difficulty of characterising or quantifying these capitals, a
83 process considerably more complex than measuring farm-household traits such as education,
84 farm size, ownership, access to credit, etc. It is actually possible to include these farm household
85 characteristics within the five types of capital. For instance, education or knowledge about
86 climate change are indicators of human capital. Farm size, machinery and infrastructure are
87 indicators of physical capital. This type of clustering of indicators into the five capitals has been
88 done previously (e.g. Wheeler et al., 2013; Below et al., 2012).

89 Previous studies have demonstrated that the effect of the five types of capital on adoption,
90 might be different for each adaptation strategy. The study of Wheeler et al. (2013) on Australian
91 farmers showed, that in general, the five capitals positively influenced the adoption of
92 adaptation measures, however, for each particular measure, the influence varied and was even
93 negative in some cases. For example, low education had a positive effect on increasing irrigation
94 area whereas it had a negative effect on changing crop mix. The study of Below et al. (2012) in
95 the Morogoro region of Tanzania, found that some indicators of human and social capital such
96 as education level or female headed households in some cases negatively impacted the adoption
97 of some adaptation strategies. Their study also indicated that physical and financial capital were
98 the greatest predictors for uptake of adaptation measures. Our study extends their research by
99 exploring the influence of the five forms of capital on the adoption of fourteen agricultural
100 practices in nine Sub-Saharan countries. The results may help identify barriers and incentives of
101 adoption across Sub-Saharan smallholders and contribute to better understand how adoption
102 may evolve as farm-household stocks and flows change over time.

103 Regional scale mathematical models that are spatially explicit and consider land, weather and
104 management characteristics (e.g. partial equilibrium models such as GLOBIOM) can predict the
105 uptake of adaptation strategies over time. However, the actual uptake often turns out to be
106 different from that predicted by the models as some key biophysical and/or socioeconomic
107 characteristics at farm scale are not taken into account. Therefore, a better understanding of
108 the determinants of adoption on the farm scale could ultimately serve to improve the accuracy
109 of such regional scale models.

110 This paper explores the adoption of fourteen agricultural practices during a 10-year time period
111 in order to better understand farm scale effects. We assess how the adoption of these practices
112 is affected by the five forms of capital at the farm-household level. By taking into account farm-
113 level dynamics the results of this study may contribute to better understand how adoption may
114 evolve in Sub-Saharan Africa.

115 **2 Materials and methods**

116 *2.1. Data*

117 This study used three sources of publicly available data: survey data at the household level,
118 social indicators at the district level and climate indicators at the regional level.

119 Survey data was obtained from the survey of the CGIAR Research program on Climate Change,
120 Agriculture and Food Security (CCAFS) which, was conducted in late 2010 and early 2011
121 (Kristjanson, et al., 2011). The survey was based on face-to-face interviews at the farm-
122 household level and included 1538 farm households in 80 villages as part of 11 case studies
123 across 9 countries (Burkina Faso, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, and
124 Uganda). The CCAFS survey was designed with the purpose of developing simple and
125 comparable cross-site household-level indicators for which changes in agricultural practices
126 could be evaluated over time (more information available from Kristjanson, et al. (2011)).

127 Additional indicator data to evaluate the natural capital were collected from different data
128 sources. Agro-climatic data was obtained from WorldClim (www.worldclim.org/) and included
129 annual precipitation as well as the difference between precipitation and potential
130 evapotranspiration. This difference between precipitation (water supply) and potential
131 evapotranspiration (water demand) could be used as an indicator of suitability for rain fed
132 agriculture in terms of water availability. The duration of the growing period was obtained from
133 FAO GeoNetwork (www.fao.org/geonetwork/).

134 *2.2. Uptake of the adaptation practices*

135 In this study, the dependent variable is the adoption level of adaptation practices in the farm-
136 households surveyed within the CCAFS research program. Our study assesses the adoption level
137 of fourteen adaptation practices which are classified into six groups: i) Introducing more
138 resistant crop varieties, ii) Introducing or improving irrigation, iii) Improving soil conservation,
139 iv) Introducing integrated pest and crop management v) Increasing the use of fertilisers and
140 agrochemicals and vi) Changing planting and cropping practices.

141 In the literature, increasing the use of fertilisers and agrochemicals has been previously
142 identified as necessary for sustained agricultural growth in Sub-Saharan Africa (Larson and

143 Frisvold, 1996; Schreinemachers and Tipraqsa, 2012) and considered as an adaptation strategy
144 to climate change since a correct application can enhance water use in water-limited
145 environments (Debaeke & Aboudrare, 2004).

146 The drivers of adoption of the adaptation practices are classified according to the five kinds of
147 capital: human, social, physical, financial, and natural.

148 Table 1 shows the selected indicators of the five kinds of capital used to assess adoption. Within
149 human capital, the indicators are education, size of the farm-household, and attitudes towards
150 the climate change. Personal attributes such as behaviour and values that make an individual
151 more productive are also considered part of human capital (Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 2013). The
152 reason why farmers have adopted changes could reflect in a certain way beliefs in climate
153 change and associated impacts such as changes in rainfall distribution and drought frequency.
154 Thus, they could also be a determinant of adoption of adaptation strategies. For social capital,
155 the indicators are related to membership of agricultural associations, and access and ability to
156 use information on climate conditions and extreme weather events through social networks.
157 Indicators of physical capital in farming systems include farm assets such as mechanical plough,
158 irrigation systems, electronic assets, livestock and land holdings, and agricultural inputs. For
159 financial capital, the indicators are off-farm and on-farm income, access to credit, having a bank
160 account and remittances. Natural capital is represented by annual precipitation, the difference
161 between precipitation and potential evapotranspiration and the duration of the growing period.

162 < INSERT TABLE 1 >

163 2.3. *Relevance of the selected indicators*

164 We hypothesise that the five kinds of capital significantly contribute to the uptake of adaptation
165 strategies at the farm household level.

166 Indicators of human and social capital such as education, values, access and trust towards
167 received information, involvement in local action groups etc. have been shown to reduce social
168 barriers that may currently hinder or limit the adoption of adaptation strategies (Nielsen and
169 Reenberg, 2010; Adger et al., 2009; García de Jalón et al., 2015).

170 Both physical and financial capital are expected to have stronger effects on the adoption of
171 adaptation measures than the other forms of capital. Both of these forms of capital are

172 indicators of farm-household wealth which has been found to strongly influence adoption of
173 adaptation strategies (Deressa et al., 2009; Bryan et al., 2013).

174 Natural capital is hypothesised to have both positive and negative effects on the adoption of
175 adaptation. On the one hand, the positive effect on adoption could arise by the fact that farms
176 located in areas more suitable for agriculture are more likely to have more developed farming
177 systems and consequently higher adaptive capacity. On the other hand, farms located in arid
178 and semi-arid regions with a lower natural capital are sometimes projected to suffer stronger
179 climate change impacts and consequently the need of adaptation could be higher. Moreover,
180 adopting some adaptation practices that could enhance farming sustainability (e.g. introducing
181 crop cover, rotations, and intercropping) allows coping with low water availability in water
182 limited environments (Bodner et al., 2007; Debaeke and Aboudrare, 2004). Thus it could be
183 expected that adoption of certain adaptation practices might be higher in drier regions as a
184 result of higher needs for adaptation to climate change.

185 2.4. Modelling framework

186 The influence of the five types of capital in 2010 on the uptake of the selected adaptation
187 practices between 2000 and 2010 is assessed with a generalised linear mixed model. The
188 adoption of the practices is treated as a binary dependent variable taking the value of 1 if the
189 given practice is adopted and 0 if not. The five types of capital are the predictors of adoption. In
190 this way, a random intercept Logit model is developed, with random effects for each of the 80
191 villages.

192 Equation (1) describes the random intercept Logit model in terms of a latent linear response,
193 where only $y_{ij} = I(y_{ij}^* > 0)$ was observed for the latent variable

$$194 \quad y_{ij}^* = X_{ij}\beta + Z_{ij}U_j + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (1)$$

195 Where X_{ij} are the covariates for the fixed effects (i.e. five types of capital) of farm-household i
196 in village j , with regression coefficients (fixed effects) β . Z_{ij} are the covariates corresponding to
197 the random effects, and could be used to represent both random intercepts and random
198 coefficients. As our case is a random intercept model, Z_{ij} equals the scalar 1. U_j represents the
199 error term for the random effects of the 80 villages which are estimated as variance
200 components. ε_{ij} are the errors following a logistic distribution with mean 0 and variance $\pi^2/3$
201 and are independent of U_j .

202 Defining $\pi_{ij} = Prob(adoptions_{ij} = 1)$, Equation (2) indicates the final random intercept Logit
203 model,

$$204 \quad \text{logit}(\pi_{ij}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Human_{ij} + \beta_2 Natural_{ij} + \beta_3 Physical_{ij} + \beta_4 Social_{ij} + \beta_5 Financial_{ij} + U_j \quad (2)$$

205 for $j = 1, \dots, 80$, with $i = 1, \dots, n_j$ farm-households in village j (80 villages).

206 The model (Equation 2) is applied to each of the fourteen adaptation practices.

207 **3 Results**

208 *3.1. Uptake of adaptation practices for mitigating impacts of climate change*

209 3.1.1. Uptake of adaptation practices

210 Firstly, we present descriptive statistics for the uptake of climate change adaptation practices
211 (Table 2). The mean value indicated the adoption rate of adaptation practices between 2000
212 and 2010 in the farm-households surveyed within the CCAFS program. As shown in Table 2, using
213 manure or compost (57% farm households) and introducing intercropping (55% farm
214 households) were the practices most frequently adopted. On the other hand, introducing crop
215 cover (6% farm households), using integrated crop management (8% farm households) or pest
216 control (7% farm households) and starting irrigation (11% farm households) were the least
217 adopted adaptation practices. Overall, introducing more resistant crop varieties was a relatively
218 widespread group of adaptation practices. 39% of the farm households planted drought tolerant
219 crop varieties in the last 10 years and 24% and 25% planted disease and pest-resistant crop
220 varieties, respectively. Of the farm households surveyed, 11% and 13% introduced micro-
221 catchments and terraces respectively. Finally, 34% of farm households started or increased the
222 use of fertilizers and pesticides and/or herbicides, and 37% of farm households introduced crop
223 rotations.

224 < INSERT TABLE 2 >

225

226 3.1.2. Comparison of country averages

227 The distribution of the five kinds of capital and the adoption rate in 2000-2010 of the six groups
228 of adaptation practices is presented in Figure 1. The estimation of the levels of capitals and

229 adoption was based on the different indicators. Since not all observed indicators of capitals had
230 the same measurement scale the values were normalised to a scale from 0 to 1 and averaged
231 for each type of capital. Country estimates were calculated as an average of surveyed farm-
232 households.

233 Comparing East and West Africa, the uptake of adaptation practices in East Africa seemed to be
234 higher than in West Africa. Overall, the most frequently adopted option was to increase the use
235 of fertilisers and agrochemicals. However, whilst introducing more-resistant varieties was a
236 measure commonly adopted in East Africa, the measure of changing the practices of planting
237 was frequently adopted in West Africa. Moreover, introducing or improving irrigation and
238 introducing integrated pest and crop management turned out to be the least frequently adopted
239 options in both regions.

240 In general, we find that high values of capital are associated with higher adoption. Thus Ghana,
241 with the highest values for the five types of capital in West Africa also exhibited the highest
242 levels of adoption. Similarly, in East Africa, Kenya and Tanzania exhibited the highest values for
243 capital and for adoption levels. Ethiopia and Niger had the lowest values for capital as well as
244 the lowest adoption levels. Uganda, with the highest value for natural capital, has relatively low
245 adoption levels compared to other countries.

246 < INSERT FIGURE 1 >

247

248 3.1.3. Correlations between countries

249 We analyse both the correlation matrix of forms of capital (bottom-left values) and of adaptation
250 practices (top-right values) between countries (Table 3). The correlation matrix indicates the
251 similarity of forms of capital and uptake of adaptation practices among countries. The results
252 showed a higher correlation or similarity between neighbouring countries than between distant
253 countries. For instance, Burkina Faso had the highest correlations with neighbouring countries
254 such as Mali, Niger and Ghana. Senegal which among the studied countries only borders onto
255 Mali had very low correlations with the rest of the countries. The correlations with respect to
256 the uptake of adaptation practices were generally lower than for the forms of capital.

257 < INSERT TABLE 3 >

258 3.2. *The influence of the five forms of capital on the uptake of adaptation measures*

259 This section describes the results of the mixed logit model assessing the influence of the five
260 types of capital on the uptake of adaptation measures in the last ten years (Table 4).

261 3.2.1. More resistant crop varieties

262 Most kinds of capital are found to have a significantly positive effect on introducing more
263 resistant crop varieties. Human and social capital show a positive and significant effect on
264 introducing drought tolerant, disease-resistant and pest-resistant crop varieties. This result is in
265 line with the findings of Abebe et al. (2013), who concluded that both human and social capital
266 are key determinants for the introduction of high-yielding and more resistant crop varieties on
267 African farms. Whilst higher human capital could be linked to greater knowledge about new crop
268 varieties and their potential benefits in a changing climate, higher social capital could be related
269 with better access to seed dealers and to information on climate change. Physical capital,
270 however, does not appear to significantly affect adoption. Therefore, higher knowledge and
271 access to information and seed markets seem to be better predictors of introducing climate
272 resistant crop varieties when compared to farm-household assets. Financial capital is found to
273 significantly impact the introduction of disease and pest-resistant crop varieties. However, in
274 the case of introducing drought-resistant varieties the effect is not statistically significant.
275 Natural capital was found to have the strongest effect in terms of introducing crop varieties
276 which are more resistant to droughts, pests and diseases.

277 This result differs from our initial hypothesis which assumed that the effect of physical and
278 financial capital would have the strongest effect on adoption of this practice. This might be
279 explained by the fact that the introduction of more resistant varieties might be limited by the
280 access of farmers to improved seeds which could vary among the studied regions (Nordhagen
281 and Pascual, 2013). Farmers who live in regions less suitable for agriculture might not be willing
282 to invest in improved seeds as much as farmers who live in regions with higher natural capital
283 associated to higher returns on investment. Furthermore, since most farms rely on rain-fed
284 agriculture it might be possible that in dry regions farmers were already using drought-tolerant
285 varieties before 2000 and consequently the introduction of new varieties in the period 2000-
286 2010 was rather low.

287 3.2.2. Irrigation systems

288 The findings are consistent with the aforementioned hypotheses that all forms of capital are
289 expected to have positive effect on the adoption of irrigation systems. Physical capital is found

290 to be the strongest predictor. This seems reasonable since farm-households with more
291 infrastructure would probably have higher capacity to introduce or improve irrigation systems.

292 3.2.3. Soil conservation practices

293 Introducing soil conservation practices such as micro-catchments and terraces is found to be
294 fundamentally driven by social capital. This may be because in SSA the implementation of soil
295 conservation techniques in agriculture has been strongly fostered by agricultural extension
296 services and technical advisors (Rockström et al., 2009). Natural capital is not found to
297 significantly affect the introduction of micro-catchments or terraces. However, it could be
298 expected that in areas with low natural capital, such as water-limited environments, the need
299 to adopt soil conservation practices is higher as it enhances the field capacity of soil, and
300 increases the amount of retained water available for farming (Debaeke and Aboudrare, 2004).

301 3.2.4. Integrated pest and crop management

302 Human and social capital are found to have the strongest effect on introducing integrated pest-
303 and crop management. This could be explained by agricultural networks and memberships in
304 farming associations. Within human capital, education and climate change perceptions are
305 found to be relevant determinants of this practice. The negative coefficient of natural capital in
306 introducing integrated pest management indicates that this practice is more frequently adopted
307 in the driest and least suitable agricultural regions. However, this could also be the result of
308 different socio-economic contexts among the case studies. Parsa et al. (2014) found that socio-
309 economic factors such as insufficient training and technical support to farmers, lack of
310 favourable government policies and support and low levels of education are the main obstacles
311 of introducing integrated pest management in developing countries.

312 3.2.5. Fertilisers and agrochemicals

313 All kinds of capital are found to have a positive effect on increasing the use of fertilisers and
314 agrochemicals with the exception of natural capital. Natural capital does not show a significant
315 effect which implies that suitability for agriculture is not related to the use of fertilisers and
316 agrochemicals. Physical capital (farm assets such as machinery and infrastructure) is the
317 strongest predictor of fertiliser and agrochemical use. Social capital is found to have a relatively
318 strong impact on adoption of this practice. This could be explained by the fact that social capital
319 is formed by items related to access to information provided by dealers of fertilisers,
320 agrochemicals or seeds. This finding agrees with Stuart et al. (2014) who pointed out that

321 fertiliser dealers and seed company agronomists are typically one of the most trusted sources
322 of information of farmers.

323 3.2.6. Changes in farm-management practices

324 All forms of capital, except natural capital, show strong positive effects on introducing crop
325 rotations. Human and social capital seem to be the strongest predictors of introducing
326 intercropping. In the case of introducing crop cover, natural and financial capital show the
327 strongest influence. The positive effect of the natural capital indicates that adoption of these
328 practices is more likely in wetter regions.

329 < INSERT TABLE 4 >

330 4 Discussion

331 Our results show that between 2000 and 2010 the most frequently adopted adaptation practices
332 in SSA were an increased use of fertilisers and agrochemicals. This observation can be explained
333 in terms of the importance of fertilisers and agrochemicals, which are considered critical for
334 growth productivity in SSA (Schlenker and Lobell, 2010). Adaptation practices such as
335 introducing or improving irrigation systems, which can provide an immediate and effective
336 response to a decrease in water availability, were not widely adopted. Such practices require
337 higher investments and consequently, the financial barrier could hinder potential adoption.
338 Burke et al. (2006) highlighted that, in the past two decades the investment in agricultural
339 irrigation systems in SSA has declined considerably. This decrease could be due to both
340 disappointing returns in response to elevated investments in this technology, and because farms
341 require certain infrastructure and assets to afford irrigation systems. These observations are in
342 line with our results which show that physical capital is the main driver in introducing or
343 improving irrigation systems.

344 4.1. Physical capital

345 Physical capital is found to be the most powerful predictor of introducing or improving irrigation
346 and of increasing the use of fertilisers and agrochemicals. Therefore, investing in improving
347 farm-household assets such as infrastructure, as well as in inputs for crop production could lead

348 to an increase in the uptake of these climate change adaptation practices. Access to basic needs
349 such as a home with electricity, tap water, improved roofing, etc. could also be important
350 determinants of adoption since they indicate a certain level of household wealth which increases
351 the probability of adoption (Kuntashula et al., 2015; García de Jalón et al., 2017). Thus a
352 straightforward policy recommendation to enhance the adoption rate would be improving basic
353 needs of farm-households. This policy measure aligns with the multitude of development
354 policies (e.g. the Millennium Development Goals) suggested to eradicate extreme poverty
355 (Beddington et al., 2012).

356 4.2. *Social capital*

357 Social capital is found to have a positive and significant influence on the uptake of all adaptation
358 practices. This is in line with previous studies that suggest that by investing in social capital, such
359 as access to information, agricultural extension services and farming associations and networks
360 one could obtain an improved uptake of practices (Deressa et al., 2009; Below et al., 2012; AAP,
361 2013; IFAD, 2013). Directly investing in improving social capital could contribute to overcoming
362 the cognitive, normative and institutional barriers to adaptation (Jones and Boyd, 2011). These
363 social barriers have been found to considerably hinder the uptake of adaptation, and to be the
364 main cause of the failure for adopting so-called 'no-regret' or 'low-regret' adaptation options
365 (Nielsen and Reenberg, 2010; Adger et al., 2009).

366 4.3. *Human capital*

367 Human capital is found to have a positive and significant influence on the uptake of all
368 adaptation practices with the exception of introducing cover crops. This is in line with previous
369 research that suggest that, education, an indicator of human capital, is an important
370 determinant of farmers' perception and attitudes towards climate change (García de Jalón et
371 al., 2015; Islam et al., 2013) and of adoption of farm-level adaptation measures (Deressa et al.,
372 2009; Below et al., 2012).

373 4.4. *Financial capital*

374 Although not always statistically significant, financial capital has a positive effect on the uptake
375 of all adaptation practices. This indicates that for farm-households with high financial resources
376 the likelihood of adoption was higher. This finding disagrees with García de Jalón et al. (2016)
377 which found that in some cases the adoption of low-regret or no-regret adaptation measures
378 was higher in poor farm-households. This difference could be explained by substitution of
379 adaptation options. For instance, whilst wealthier farm-households have the capacity to
380 introduce an irrigation system to reduce crop water stress, poorer farm-households might select
381 alternative measures such as introducing crop rotations or intercropping to attempt to achieve
382 the same benefits (Bruelle et al., 2017; Bodner et al., 2007; Debaeke and Aboudrare 2004). Thus,
383 the effect of financial capital could be positive in some practices and negative in others.

384 4.5. *Natural capital*

385 Natural capital is found to mainly determine the introduction of resistant crop varieties. One
386 explanation could be that adoption is more likely to take place in humid regions and areas more
387 suitable for agriculture. However, the within country differences among the socio-economic
388 contexts of the case studies such as institutional or normative factors could have stronger effects
389 than the effect of the natural capital on adoption. Thus, the estimated effect of natural capital
390 could be a combination of the natural capital and differences of socio-economic contexts
391 between countries. For instance, access to improved seeds might not vary substantially among
392 farms within the same area but it could vary among countries. This difference among countries
393 can be driven by different socio-economic contexts and this difference can in some cases, be
394 more relevant than the differences in natural capital. Thus, the estimated effects of the natural
395 capital interact with the effect of regional socioeconomic characteristics.

396 4.6. *Substitution of capital*

397 The substitution of capital could play a key role in predicting the future adoption of adaptation
398 measures in SSA. It is noteworthy that the estimated effects of the different forms of capital may
399 not be the same in the future or in different socio-economic contexts due to capital substitution
400 (Bowen et al., 2012). The economics literature has widely examined how factors of the

401 production function can be substituted for one another without limiting the capacity of
402 production (Hartwick, 1978; Figge, 2005). With the economic development of farms, the
403 influence on adoption of some factors of production such as knowledge in the labour force,
404 entrepreneurship and technology can increase over time. Thus, it may be argued that with
405 economic development, the returns to public investment in improving physical capital of farm-
406 households may diminish whereas returns related to other forms of capital such as social and
407 human capital may increase. Moreover, adaptation to climate change could also increase the
408 substitution of capitals (Reed et al., 2013).

409 **5 Conclusions**

410 This study has shown that the use of a mixed logit modelling approach can provide an analytical
411 framework to estimate how the five types of capitals affect the uptake of adaptation strategies.
412 Whilst increasing the use of fertilisers and agrochemicals was widely adopted in 2000-2010, the
413 uptake of introducing irrigation, integrated crop management, and soil conservation practices
414 was rather low. The effect of different forms of capital on adoption varied according to the
415 adaptation practices. Overall, most kinds of capital positively influenced adoption. The results
416 point to the importance of social and human capital. Instead of emphasising development
417 policies that focus on physical assets and financial capital, a lot may be gained by supporting
418 policies that enhance human and social capital.

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