

Color-Blind to the Obvious: Salience, Misperception, and Technology Adoption in Uganda

Paola Mallia
Paris School of Economics

Outline

Motivation and contribution

Context

Data

Descriptive statistics

Experimental design

Main results

Mechanisms

Robustness

Motivation

- ▶ Agriculture is the main source of income and food security for many rural households in low- and middle-income countries.

Motivation

- ▶ Agriculture is the main source of income and food security for many rural households in low- and middle-income countries.
- ▶ Despite large R&D investments, many agricultural innovations are adopted only partially (Evenson and Gollin [2003](#); Pingali [2012](#); Gollin, Hansen, and Wingender [2021](#)).

Motivation

- ▶ Agriculture is the main source of income and food security for many rural households in low- and middle-income countries.
- ▶ Despite large R&D investments, many agricultural innovations are adopted only partially (Evenson and Gollin [2003](#); Pingali [2012](#); Gollin, Hansen, and Wingender [2021](#)).
- ▶ Adoption requires several linked decisions:

Motivation

- ▶ Agriculture is the main source of income and food security for many rural households in low- and middle-income countries.
- ▶ Despite large R&D investments, many agricultural innovations are adopted only partially (Evenson and Gollin 2003; Pingali 2012; Gollin, Hansen, and Wingender 2021).
- ▶ Adoption requires several linked decisions:
 - ▶ Which crop variety to plant.

Motivation

- ▶ Agriculture is the main source of income and food security for many rural households in low- and middle-income countries.
- ▶ Despite large R&D investments, many agricultural innovations are adopted only partially (Evenson and Gollin 2003; Pingali 2012; Gollin, Hansen, and Wingender 2021).
- ▶ Adoption requires several linked decisions:
 - ▶ Which crop variety to plant.
 - ▶ Which inputs to use (and how much), given local conditions.

Motivation

- ▶ Agriculture is the main source of income and food security for many rural households in low- and middle-income countries.
- ▶ Despite large R&D investments, many agricultural innovations are adopted only partially (Evenson and Gollin 2003; Pingali 2012; Gollin, Hansen, and Wingender 2021).
- ▶ Adoption requires several linked decisions:
 - ▶ Which crop variety to plant.
 - ▶ Which inputs to use (and how much), given local conditions.
 - ▶ Which management practices to apply.

Motivation

- ▶ Agriculture is the main source of income and food security for many rural households in low- and middle-income countries.
- ▶ Despite large R&D investments, many agricultural innovations are adopted only partially (Evenson and Gollin 2003; Pingali 2012; Gollin, Hansen, and Wingender 2021).
- ▶ Adoption requires several linked decisions:
 - ▶ Which crop variety to plant.
 - ▶ Which inputs to use (and how much), given local conditions.
 - ▶ Which management practices to apply.
- ▶ Varieties bundle **multiple traits** (yields, disease resistance, climate resistance, taste...) many of which are hard for farmers to observe.

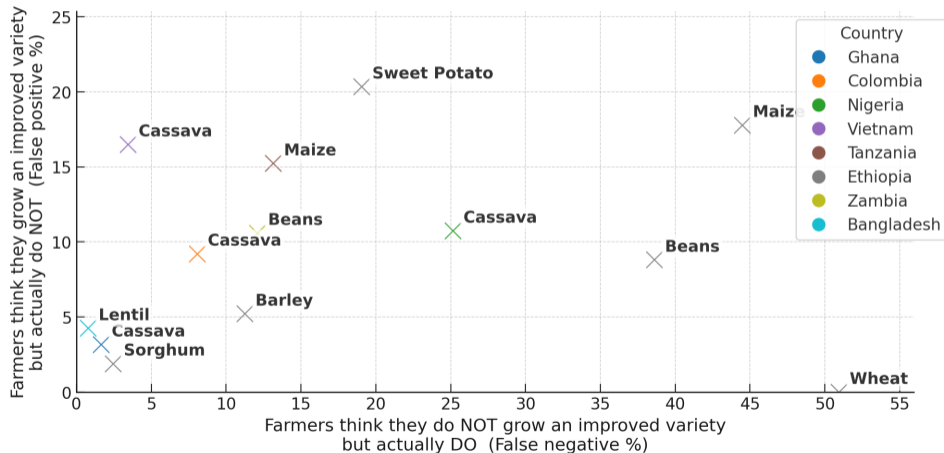
Motivation

- ▶ Agriculture is the main source of income and food security for many rural households in low- and middle-income countries.
- ▶ Despite large R&D investments, many agricultural innovations are adopted only partially (Evenson and Gollin 2003; Pingali 2012; Gollin, Hansen, and Wingender 2021).
- ▶ Adoption requires several linked decisions:
 - ▶ Which crop variety to plant.
 - ▶ Which inputs to use (and how much), given local conditions.
 - ▶ Which management practices to apply.
- ▶ Varieties bundle **multiple traits** (yields, disease resistance, climate resistance, taste...) many of which are hard for farmers to observe.
- ▶ As a result, farmers may struggle to form **correct beliefs** about varietal traits.

Do farmers know they are growing high-yielding varieties?

What type of seed was used for [CROP] on [FIELD]?

1. Traditional
2. Improved(New/Recycled)



Source: Stevenson et al. [2023](#)

Why Farmers Misperceive Variety Traits

- ▶ **Hard to observe:** many traits are only revealed under specific conditions (stress, disease, drought).

Why Farmers Misperceive Variety Traits

- ▶ **Hard to observe:** many traits are only revealed under specific conditions (stress, disease, drought).
- ▶ **Hard to learn:** outcomes are noisy and confounded by weather, soil, pests, and luck.

Why Farmers Misperceive Variety Traits

- ▶ **Hard to observe:** many traits are only revealed under specific conditions (stress, disease, drought).
- ▶ **Hard to learn:** outcomes are noisy and confounded by weather, soil, pests, and luck.
- ▶ **Hard to label:** informal seed exchange and inconsistent naming across locations.

Why Farmers Misperceive Variety Traits

- ▶ **Hard to observe:** many traits are only revealed under specific conditions (stress, disease, drought).
- ▶ **Hard to learn:** outcomes are noisy and confounded by weather, soil, pests, and luck.
- ▶ **Hard to label:** informal seed exchange and inconsistent naming across locations.
- ▶ **Hard to update:** limited salience/knowledge and persistent beliefs from older technologies.

This Paper

- ▶ **Misperceptions:** farmers hold incorrect beliefs about the traits their varieties have.

This Paper

- ▶ **Misperceptions:** farmers hold incorrect beliefs about the traits their varieties have.
- ▶ **Research question:** Do misperceptions constrain adoption, and can **objective, variety-specific information** change planting decisions?

This Paper

- ▶ **Misperceptions:** farmers hold incorrect beliefs about the traits their varieties have.
- ▶ **Research question:** Do misperceptions constrain adoption, and can **objective, variety-specific information** change planting decisions?
- ▶ **Design:** village-level RCT with sweet potato farmers in Uganda:

This Paper

- ▶ **Misperceptions:** farmers hold incorrect beliefs about the traits their varieties have.
- ▶ **Research question:** Do misperceptions constrain adoption, and can **objective, variety-specific information** change planting decisions?
- ▶ **Design:** village-level RCT with sweet potato farmers in Uganda:
 - ▶ T1 (Info only): provide general information on (i) nutrition (*flesh color*) and (ii) disease resistance.

This Paper

- ▶ **Misperceptions:** farmers hold incorrect beliefs about the traits their varieties have.
- ▶ **Research question:** Do misperceptions constrain adoption, and can **objective, variety-specific information** change planting decisions?
- ▶ **Design:** village-level RCT with sweet potato farmers in Uganda:
 - ▶ T1 (Info only): provide general information on (i) nutrition (*flesh color*) and (ii) disease resistance.
 - ▶ T2 (Info + DNA): same general information **plus** objectively measured traits of farmers' own varieties.

This Paper

- ▶ **Misperceptions:** farmers hold incorrect beliefs about the traits their varieties have.
- ▶ **Research question:** Do misperceptions constrain adoption, and can **objective, variety-specific information** change planting decisions?
- ▶ **Design:** village-level RCT with sweet potato farmers in Uganda:
 - ▶ T1 (Info only): provide general information on (i) nutrition (*flesh color*) and (ii) disease resistance.
 - ▶ T2 (Info + DNA): same general information **plus** objectively measured traits of farmers' own varieties.
 - ▶ Control: no intervention.

This Paper

- ▶ **Misperceptions:** farmers hold incorrect beliefs about the traits their varieties have.
- ▶ **Research question:** Do misperceptions constrain adoption, and can **objective, variety-specific information** change planting decisions?
- ▶ **Design:** village-level RCT with sweet potato farmers in Uganda:
 - ▶ T1 (Info only): provide general information on (i) nutrition (*flesh color*) and (ii) disease resistance.
 - ▶ T2 (Info + DNA): same general information **plus** objectively measured traits of farmers' own varieties.
 - ▶ Control: no intervention.
- ▶ **Preview:**

This Paper

- ▶ **Misperceptions:** farmers hold incorrect beliefs about the traits their varieties have.
- ▶ **Research question:** Do misperceptions constrain adoption, and can **objective, variety-specific information** change planting decisions?
- ▶ **Design:** village-level RCT with sweet potato farmers in Uganda:
 - ▶ T1 (Info only): provide general information on (i) nutrition (*flesh color*) and (ii) disease resistance.
 - ▶ T2 (Info + DNA): same general information **plus** objectively measured traits of farmers' own varieties.
 - ▶ Control: no intervention.
- ▶ **Preview:**
 - ▶ T1 increases salience, but **does not change planting**.

This Paper

- ▶ **Misperceptions:** farmers hold incorrect beliefs about the traits their varieties have.
- ▶ **Research question:** Do misperceptions constrain adoption, and can **objective, variety-specific information** change planting decisions?
- ▶ **Design:** village-level RCT with sweet potato farmers in Uganda:
 - ▶ T1 (Info only): provide general information on (i) nutrition (*flesh color*) and (ii) disease resistance.
 - ▶ T2 (Info + DNA): same general information **plus** objectively measured traits of farmers' own varieties.
 - ▶ Control: no intervention.
- ▶ **Preview:**
 - ▶ T1 increases salience, but **does not change planting**.
 - ▶ T2 **changes behavior**: +38–59% higher adoption of nutritious and disease-resistant varieties.

This Paper

- ▶ **Misperceptions:** farmers hold incorrect beliefs about the traits their varieties have.
- ▶ **Research question:** Do misperceptions constrain adoption, and can **objective, variety-specific information** change planting decisions?
- ▶ **Design:** village-level RCT with sweet potato farmers in Uganda:
 - ▶ T1 (Info only): provide general information on (i) nutrition (*flesh color*) and (ii) disease resistance.
 - ▶ T2 (Info + DNA): same general information **plus** objectively measured traits of farmers' own varieties.
 - ▶ Control: no intervention.
- ▶ **Preview:**
 - ▶ T1 increases salience, but **does not change planting**.
 - ▶ T2 **changes behavior**: +38–59% higher adoption of nutritious and disease-resistant varieties.
 - ▶ Mechanism: better trait–variety matching and solves perceived trade-offs.

Literature and Contribution

1. **Technology adoption in agriculture:** Prior work highlights constraints from credit/risk, learning and networks, input quality/markets, and heterogeneous returns (Karlan et al. 2014; Foster and Rosenzweig 1995; Conley and Udry 2010; BenYishay and Mobarak 2018; Bold et al. 2017; Suri 2011).
⇒ We add a novel mechanism: **misperceptions about varietal traits**.
2. **Welfare impacts:** We track effects from variety choice to household consumption and **child health**, contributing evidence on agriculture–nutrition linkages (Ruel, Quisumbing, and Balagamwala 2018).

Outline

Motivation and contribution

Context

Data

Descriptive statistics

Experimental design

Main results

Mechanisms

Robustness

Context: Sweet Potato in Uganda

- ▶ **Major staple:** Third most important crop, with high per-capita consumption.
- ▶ **Rich varietal diversity:** varieties differ in many traits (taste, yield, storability, resistance, nutritional content).
- ▶ **Focus on two Traits:**
 - ▶ **Flesh-color:** signals vitamin A content of the sweet potato.
 - ▶ **Disease resistance:** minimizes crop losses and ensures stable yields.
- ▶ **Experienced farmers:** long familiarity with cultivation and varietal choice.
- ▶ **Low-input crop:** very little fertilizer and pesticide use.
- ▶ Planting material mainly from **own harvest** or community; little commercial purchase.

Outline

Motivation and contribution

Context

Data

Descriptive statistics

Experimental design

Main results

Mechanisms

Robustness

Data and Measurement: Surveys

- ▶ **Survey rounds:** Baseline Feb–Mar 2022; Endline Feb–Mar 2023.
- ▶ **What we measure:**
 - ▶ Adoption and production outcomes (both rounds).
 - ▶ Endline: food consumption + child health (illness in past 2 weeks and 6 months).
- ▶ **Measurement innovations:**
 - ▶ GPS-measured plot area.
 - ▶ DNA fingerprinting to identify varieties and key traits.

Data and Measurement: DNA Fingerprinting

How leaf samples are collected (in practice)

1. Enumerator walks to each sweet potato plot with the farmer.
2. For each distinct variety in the plot: pick **3–5 young, healthy leaves** from **different vines**.
3. Put leaves in a **labeled sample bag** (farmer ID, plot ID, reported variety name).
4. Store in a cool box; transport to the lab for DNA extraction and matching to the **reference library**.

Outline

Motivation and contribution

Context

Data

Descriptive statistics

Experimental design

Main results

Mechanisms

Robustness

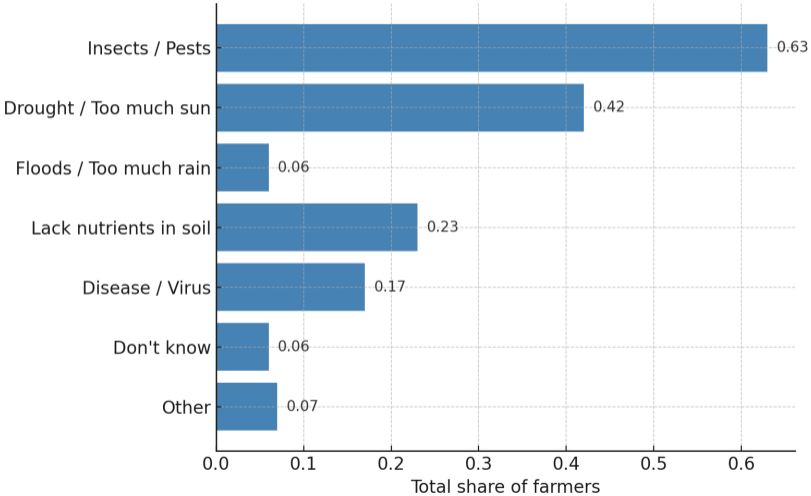
Adoption rates at baseline using objective measurement

Table: Sweet Potato Variety Adoption at Baseline

Panel A: Share of households with at least one variety		
Variety Type	Share	N
Orange-fleshed	0.062	1,000
Yellow-fleshed	0.301	1,000
White-fleshed	0.350	1,000
SPVD-resistant	0.617	1,000
AB-resistant	0.543	1,000
Yellow & Disease-resistant	0.222	1,000

Fact 1: Most farmers misdiagnose virus-related symptoms

“What are the causes of these signs on leaves?”

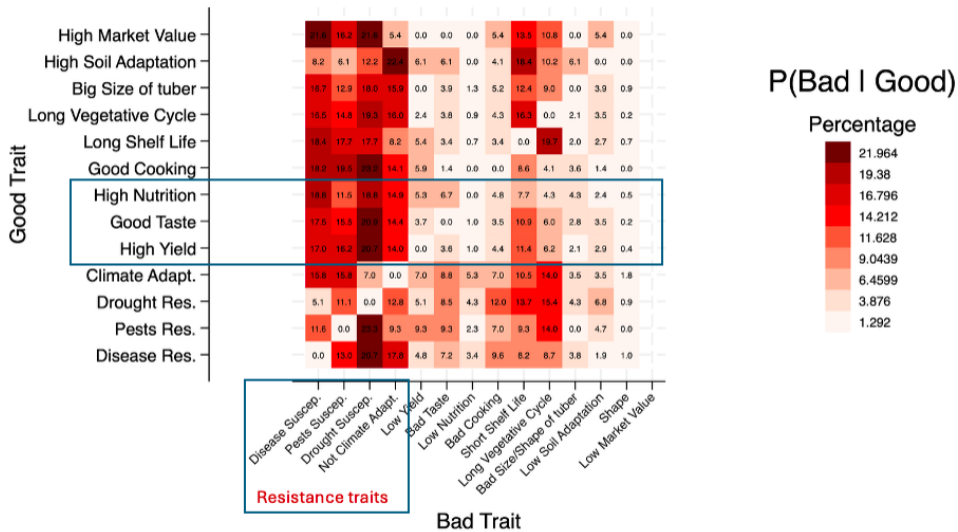


Fact 2: Trait misidentification is common

Trait	Correct: Has trait (TP)	Error: Over-claim (FP)	Error: Miss trait (FN)	Correct: No trait (TN)
Orange-fleshed	2.7%	4.5%	0.9%	91.8%
Yellow-fleshed	14.2%	28.4%	26.1%	31.1%
SPVD-resistant	62.2%	10.8%	24.1%	2.8%
AB-resistant	44.4%	27.7%	22.3%	5.6%

Notes: Shares based on household-level comparison of self-reports vs DNA fingerprinting in the control group at endline ($N = 671$). TP = true positive, FP = false positive, FN = false negative, TN = true negative.

Fact 3: Farmers believe nutrition and disease resistance trade off



- Farmers often believe desirable traits come at a cost (e.g., nutrition vs resistance).

Outline

Motivation and contribution

Context

Data

Descriptive statistics

Experimental design

Main results

Mechanisms

Robustness

Data and Measurement: Surveys

- ▶ **Survey rounds:** Baseline Feb–Mar 2022; Endline Feb–Mar 2023.
- ▶ **What we measure:**
 - ▶ Adoption and production outcomes (both rounds).
 - ▶ Endline: food consumption + child health (illness in past 2 weeks and 6 months).
- ▶ **Measurement innovations:**
 - ▶ GPS-measured plot area.
 - ▶ DNA fingerprinting to identify varieties and key traits.

Data and Measurement: DNA Fingerprinting

How leaf samples are collected (in practice)

1. Enumerator walks to each sweet potato plot with the farmer.
2. For each distinct variety in the plot: pick **3–5 young, healthy leaves** from **different vines**.
3. Put leaves in a **labeled sample bag** (farmer ID, plot ID, reported variety name).
4. Store in a cool box; transport to the lab for DNA extraction and matching to the **reference library**.

Experimental design

- ▶ **Sample:** 108 villages (4 regions), 2,150 households (~20 per village).
- ▶ **Village-level randomization:**
 - ▶ Info only: information on nutrition (flesh color) and disease/virus resistance.
 - ▶ Info+DNA: same info + DNA-based feedback on farmers' own varieties.
 - ▶ Control: no intervention.
- ▶ **Stratified by:** region and baseline share of orange-fleshed / disease-resistant varieties.
- ▶ **Spillovers:** a subsample of Info+DNA also receives community feedback.
- ▶ **Key outcomes:** adoption, beliefs, production, consumption, child health.

General information treatment - T1

Flesh color and vitamin A

- ▶ Orange flesh = high vitamin A
- ▶ Yellow flesh = medium
- ▶ White or purple flesh = none

Vitamin A benefits: Supports immune function, prevents night-blindness, and is vital for growth—especially for children and pregnant women.



ORANGE FLESHED



YELLOW FLESHED



PURPLE FLESHED



WHITE FLESHED

Sweet Potato Viruses and Diseases

- ▶ Recognize symptoms of SPVD and Alternaria blight on leaves.
- ▶ Apply correct management when symptoms appear.
- ▶ Understand roles of insect vectors and climate.
- ▶ Learn that resistant varieties exist.



A



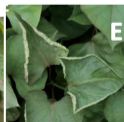
B



C



D



E



F

DNA-fingerprinting treatment: Individual Card example - T2

District	Parish	Subcounty	Village	Name
A	B	C	D	E



Variety	Official name	Resistant to SPVD	Resistant to AB	Disease resistant	Flesh color
Funtula	Muwulu Aduduma	YES	NO	NO	White or purple
Icok agamente	KAKAMEGA	YES	YES	YES	Orange
Lira lira	KML934	YES	YES	YES	Yellow

Outline

Motivation and contribution

Context

Data

Descriptive statistics

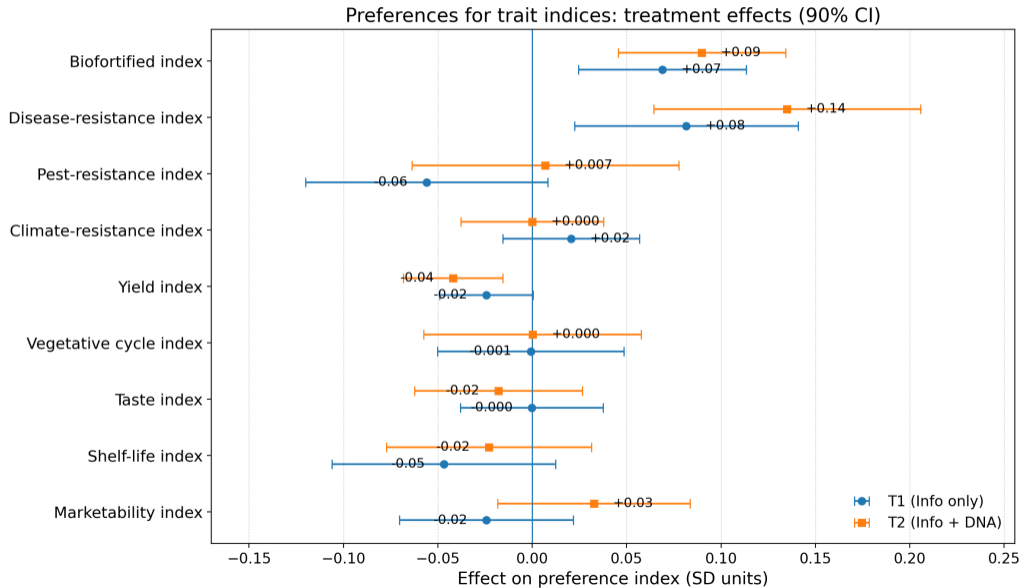
Experimental design

Main results

Mechanisms

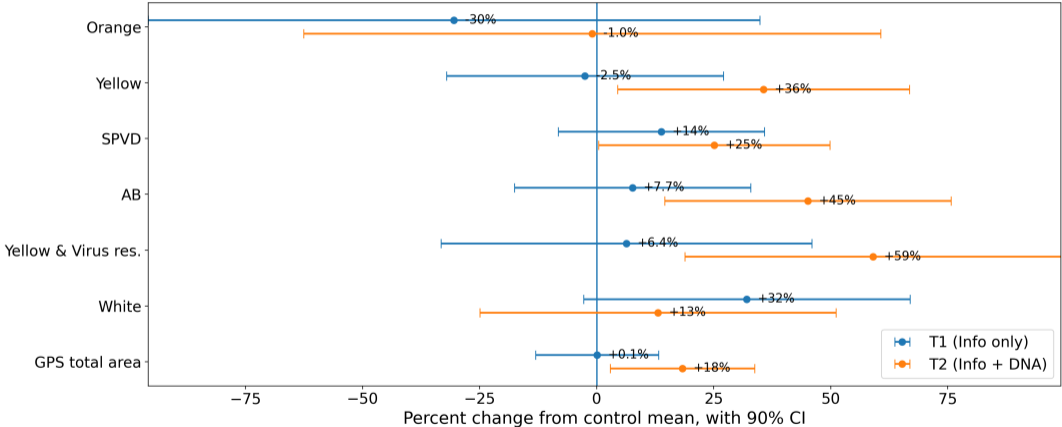
Robustness

ITT results for Household preferences for varietal traits



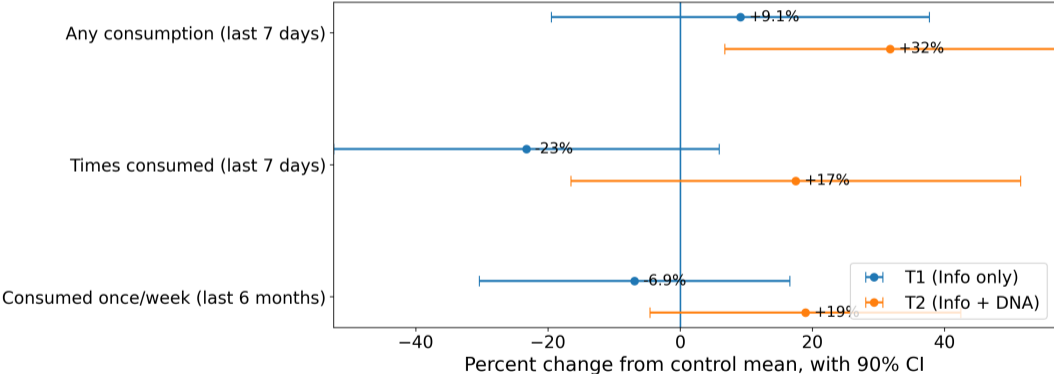
Adoption - Intensive Margin

ITT: household area cultivated by variety traits (%)



Consumption of Orange or Yellow Sweet Potato: Children Under 2 y.o.

ITT: child consumption of orange/yellow sweet potato (%)



Why Expect Health Effects?

- ▶ Vitamin A supplementation reduces incidence and severity of diarrheal diseases, especially in young children (Mayo-Wilson et al. [2011](#)).

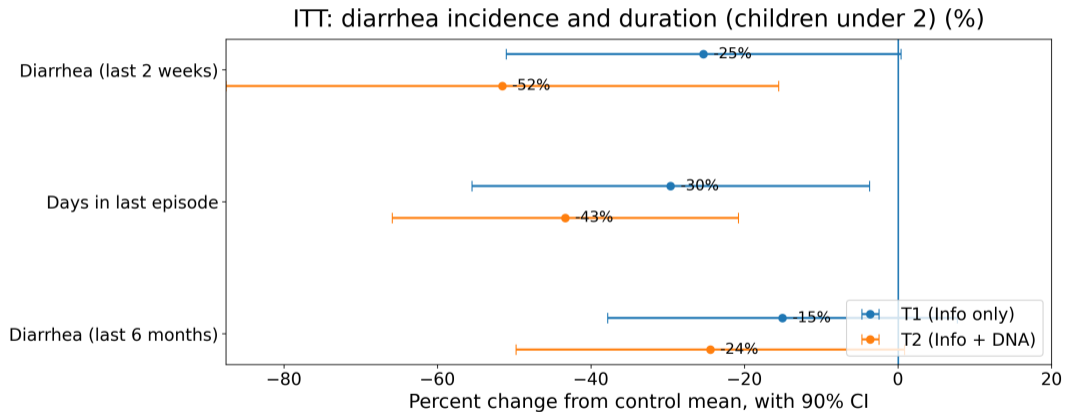
Why Expect Health Effects?

- ▶ Vitamin A supplementation reduces incidence and severity of diarrheal diseases, especially in young children (Mayo-Wilson et al. [2011](#)).
- ▶ Emerging evidence: vitamin A-rich foods provide similar benefits in deficient populations (Jones and De Brauw [2015](#)).

Why Expect Health Effects?

- ▶ Vitamin A supplementation reduces incidence and severity of diarrheal diseases, especially in young children (Mayo-Wilson et al. [2011](#)).
- ▶ Emerging evidence: vitamin A-rich foods provide similar benefits in deficient populations (Jones and De Brauw [2015](#)).
- ▶ Mechanism: maintains gut mucosal integrity and enhances immune function (Stephensen [2001](#)).

Incidence of Diarrhea: Children Under 2 y.o.



Outline

Motivation and contribution

Context

Data

Descriptive statistics

Experimental design

Main results

Mechanisms

Robustness

Mechanisms: Why T2 works and T1 doesn't

- ▶ **T1 (Info only):** makes traits salient, but farmers still can't link traits to their own varieties.

Mechanisms: Why T2 works and T1 doesn't

- ▶ **T1 (Info only):** makes traits salient, but farmers still can't link traits to their own varieties.
- ▶ **Missing: Identification** → no reliable trait–variety matching.

Mechanisms: Why T2 works and T1 doesn't

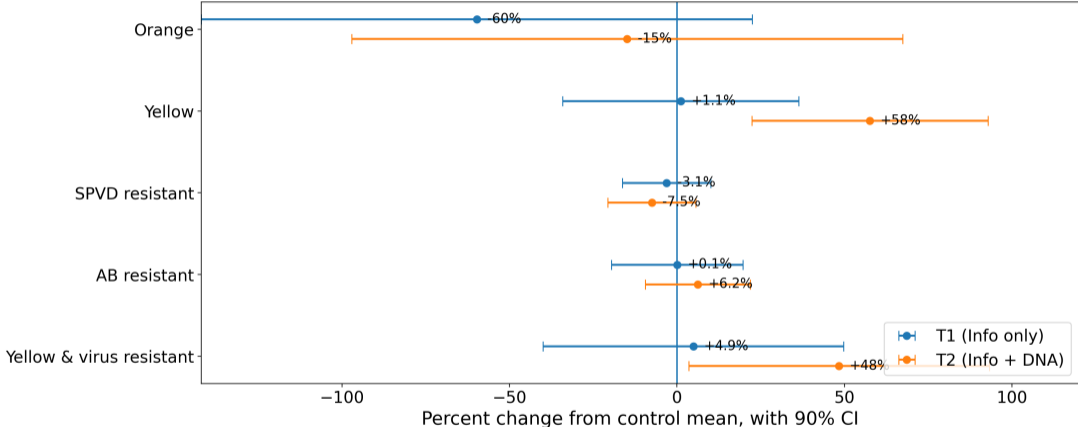
- ▶ **T1 (Info only):** makes traits salient, but farmers still can't link traits to their own varieties.
- ▶ **Missing: Identification** → no reliable trait–variety matching.
- ▶ **Missing: Trade-offs** → focusing on one trait can raise perceived costs on others.

Mechanisms: Why T2 works and T1 doesn't

- ▶ **T1 (Info only):** makes traits salient, but farmers still can't link traits to their own varieties.
- ▶ **Missing: Identification** → no reliable trait–variety matching.
- ▶ **Missing: Trade-offs** → focusing on one trait can raise perceived costs on others.
- ▶ **T2 (Info+DNA):** objective, variety-specific feedback → improves identification and clarifies multi-trait packages → increases planting of yellow/virus-resistant varieties.

Accurate Trait Recognition: Share of correctly identified varieties

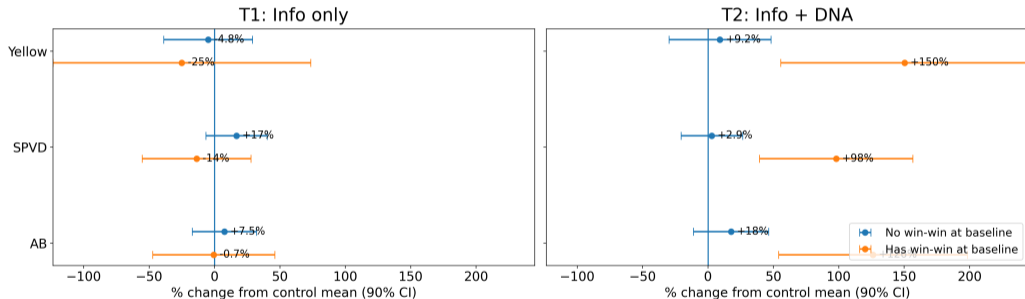
ITT: precision of trait-variety matching (share of true positives) (%)



- ▶ Info Only: no changes.
- ▶ Info + DNA: improved recognition of yellow flesh and yellow+virus resistance.

Heterogeneity: Effects concentrated among “win-win” households

Heterogeneity in land allocation effects (selected outcomes)



Win-win = household has ≥ 1 variety that is both nutritious (orange/yellow) and disease-resistant (SPVD/AB) at baseline.
For $X=1$ effects, we plot $\beta_T + \beta_{T \times X}$; SE for this sum is backed out from the table's test of $H_0: \beta_T + \beta_{T \times X} = 0$.

Outline

Motivation and contribution

Context

Data

Descriptive statistics

Experimental design

Main results

Mechanisms

Robustness

Robustness Checks

- ▶ Consumption of Orange/Yellow varieties:
 - ▶ Experimenter demand bias: should be observed in both treatment arms (not just one).
 - ▶ Bounding exercise: improved recognition would need to be very large to fully explain consumption effects.
- ▶ Health effects:
 - ▶ Script did not mention diarrhea as an outcome of vitamin A.
 - ▶ No effects on other symptoms: cough, fever, malaria ▶ Placebo1
 - ▶ Sight improvement was mentioned but no effects ▶ Placebo2

Outline

Motivation and contribution

Context

Data

Descriptive statistics

Experimental design

Main results

Mechanisms

Robustness

Big-picture takeaway

- ▶ Information alone is not enough when farmers cannot link traits to their own varieties.
- ▶ Objective, variety-specific feedback corrects beliefs and changes technology adoption.
- ▶ These belief corrections translate into measurable nutrition and child health gains.

Policy Implications

- ▶ **Technology returns:**

Misperceptions lower the payoff to plant breeding, extension services, and seed systems.

- ▶ **R&D targeting:**

Correcting misperceptions reveals the varietal traits farmers truly value, guiding future research and development.

- ▶ **Welfare implications:**

Improving misperceptions about varietal traits can generate tangible nutrition and health gains.

Thank You!

paola.mallia@psemail.eu



References I

-  BenYishay, Ariel et al. (July 2018). “Social Learning and Incentives for Experimentation and Communication”. In: *The Review of Economic Studies* 86.3, pp. 976–1009.
-  Bold, Tessa et al. (2017). “Lemon Technologies and Adoption: Measurement, Theory and Evidence from Agricultural Markets in Uganda”. In: *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 132.3, pp. 1055–1100.
-  Conley, Timothy G. et al. (2010). “Learning about a New Technology: Pineapple in Ghana”. In: *American Economic Review* 100.1, pp. 35–69.
-  Evenson, Robert E. et al. (2003). “Assessing the Impact of the Green Revolution, 1960 to 2000”. In: *Science* 300.5620, pp. 758–762.
-  Foster, Andrew D. et al. (1995). “Learning by Doing and Learning from Others: Human Capital and Technical Change in Agriculture”. In: *Journal of Political Economy* 103.6, pp. 1176–1209.
-  Gollin, Douglas et al. (2021). “Two Blades of Grass: The Impact of the Green Revolution”. In: *Journal of Political Economy* 129.8, pp. 2344–2384.

References II

-  Jones, Kelly M. et al. (Oct. 2015). “Using Agriculture to Improve Child Health: Promoting Orange Sweet Potatoes Reduces Diarrhea”. In: *World Development* 74, pp. 15–24.
-  Karlan, Dean et al. (May 1, 2014). “Agricultural Decisions after Relaxing Credit and Risk Constraints *”. In: *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129.2, pp. 597–652.
-  Mayo-Wilson, E. et al. (Aug. 25, 2011). “Vitamin A Supplements for Preventing Mortality, Illness, and Blindness in Children Aged under 5: Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis”. In: *BMJ* 343 (aug25 1), pp. d5094–d5094.
-  Pingali, Prabhu L. (2012). “Green Revolution: Impacts, Limits, and the Path Ahead”. In: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109.31, pp. 12302–12308.
-  Ruel, Marie T. et al. (2018). “Nutrition-sensitive agriculture: What have we learned so far?” In: *Global Food Security* 17, pp. 128–153.
-  Stephensen, C. B. (2001). “Vitamin A, Infection, and Immune Function”. In: *Annual Review of Nutrition* 21, pp. 167–192.

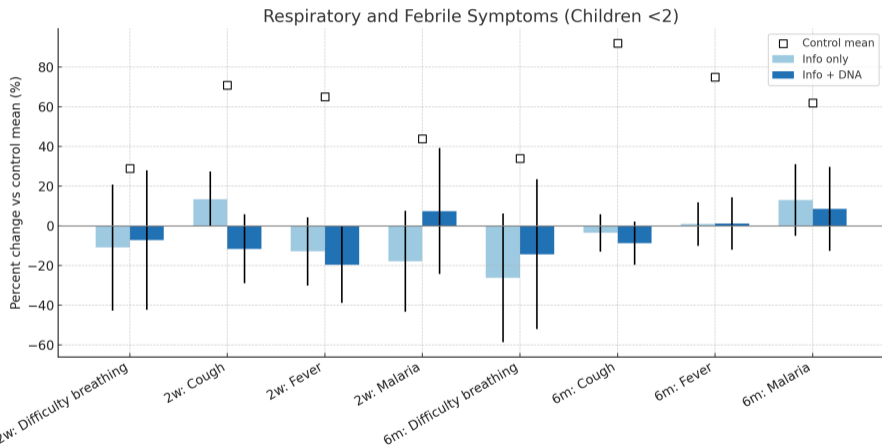
References III

-  Stevenson, James et al. (2023). *The Challenge of Tracking the Reach of Post-Green Revolution Crop Breeding*. URL: <https://www.researchsquare.com/article/rs-3028333/v1> (visited on 06/06/2025). Pre-published.
-  Suri, Tavneet (2011). "Selection and Comparative Advantage in Technology Adoption". In: *Econometrica* 79.1, pp. 159–209.

Outline

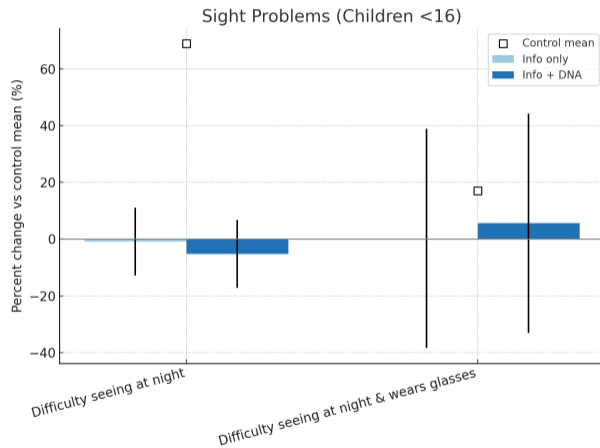
Appendix

Placebo Health Outcomes: U2



▶ back

Placebo Health Outcomes: U2



▶ back