

Food Aid and Livelihoods in Kyatune Location, Mutomo District: A Case Study of World Food Programme (WFP).

BY

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A Project Paper Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of a Master of Arts Degree in Development Studies.

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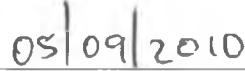
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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.



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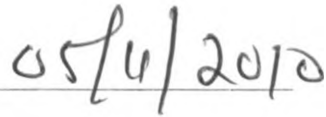


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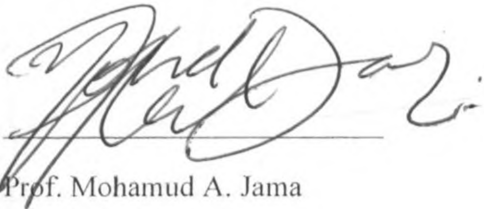
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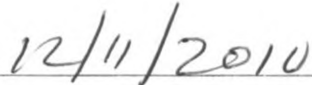
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DEDICATION

To the late Prof. Mary Bonareri Omosa who guided me in shaping this paper despite being sick all along until her untimely death.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title.....i

Declaration.....ii

Dedication.....iii

Acknowledgement.....iv

Table of Contents.....v

List of
Tables.....viii

List of Figures.....ix

Abstract.....x

Acronyms.....xii

1.0 INTRODUCTION.....1

1.1 Study Background.....1

 1.1.2 Project Food Aid.....2

1.2 Problem Statement.....4

1.3 Research Questions.....5

1.4 Research Objectives.....6

1.5 Justification.....6

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....8

2.1 Project Food Aid and Livelihoods.....8

 2.1.1 Project food aid for mothers and pre-school children.....11

 2.1.2 School Feeding Programme.....12

 2.1.3 Food for work.....13

2.2 Project Food Aid and Persistent Poverty.....13

2.3 Project Food Aid Experiences: Donors and Recipients.....16

2.4 Literature Review Summary.....18

2.5 Theoretical Framework.....19

2.6 Operationalisation of Key Variables.....21

2.7 Definition of Key Terms.....	22
3.0 METHODOLOGY.....	23
3.1 Site Selection.....	23
3.2 Sampling Procedure.....	24
3.3 Data Collection.....	25
3.4 Data Analysis.....	27
3.5 Challenges Encountered.....	28
4.0 SOCIAL-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE.....	30
4.1 Introduction.....	30
4.2 Households Socio-economic characteristics.....	31
4.2.1 Age and Family Size.....	31
4.2.2 Gender and Household Management.....	32
4.2.3 Education and Training.....	33
4.2.4 Economic Activities and Income.....	35
4.3 Summary.....	36
5.0 IMPROVEMENT OF LIVELIHOODS.....	37
5.1 School Feeding Programme.....	37
5.2 Maternal Child Health.....	42
5.3 Food for Work and Households Projects.....	45
5.4 Food for Work and Community Projects.....	47
5.5 Summary on Improvement of Livelihoods.....	49
6.0 FOOD AID AND PERSISTENT POVERTY.....	50
6.1 Dependence.....	50
6.1.1 Household Efforts to Produce Own Food.....	51

6.1.2 Coping Strategies.....	51
6.1.3 Government Interventions.....	56
6.2 Persistent Poverty.....	60
6.2.1 Household Characteristics of Persistent Poverty.....	60
6.2.2 Households Poverty Trend.....	62
6.2.3 Housing in Kyatune	64
6.2.4 Households views and Poverty.....	66
6.2.5 Summary of Food Aid and Persistent Poverty.....	67
7.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	69
7.1 Summary of Findings.....	69
7.1.1 Households socio-economic profile.....	69
7.1.2 Improvement of Livelihoods.....	69
7.1.3 Dependence and Persistent Poverty.....	70
7.2 Conclusion.....	72
7.3 Recommendations.....	73
REFERENCES.....	75
APPENDIXES.....	78
Appendix 1 Questionnaire.....	79
Appendix 2 Key Informant Interviews.....	90
Appendix 3 Observation Checklist.....	94
Appendix 4 Picture.....	95
Appendix 5 Map.....	96

List of Tables

Table 4.1: Age of Respondents.....	31
Table 4.2: Education and Training	32
Table 4.3: Areas of Training.....	34
Table 4.4: Economic Activities.....	35
Table 5.1: Period benefited from SFP.....	37
Table 5.2: Food Aid and School Attendance.....	39
Table 5.3 Use of Savings.....	41
Table 5.4: Rating of Food Given as Nutritious.....	43
Table 5.5: Correlation of Level of Education and food for work.....	46
Table 5.6: Food Aid and other Community Interventions.....	47
Table 6.1: Households and food production.....	52
Table 6.2: Coping Strategies.....	55
Table 6.3: Skipping of Meals.....	56
Table 6.4: Government intervention vs Household utilization.....	57
Table 6.5: Households Views on WFP	58
Table 6.6:Description of Persistent Poor.....	60
Table 6.7: Food for work vs MCH cross tabulation.....	62
Table 6.8: Households in Relation to Poverty.....	62
Table 6.9: Trend of Poverty.....	63
Table 6.10: House wall Materials.....	64
Table 6.11:House Floor Materials.....	65
Table 6.12: House Roofing Materials.....	65
Table 6.13: Household needs to move out of poverty.....	66
Table 6.14: Withdrawal Effects of Food Aid.....	67

List of Tables

Table 4.1: Age of Respondents.....	31
Table 4.2: Education and Training	32
Table 4.3: Areas of Training.....	34
Table 4.4: Economic Activities.....	35
Table 5.1: Period benefited from SFP.....	37
Table 5.2: Food Aid and School Attendance.....	39
Table 5.3 Use of Savings.....	41
Table 5.4: Rating of Food Given as Nutritious.....	43
Table 5.5: Correlation of Level of Education and food for work.....	46
Table 5.6: Food Aid and other Community Interventions.....	47
Table 6.1: Households and food production.....	52
Table 6.2: Coping Strategies.....	55
Table 6.3: Skipping of Meals.....	56
Table 6.4: Government intervention vs Household utilization.....	57
Table 6.5: Households Views on WFP	58
Table 6.6:Description of Persistent Poor.....	60
Table 6.7: Food for work vs MCH cross tabulation.....	62
Table 6.8: Households in Relation to Poverty.....	62
Table 6.9: Trend of Poverty.....	63
Table 6.10: House wall Materials.....	64
Table 6.11:House Floor Materials.....	65
Table 6.12: House Roofing Materials.....	65
Table 6.13: Household needs to move out of poverty.....	66
Table 6.14: Withdrawal Effects of Food Aid.....	67

List of Figures

Figure 4.1: Level of Education Attained.....33

Figure 5.1: Food aid and access schooling.....38

Figure 6.1: Food Aid and Laziness.....53

Figure 6.2: Livelihoods without Food Aid.....59

ABSTRACT

Food aid discourse is of interest and controversial development aid. It is a particularly topical and relevant issue of development concern in the Kenyan context where food shortages have become a regular occurrence. This study focused on livelihoods of recipients of food aid by assessing whether project food aid had made a difference on their households. The major objective of the study therefore was to determine the extent to which food aid led to improvement of livelihoods of households or increased their dependency thus leading to chronic poverty.

Primary data was collected through a survey with the use of questionnaires, key informants interviews, and observation. The study was conducted between May 2009 to November 2009. The data collection was confined to household beneficiaries and key informants in Kyatune location, Mutomo District. Secondary data was derived mainly from journals, library books, newspapers, internet and World Food Programme (WFP) project documents especially report evaluations. Data analysis was done by both qualitative and quantitative techniques.

The findings and discussions on the role of food aid in the improvement of livelihoods established that WFP food aid through school feeding programme, maternal child health and food for work have to a large extent helped the households meet their basic necessities, albeit without making them food-self sufficiency. With regard to the relationship between food aid and persistent poverty, it was established that a strong correlation existed between the two as households that received food aid seemed to be trapped in persistent poverty. From the findings of the study, it was concluded that WFP food aid plays a key role in the improvement of livelihoods in communities. With regard to the main objective for the study, there was overwhelming evidence that it had made significant improvement of households livelihoods by enabling them to meet their basic needs, especially by addressing the most important human needs such as food, education and health. There was, however no significant proof that food aid increased dependence among the households as they made an effort to produce their own food. However, the harsh climatic conditions and lack of large scale irrigation deterred progress in ensuring food self-sufficiency. The study therefore recommends that WFP food aid should continue to focus and intensify its programmes in education, health, food, and employment aspects since they largely sustain livelihoods of the households trapped in persistent poverty. Further, there is need for large scale irrigation

projects to ensure food self sufficiency. Also, training and education especially for children in schools should be continued and strengthened.

LIST OF ACRONYMS USED

WFP	World Food Programme
PFA	Project Food Aid
MCH	Maternal Child Health
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency virus
AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Scientists
KI	Key Informant
ITS	Information Tracking System
HAD	Human Development Approach
HDI	Human Development Index
CARE	Cooperative American Relief Everywhere
ASALs	Arid and Semi-Arid Land

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This section covers the background of this study, problem statement, research questions, research objectives and the justification of the study.

1.1 Background

Food aid has been in existence for long. It existed even in traditional societies, the only difference being that at that time it was practiced in an unofficial manner. Communities in traditional societies provided food assistance to their members in times of hunger and in emergency cases in order to save lives of the affected. However, the first documented formal food assistance gesture was in 1812 when USA provided relief to earthquake victims in Venezuela. Since then, food aid has continued to be provided, especially after the Second World War (1945). It became more pronounced in 1960s, 70s and 80s because of famines, rapid population growth, harsh climatic conditions and poor performance of agricultural production that characterized the periods, resulting in food insecurity.

World Bank (1991) report states that the history and inherent nature of food aid demonstrate its special advantages in sustaining a poverty focus, supporting food security programmes and attenuating the social costs of adjustment. The provision of food aid is necessitated by the food security situation of a given country or area. Whether a country or area is food secure on the other hand depends on its agricultural productivity. The current Kenya's Ministry of Agriculture Strategic Plan (2006-2010), for instance, states that only 20 per cent of the landmass is classified as having high or medium potential for food production. This is despite the fact that agricultural sector contributes 26 per cent to the country's GDP. According to the report, the remaining areas are ASALs, which are characterized by climatic shocks, pervasive food insecurity and high poverty. It is indicated that 41 per cent of the urban population and 47 per cent of the rural population have insufficient food to meet their daily energy requirements while 75 per cent of the population in the arid lands and 51 per cent in semi-arid lands are unable to meet their daily food requirements, thus call for food aid.

A study by the International Food Policy Research Institute (1997) argues that the world food problem is not really about food per se, but rather an aspect of the more general problems of poverty and unequal distribution of purchasing power among people and nations. This perhaps explains why developing nations that were mostly affected by persistent poverty are

recipients of food aid compared to the developed countries, creating a donor-recipient relationship of food aid.

Food aid is a controversial form of development assistance. It comes in different forms and is used in different ways. Food aid is categorized into three types: *programme*, *project*, and *emergency* each with its own set of legislation, procedures, sources of financing, and methods of operation.

Programme food aid is provided as a grant or on soft loan repayment terms. It is exclusively provided on a bilateral, government to government basis. *Emergency food aid* is a response to sudden natural disasters, war or civil strife, and shortfall in production caused by drought or floods. Emergency food aid in Kenya is mostly provided by voluntary organisations such as Red Cross Society, Catholic Relief Services, the Lutheran World Federation, CARE and World Vision among many others. *Project food aid* is provided on a grant basis for specific beneficiaries and development objectives by World Food Programme (Clay and Stokke, 2000). Project food aid is given through school feeding programmes, maternal child health and food for work.

1.1.2 Project Food Aid

In this research, the focus was on *Project Food Aid (PFA)* of the WFP. Project food aid is usually aimed at transferring income to the poor to earn a livelihood. Clay and Stokke (2000) explain further that PFA is a resource to poverty alleviation and livelihood security. *Project food aid* was chosen for this study because compared to *programme food aid* and *emergency food aid*, it is more established and has developed considerably overtime focusing on development. Moreover, project food aid touches on the livelihoods of people in communities of the recipient countries, especially the well being of the poor, including their health, education and employment generation.

The WFP is the food aid organisation of the United Nations system. It was formed in 1961 to be the major provider of *project food aid*, mainly in rural areas in form of: educational support through school feeding programmes, improvement of maternal child health, and transferring income to the poor through food-for-work programmes. All these projects target

the ‘food poor’ and in specific affected areas. In Kenya, the WFP has provided food assistance since 1980. Its project food aid is designed to aid development of communities through support of basic needs to those affected by natural calamities such as harsh climatic conditions which are beyond their control.

The Kenya’s WFP Country Programme Action Plan 2009-2013 indicate that poverty is the major cause of food insecurity, exacerbated by frequent droughts, floods, inefficient food distribution and marketing systems, population growth and HIV/AIDS. This situation of “food poverty” is what has necessitated the provision of assistance by WFP. The Action Plan states that food poverty is highest among pastoralist (71%), agro pastoralists (40%) and marginal agriculturalists (54%) in ASALS, and is over 70 per cent among the informal sector workers and the unemployed in the unplanned urban settlements of Nairobi.

Project food aid is perceived differently by different scholars. This means controversy surrounds the role food aid plays in the improvement of the livelihoods of households. On one hand, project food aid is said to have a contribution in the development of livelihoods and Mellor (1987) deems it as appropriate for countries with overall food trade deficits and with unemployment problems. Another group of scholars with opposing views see project food aid as only acting as a brake on development, and merely serves as a tool to perpetuate the dominance of the donors (Singer et al., 1987).

Studies have been done on project food aid concerning its effects on agriculture, its contribution to food security, the challenges and opportunities of project food aid, and the politics surrounding it among many others.

In Kenya, PFA is distributed in the arid and semi arid areas by WFP and Kyatune location in Mutomo district is among the beneficiaries. Kyatune location is in the newly created formed Mutomo district in Eastern province. It is located in the southern part of former Kitui district. The area is semi arid and food is scarce qualifying it for food assistance provided by WFP. Besides providing food assistance to households in the location, WFP collaborates with the government in providing school feeding programme. This study attempts to shed more light on the extent to which the food assistance given to households in Kyatune location contributes to their well-being.

1.2 Problem Statement

As indicated in the background, Kyatune location is in Mutomo district, Eastern province. In Kyatune, the climate is hot and dry for most of the year and the area is characterized as an arid and semi arid area with very unreliable rainfall and poor agricultural produce. This has necessitated most households in Kyatune to rely on project food aid distributed by WFP. Therefore, the location has been receiving, and still receives a high proportion of project food aid from WFP. The aid is dispensed in form of school feeding programme, maternal child health programme, and food-for-work projects. This has been going on for over 17 years.

At present, the WFP provides food assistance to development projects in Kyatune that benefit poor households. They assist children in school, pregnant mothers and generation of employment through food for work. These interventions are geared towards improving the livelihoods of the beneficiaries in the area. However, due to their persistence, with the problem they are supposed to address not seeming to end, the contributions they have made in the community is not clear and require investigation.

Studies on project food aid with regard to its contribution to improving livelihoods or dependence have been done by various scholars. Scholars such as Sen (1983), Sahn (1991), Maxwell (1990) and Hancock (2001) suggest that project food aid is used in different kinds of development programmes designed to assist the development of human resources. They have a welfare function primarily designed to improve maternal and child nutrition, and to encourage children attendance at schools and give income support for the poor through food for work. On dependency, Clay and Shaw (1993) note that project food aid as a special subset of aid has long been criticized as flawed as a development tool because it discourages local production of food, disrupts commercial trade and cause distortions and dependency within recipient economies.

Further, evaluation of project food aid experiences leaves one in a dilemma. A good example is the evaluation of project food aid in Lesotho. The country has one of the longest experiences of project food aid in Africa, extending for almost four decades. However, evaluation of the project carried out in 1997 found that food aid projects have undesirable outcomes such as encouraging dependence with minimal development.

This raises questions on the extent project food aid leads to the improvement of livelihoods or aggravates dependence which in turn leads to the recipient households being trapped in persistent poverty. Although WFP has supported education and health and has also created employment opportunities in Kyatune through its projects, the extent to which they have improved livelihoods of the households is not certain, therefore necessitating this study. This study therefore aims at filling the knowledge gap on the extent to which food aid leads to the improvement of livelihoods or dependence, a case of WFP food aid projects in Kyatune location. In particular it investigates whether dependence leads to persistent poverty among the beneficiaries. Thus the study tries to look at the link between food aid and persistent poverty so as to consider how it has contributed to addressing persistent poverty through supporting education, health and food requirements that is believed can break the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

Indeed, a pre-study analysis of Kyatune showed that despite the residents of Kyatune having persistently received food aid, there was not any significant change in their livelihoods. This brought into question the role of food aid as a long-term development solution especially among the Kyatune residents.

1.3 Research Questions

This study of WFP food aid projects in Kyatune location was to answer the following overall research question:

Does project food aid lead to improvement of livelihoods or increase dependency thus leading to persistent poverty?

The specific research questions were;

- What role does project food aid play in the improvement of the livelihoods of households?
- How is project food aid related to persistent poverty?

1.4 Objectives

In order to answer the research questions, the study was guided by one overall research objective; to establish the extent to which project food aid lead to improvement of livelihoods or increase dependence, thus persistent poverty.

Specific objectives were to:

- Examine the role of project food aid in the improvement of livelihoods.
- Determine the relationship between project food aid and persistent poverty.

1.5 Justification

Three reasons made this study important, and they are of theoretical significance:

First, project food aid has historically been a major element of development assistance geared to support long-term development and the primary response to help countries with food shortage. Kyatune location has received project food aid persistently for over 17 years but whether this project food aid improved the livelihoods of the residents in the area or not, merited to be studied, and as a result made this study important. Therefore, this study was to understand better the dynamics of project food aid as implemented by WFP, particularly as development assistance and/or tool, in order to explain the role of food aid in development.

Secondly, project food aid was a relevant and topical subject to research given the recurrent food shortages experienced in the country and the apparent inability on the part of the concerned authorities to put in place lasting safeguards against the now perennial problem. WFP (2009) report indicated that the number of people benefitting from its food aid programmes in Kenya increased from 1.2 million in the year 2008 to 2.5 million in 2009 that were at risk of starvation in Kenya. Among the target areas was Kyatune location. Thus it was hoped that the outcomes of this research will go a long way to contribute to the knowledge base so as to inform food aid actors, policy makers, scholars, and development practitioners.

Finally, a search for causes and measurements of chronic poverty has intensified of late, with the focus seeming to shift from the level of endowment on which the poverty trap discourse mainly concentrated on to dynamics of poverty. For the poor developing nations, Kenya included, poverty is not simply about having a very low income; it is about multidimensional deprivations which include hunger, undernourishment, illiteracy and lack of access to basic health services that project food aid has tried to address, hence made this study important.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

The overall research question of this study was to determine whether project food aid improves the livelihoods of households in communities or increases dependency, thus persistent poverty. With this in mind, this chapter presents the literature reviewed in relation to the study. This chapter also discusses the theoretical framework used in this study as well as operationalises the key variables and defines the concepts used.

Studies on food aid have been conducted by various scholars, notably Clay and Shaw (1993, 2000), Singer (1987) and Maxwell (1986, 1994). The literature review is thematised into subsections, namely: project food aid and livelihoods, project food aid and persistent poverty and experience of donors and recipients on project food aid. The subsection concludes with a summary.

2.1 Project Food Aid and Livelihoods

Mellor (1987) notes that food aid has made an important contribution in helping the poor and vulnerable, and has contributed to economic development in the Third World. Mellor further suggests that project food aid has experienced a significant paradigm shift – most notably in 1973-74 from relief focus to development assistance. This view was supported by Dandekar (1975) who said that Project food aid is used in support of different kinds of development programmes on health, education and employment to assist the development of human resources. Both Mellor and Dandekar agree that project food aid contribute to development, specifically in developing countries. But Mellor narrowed the argument down saying that project food aid is more beneficial to the poor and vulnerable. From the foregoing arguments, there is no doubt therefore that project food aid is actually beneficial to the livelihoods of the beneficiaries especially when it is given to those who deserve it.

Stokke and Clay (2000) supports the case for project food aid as a necessary intervention by saying that it is usually aimed at transferring income to the poor or satisfying their minimum nutritional needs in normal years. Food aid is provided on grant basis for specific beneficiaries and development objectives. It helps to meet the additional demand for food generated by its support for development projects. The World Bank report (1991) stated that the history and inherent nature of food aid demonstrate its special advantages in sustaining a

poverty focus, supporting food security programmes and attenuating the social costs of adjustment.

In its programmes, WFP as the food aid arm of the United Nations uses its food to meet emergency needs and support economic and social development. This means that its focus is also in development and improvement of livelihoods as Mellor(1987), Stokke and Clay (2000) and Dandekar(1975) suggested. The WFP sets out its mission as saving lives in emergency situations, improving the nutrition and quality of life of the most vulnerable people, particularly children and expectant and nursing mothers, and helping build assets and to promote self reliance of poor communities (WFP, 2009). All these efforts are geared towards raising the living standards of communities. By focusing on education and health, WFP projects help to build the capabilities of the households, what Sen (1999) argued should be the goal of human development i.e. a process of expanding the capabilities of people. In his analysis, Sen distinguished between income poverty and capability poverty. Capability poverty refers to deprivation of opportunities, choices and potential. Sen considered development as freedom and one of the gateways to this freedom is education. Giving people access to education, as WFP does through school feeding programmes, can and indeed does significantly influence income poverty and capability poverty positively.

As a commitment to improve livelihoods, the World Food Programme (2008) report evaluates project food aid in relation to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), as criterion to fight poverty and enhance social development. The evaluation shows that project food aid cuts across all the MDGs, especially those touching on health, education and eradication of poverty and hunger. The report indicates that the maternal child health (MCH) programmes contribute much in achieving the MDG on health; while school feeding programme support universal primary school education; and food for work act as a means of generating employment for fighting poverty and hunger.

In addition, the Kenya WFP Country Programme Action Plan 2009-2013 argues that the objective of school feeding programme is to support the government in achieving MDG goal 2 that calls for universal primary education. These interventions by the WFP are meant to support the development policies for poor households through investing in education and training. For instance, at the beginning of 2009, WFP planned to feed an annual average of

650,000 school children in Kenya on its school feeding programme over the next five years. The targets are the most vulnerable children living in arid and semi-arid lands, and informal urban settlements. Therefore, WFP operations in Kenya support the Government's efforts in implementing all the eight MDGs through provision of food aid for the vulnerable groups, including the poor.

In contrast, Timmer (2003) argues that WFP remains very project oriented, by the very nature of mandate to feed the needy and vulnerable households. This is supported by the development experience from 1950s which seem to suggest that projects do not add up to a development strategy when the policy environment is hostile. Timmer questioned both the aim and practice of WFP in improving the livelihoods of the households, because improving livelihoods goes beyond merely providing food. According to him, more attention should be paid to institutionalizing sound policies. Interestingly, WFP makes no mention of either preventive or curative policies of development, which makes Timmer, question the practicality of WFP food aid projects.

In describing the role of project food aid, Clay and Shaw (1993) asserts that project food aid helps to meet the additional demand for food generated by its support for development projects. Clay and Shaw explained this further noting that the justification for project food aid as an appropriate developmental tool rests on the assumption that it can be used discriminately and can be effectively targeted at the most needy with sustainable results. It can achieve a number of development goals including infrastructural development; employment generation through labour -intensive public works; improved nutritional and health awareness mediated by mother and child health initiatives; increased attendance and improved educational performance through school feeding programmes. Moreover, Singer (1975) argued for the integration of food aid into development approaches that aim to address the overall problems in developing countries, particularly poverty. Therefore, Clay and Shaw, together with Singer agree on the contribution of food aid in improvement of livelihoods through targeting the poor and integrating a development perspective that aims to focus on poverty alleviation.

Singer et al, (1987) observes that project food aid supports a wide range of development projects for the poor, mainly in rural areas, and categorize them as follows:

- Improvement of the nutrition and health of mothers and pre-school children by offering them supplementary food at health care centres;
- Supporting education, especially primary schools, and training programmes;
- Creation of employment through Food for work programmes.

The above categorization means that the beneficiaries have to be identified in order to establish the support to be given. Based on the specific needs, project food aid category is derived from the purpose of which the food is given. However, it is evident that project food aid is almost exclusively intended for the food deficit required by vulnerable households. This is aimed at improving and addressing their well being. The above mentioned categories of project food aid are discussed below:

2.1.1 Project food aid for mothers and pre-school children

Maxwell (1986) asserted that project food aid is used in support of different kinds of development programmes designed to assist the development of human resources such as in the supplementary food for pregnant and lactating mothers and pre-school children. This project food aid is primarily designed to improve maternal child nutrition and to encourage attendance at mother and child health centres.

While shading light on why project food aid is given to mothers and children, Singer *et al.*, (1987) argued that pre-school children and mothers are considered as a vulnerable group since they are more exposed to the risk of malnutrition, and the effects of malnutrition are particularly pernicious. Further, Singer (1987) observes that experience has shown that child maternal feeding can be effective if it is well managed and carried out in well-financed and adequately staffed programmes.

Other factors contributing to success of maternal and child feeding programme include careful targeting, nutrition surveillance and growth monitoring, community involvement, links between feeding programmes and the use of local foods, and attention to planning and administrative concerns(Mora *et al.*,1990).

Whereas Maxwell (1986) identified and explained the benefits of maternal child health programmes, Mora *et al.*,(1990) and Singer(1987) explains how it can be made effective and why it is given to the mothers and children. This implies that the authors are in agreement on

the role of maternal child health in the improvement of livelihoods among the beneficiaries, and need for food aid to be given to lactating mothers.

2.1.2 School feeding programme

Omosa *et al.*, (2003) stated that education is an important facet in reducing persistent poverty. In project food aid context, the provision of meals in schools can also help increase school enrollment and contribute to reduced absenteeism and lower drop-out rates till one get the education needed to reduce persistent poverty.

The importance of education to fight persistent poverty as stated by Omosa explains why teachers in vulnerable areas raise alarm whenever school feeding programmes is in jeopardy. In calling for school feeding programme to continue, Munene (2008) in his article *food for hungry villagers* in the Daily Nation of 28th August, indicated that some teachers suggest that food aid in form of school feeding programmes should be supported and coordinated well so as to keep pupils in school in Eastern province. The teachers indicated that it is important that project food aid be provided in schools because the pupils were suffering from hunger and could drop out of school anytime.

To give more insight on how school feeding programme is conducted, Buchanan-Smith (2001) illustrated the forms of school feeding programme to range from a morning snack of milk and biscuits for primary school children, particularly in rural areas where they have to walk long distances without breakfast, to a full board in a residential secondary school. This gives an idea on what is eaten in schools and whether it is a balance meal that can contribute in improvement of livelihoods.

Surprisingly, with all effort made in school feeding programme, WFP states that it is however difficult to assess objectively the nutritional and educational impact of school feeding programmes as few studies have been carried out on the issue. Such programmes may not reach the poorest and most undernourished children, as they often do not attend school. They may also reach children whose undernourishment is difficult to reverse because they were inadequately fed in their pre-school years. (WFP, 1991). This is a contradiction, because if the WFP cannot measure objectively the benefits of school feeding programme, yet Munene's article is calling for it, then, more reason to ask the extent to which project food aid leads to improvement of livelihoods or otherwise.

2.1.3 Food-for-work

This category of project food aid involves labour-intensive infrastructure works being undertaken by poor households and communities, with food provided as part of their wages.

Clay and Shaw (1993) notes that the rationale behind food-for-work programmes lies in the concept of additionality, which means they provide additional consumption for people whose incomes are too low to buy sufficient food for a healthy and productive life. The food supplied can also result in a substantial addition to their income; additional employment can be created and construction work extended. Therefore, Clay and Shaw explained that the multi-faceted additionality of food-for-work can permit the extension of consumption, income, employment and investment beyond what would have been possible without project food aid.

Controversy, however surrounds food for work for two issues have been identified in the wide-ranging debate. First, there is the tension between short-run employment creation and income generation and the size and distribution of longer-term income and assets. Secondly, there is the use of food, as opposed to cash, as a wage good (Clay, 1986; Maxwell, 1978; Bryson et al, 1991). This debate therefore underscored the need to further pursue the extent, food for work had contributed to improvement of livelihoods in the field so as to understand its role in development.

2.2 Project Food Aid and Persistent Poverty

Poverty and food security are two sides of the same coin. While food insecurity can be a result of poverty, food insecurity also leads to poverty. Poverty is rampant in most Sub-Saharan Africa. Over 85 per cent of African countries are classified as least developed countries, with an annual per capita income of less than US\$350 indicating high levels of constant poverty (World bank, 1986). Food insecurity is shown to be a consequent of poverty. It is as a result of food insecurity that food aid is given. Continuous provision of project food aid overtime means food self sufficiency is out of reach to many households, which can be attributed to poverty. World Bank assertion that poverty and food security are two sides of the same coin can be taken to mean that there is a link that explains the assertion.

In relation to persistent poverty, Reutlinger (1999) notes that the enormous cost of inadequate diet in terms of health, inability to benefit from education, incapacity to work hard is increasingly widely recognized and food aid seem to fill that gap. While Reutlinger seems to put his fingers on one of the possible causes of persistent poverty, he does not interrogate the possibility that continuous provision of food aid may actually help perpetuate poverty.

Dependence proposition maintains that aid, including food aid, is addictive, acts as a brake on development. Project food aid merely serves as a tool to perpetuate the dominance of the donors. It is based on a criticism of the justification given for the creation of surplus disposal food aid, particularly in the case of USA, where it is stated that these activities are designed not only to stimulate development in recipient country, but also to stimulate growth of commercial exports of cereals and agricultural products of the recipient countries (Cathie, 1982).

According to Cathie the dependence view is that food aid is an indirect means of institutionalizing the commercial donor interests. This is based on the argument that the farmers in donor country get paid anyway by their government, which is probably less risky than competing for export orders. Dependence therefore is bound to retard agriculture of recipient countries.

In trying to answer the question as to whether food aid has a disincentive effect on agriculture, Maxwell (1986) observes that it has both macro and micro disincentives on agriculture. At macro-disincentives on one hand, it negatively affects prices, policies and food habits of recipient country and on the other hand at micro-disincentives it encourages food recipients to be dependent and lazy.

Maxwell and Buchanan-Smith (1994) categorized the disincentives of project food aid on food-for-work in agriculture as:

- (i) Competition for labour between food for work and local agriculture reduces labour input to agriculture and leads to lower production.
- (ii) Project food aid creates a food routine and reduces incentive to work.

- (iii) Food prices on local market fall because participants buy less and the availability of project food aid undermines government commitment to local agriculture because of dependence.

The three disincentives of project food aid listed above by Maxwell and Buchanan-Smith clearly summarized the dependence proposition as discussed by Cathie. The second disincentive that project food aid creates food routine and reduces incentive to work implies that the recipient households become more vulnerable to any possible food crisis as they rely on food aid without making any effort to produce their own.

The third disincentive is supported by Stevens (1978) who postulated that project food aid is a controversial form of development assistance because its critics claim that it exists more to help the donor countries to pauperise developing countries. Also, Amina (2008) in her article *Researchers warn over food aid* in the Daily Nation of 29th August noted that researchers and experts' deliberations on issues of food aid argue that interventions to food crises have led to high dependency on food aid. The implication of this assertion is that while most people may see project food aid as a quick fix to the famine problem, ironically, it may be responsible for creating a further problem of dependence and by extension persistent poverty.

Hodgkinot (2005) questioned whether project food aid has disincentive effects and states that limited empirical evidence exists either to refute or confirm the pervasive belief that project food aid has significant disincentive effects on recipients' food production, which is said to be the unwritten aim of project food aid to condition developing countries.

Maxwell and Buchanan (1994) proposed ways in which project food aid could be planned to take into account development principles so as to contribute more directly to long term development. Maxwell and Buchanan vouched for the transformation of the mode of provision of food aid since top-down and centrally-managed project food aid had often undermined locally-planned and bottom-up development.

Maxwell and Buchanan's proposal is similar with the WFP's that despite the methodological problems and incompleteness of the literature, the considerable number of evaluations and analyses has narrowed, if not entirely settled the controversy surrounding the usefulness of food aid as an input for sustainable development. They conclude that project food aid is

useful for sustainable development. As the 1999 evaluation of the WFP pointed out, food for development is frequently a cumbersome resource, demanding specialist expertise and organisation. There are also inherent institutional and community-level problems. It is frequently argued that developmental food aid projects act merely as palliatives, without addressing the root causes of poverty and food insecurity (WFP, 1999:3).

In quantifying the world food problem, Huddleston (1987) observed that an important point which affects both short and long term assessment of food is the fact that the world food problem is not just about food. Instead, some would argue it is not all about food, but is rather an aspect of the more general problem of poverty and unequal distribution of purchasing power among people and nations that lead to the need for food aid. It is this apparent gap in the literature that will form part of the undertaking of this study i.e. establishing the relationship between project food aid and persistent poverty, and whether the households trapped in poverty are making any substantive effort to produce their own food.

2.3 Project Food Aid Experiences; Recipients and Donors

Looking at the Asia's experience with project food aid, Clay and Shaw (1993) observes that the relative success of major food for work projects in Asia justifies their assessment both as food security mechanisms and in expanding employment. This applies to the disadvantaged groups in situations of widespread structural underdevelopment as well as during the process of economic adjustment. Experience has shown, however, that food for work raises special problems in Africa. Asia's project food aid experience is seen to improve the livelihoods of recipients as opposed to the case of Africa.

In Africa, using Tanzania as an example, project food aid has played a variety of positive roles. Singer et al.,(1987) noted that project food aid in Tanzania has generally been applied effectively in support of activities aimed at increasing agricultural production, encouraging diversification and promoting the government's overall policy of self-reliance. In most cases, project food aid is used wisely and, where problems have been encountered, corrective managerial and institutional measures have been adopted that have led to substantial improvements in programming, administration and logistics. Similar to Tanzania's experience, Clay and Shaw (1993) argued that the experiences of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan illustrate the ways in which project food aid can be used to sustain poverty-focused

interventions that provide a food security net. This experience shows that if project food aid is used well, then it will contribute to improvement of livelihoods in many ways.

Another study by Mora *et al.*(1990) evaluation of Maternal Child health(MCH) of WFP projects in 5 recipients countries; Lesotho, India, Benin, Tunisia and Honduras, found mixed results. In all the programmes, food supplement alone showed little, if any, direct or sustainable impact upon the nutrition of under-fives suffering from moderate or mild nutrition. This concurs with Clay and Stokke (2000) suggestion that chronic malnutrition has clear socio-economic dimensions in terms of poverty and socio exclusion. Unless these aspects, which include access to health services, water and sanitation improvement and economic development are simultaneously addressed, improved nutritional status is unlikely to be realized through food supplement alone.

Generally, there is mixed experiences of developing countries with project food aid. In her study, Dorosh (2007) looked at project food aid as a major component of food strategies in developing countries. She reviewed the experience of food aid with recipient countries regarding food production, trade, markets, consumption and safety nets as well as the policy response to food, and concluded that food aid goes a long way towards saving lives.

On donor experiences, Australia has been a strong supporter of WFP for the food aid projects. Clay and Shaw (1993) pointed out that Australia portray a number of very positive features in its food aid policies and programmes both through WFP, and with bilaterall partners. In common with other donors, however, various aspects of project food aid have been re-examined, partly as a result of the effects of the recession and partly because of a general desire to strengthen the development impact of food assistance.

What is more, an evaluation of the USAID programme of project food aid in Burkina Faso concluded that the 35 years school lunch project was responsible for reduced rates of malnutrition amongst the beneficiaries. However, reviews of the Honduran and Ghanaian school feeding programme indicate that the average daily amount of calories provided was probably not sufficient to effect a measurable improvement in child growth or nutritional status (Rogers *et al.*, 1995; McClelland, 1997).

Both the Australia and USAID programme project food aid experience demonstrate the positive improvement they make on recipients lives. More interesting is the place of the

community participation on project food aid. Shaw and Clay (1993) in their studies on project food aid experiences of recipients and donors noted in the case of Benin that community development was successful on project food aid work related in economic infrastructure, health and education. As a result of the food aid projects, a number of villages were equipped with basic infrastructure and employment for rural population, reducing the inclination to migrate to urban centres.

2.4 Literature Review Summary

From the literature review, there seem to be a general consensus among those who have studied and written on this subject that project food aid has a place in improving the livelihoods of households especially through its intervention in education, health and employment generation. These three components; education, health and employment play a crucial role in raising the living standards of communities. Although scholars disagree on how project food aid achieves this, they are in agreement on its contribution to development. On the other hand, the scholars on this subject seem to suggest that persistence provision of project food aid can lead to its recipients being dependent on it, leading to decreased participation in farming activities. According to them, this eventually leads to poor agricultural production, and consequently poverty due to food insecurity.

The literature therefore suggest that while there is no doubt that project food aid contributes towards the improvement of livelihoods of the households, there are still unanswered questions especially with regard to how it linked to persistent poverty and whether it is a viable sustainable development option. It is against this background that this study attempted to investigate the extent to which project food aid through its programmes i.e. school feeding programme, maternal child health and food for work programmes leads to improvement of the livelihoods of the households or increases their dependency with a likelihood of creating persistent poverty. As such, the apparent gap in the literature that necessitated this study was establishing the relationship between project food aid and persistent poverty, and if food aid is a sustainable development option. In particular, whether the recipient households that are trapped in poverty are making any substantive effort to be food self sufficiency.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This study used the Human Development Approach (HDA) as its theoretical underpinning. Here, explanation on the context, origin, meaning, indicators and relevance of this approach to the study is discussed.

The HDA was pioneered and popularized by the United Nations Development Programme Global Human Development Report. The Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite index that is made of three main indicators: education attainment, health, living standards and life expectancy. Since its establishment in 1965 the United Nations Development Programme has promoted an understanding of poverty that goes beyond the '*lack of income*'. The 1997 Human Development Report introduced the concept of human poverty that focuses on the denial of opportunities and choices that are most basic to human development, namely to lead a long, healthy, creative life and enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-esteem and the respect of others.

Kenya is a low-income food-deficit country with a GDP per capita of around US\$1,240 (2007 World Bank). In 2006, UNDP HDI ranked Kenya 152nd out of 177 countries and in the 2007, the same report ranked Kenya among the "medium human development" countries of the world, placing it 148th out of 177 countries. Therefore, what this means is that Kenya, as a low-income food-deficit country, will continue receiving food aid.

Human Development approach was used because it relates more to this study compared to other approaches that measure the quality of life such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) that focus more on growth and economic stability. Also, unlike the Basic Needs Approach (BNA) theory that attempts to define the absolute minimum resources necessary for long-term physical well-being which gives priority to meeting people's basic needs to ensure that there are sufficient to sustain human lives at a minimally decent level, human development approach is broader and holistic than the Basic Needs Approach or other people oriented approaches to development. The HDA goes beyond growth to include the life basic needs as essential means to improvement of the livelihoods. Haq (2001) postulated that the HDA embraces every development issue, including economic growth, social investment, people's empowerment, provision of basic needs and social safety nets, political and cultural freedom

and all other aspects of people's lives. While no aspect of development model falls outside its scope, "the vantage point is widening of people's choices and the enhancement of their lives.

The HDA is especially relevant to this study as it marks a turning point between the dominance of the 'growth paradigm' which focuses on economic aspect of improvement of livelihoods to the ascendancy of a level that is characterized by the aims of removing absolute poverty, increasing productive employment and meeting basic needs of all the people that project food aid tries to address through its programmes.

As a strategy, the HDA addresses socio-economic and political problems in the society. Project food aid by WFP is an intervention meant to increase people's capabilities through the provision of socio-economic basic services like education, healthcare and employment. Therefore, in measuring improvement of livelihoods of project food aid, some of the human development approach indicators such as education, health and life expectancy were used in the survey.

In addition, the HDA was used as the theoretical framework for this study because it encompasses the widening of people's choices and raising their living through expansion of human capabilities and access to opportunities in the social, economic and political spheres. This is reflected through the school feeding programme in education, maternal-child health in nutrition and food for work to create employment. Therefore, the continuous provision of project food aid is due to the argument enshrined in the approach of widening people's choices and raising their standards of living through expansion of basic human capabilities and access to opportunities so as to fight persistent poverty. Eckert (1995) who argues that the functioning of a person refer to the valuable things the person can do or be, such as being well-nourished, living a long life and taking part in community initiatives. The capability of a person stands for the different combinations of functionings the person can achieve. It reflects the freedom to achieve functioning's. Eckert further pointed out that human capability can be enhanced through the development of human resources: good health and nutrition, education and skill training.

HDA contribute to the research first question, *what is the role of project food aid in the improvement of livelihoods?* By emphasizing the importance of basic needs that project food aid provides in order to improve the quality of life. There was need therefore to establish in the field if food aid had widened people's choices and access to opportunities through school feeding programme, maternal child health and food for work and to what extent.

2.6 Operationalisation of key variables:

The key research variables in this study were: *project food aid*, *improved livelihoods* and *dependence*. As a result, *Project food aid* was the independent variable, whereas *improved livelihoods* and *dependency* were dependent variables. It is project food aid that controls the dependent variables. Having identified the variables, they were operationalized as follows:

(a) Project food aid: This was used in this study to refer to any food assistance that is provided by the WFP to the hungry to help improve their quality of life. This food assistance is provided to specific targeted poor households through: food for work, maternal child health and school feeding programmes in Kyatune.

(b) Improvement of livelihoods: It was used to mean better households living conditions that help to build up the quality of life and enhance their welfare despite harsh climatic conditions. The indicators for improvement of livelihoods through benefits of MCH, SFP and food for work (project food aid) and contribution PFA has made in the Kyatune community.

(c) Dependence: Dependence was used to mean routine reliance on project food aid from WFP that hinders the poor households either from producing their own food or making any effort to be self sufficient. The act of households not making efforts to be self reliant and lack of government intervention to assist households produce food and meet basic needs meant dependence.

2.7 Definition of Key Terms

Poor households: This was used to refer to those households without adequate access to basic needs (food, water, education, health and source of stable income), lack or have limited assets, and manifests the characteristics of the poor depicted by their livelihoods.

Persistent poverty/chronic poverty: Persistent poverty or chronic poverty was used to refer to prolonged poverty that affects vulnerable individuals or households for over five years.

Basic needs: It is used to refer to the minimum resources necessary for human well being e.g. education, health, food and water.

Livelihoods: In this study it was used to mean the condition of the households well-being and the means they use to live/survive.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

Introduction

An exploratory approach of research design was employed. The research explored the extent to which project food aid has led to the improvement of livelihoods or has created dependence among the residents of Kyatune location in Kitui district, and particularly if there is a relationship between dependence and persistent poverty. The research focused on poor households that are recipients of project food aid. The study was seeking to determine the role of food aid in contributing to the improvement of livelihoods as well as inquiring about the relationship between project food aid and persistent poverty.

3.1 Site Selection

The study site was Kyatune location in the newly created Mutomo district, in Eastern province. Kyatune location is in the southern part of former larger Kitui district. The area is a semi arid area where food is scarce, thus a recipient of project food aid. Kyatune location has received food aid for a long period with no significant change in the circumstances of its recipients, which made it an area suitable for the study. Also, majority of WFP food aid projects are in Kyatune.

Kyatune location lies between 400m and 180m above the sea level. The mean annual temperatures range from 26°C to 33°C. The climate of the area can be described as hot and dry for most of the year and it is characterized as an arid and semi arid area with very unreliable rainfall. According to the Kenya Government District Development Plan 1997-2002 the area experiences two depressed rainy seasons with long rains coming from April to May and short rains from November to December. However, the reality on the ground suggests that rain falls once after a long period of two to three years. The insufficient rainfall received in this area has led to the poor yields realized by the residents of the location over the years, making them prone to food insecurity. It is this gap of chronic food shortages that WFP has stepped in to fill.

Socio-economic activities in the area include: seasonal farming, beekeeping, curving and entrepreneurship. Seasonal farming is done in the area when the region receives a substantial amount of rain, and farmers plant crops such as maize. The farming system therefore

incorporates maize and beans. The history of farming in the area, however, is characterized by very low input–low output farming. Crop productivity is extremely low because of inadequate rainfall being the major cause. Nevertheless, beekeeping activities prevail in the area. Many households in the area practice beekeeping and wood curving to earn a living (GOK 1997). However, earnings from these activities have been declining in the recent past mainly because of robust charcoal burning, hence making the households more vulnerable. In spite of households practicing bee keeping and wood curving activities, they still rely on food aid from the WFP to meet their food needs and other basic needs that come along with it.

3.2 Sampling Procedure

The unit of analysis for this study was household. Study populations comprised all households that receive project food aid in Kyatune location. WFP assessment findings in January 2008 estimated that there were a total of 750 poor households in Kyatune that received food aid (WFP, 2008). From this, the study sampled 50 households from WFP list of recipients to represent the population.

Systematic random sampling was used in selecting a sample from the population because it provided every household unit with an equal probability of being selected. From the sampling frame, a starting point was chosen randomly, and thereafter at regular intervals. This was done as follows: First, the sampling frame households list of beneficiaries was picked from the WFP offices in Kitui town, Catholic Diocese Offices. The second step was to determine the sampling interval. According to the sampling list, out of the 750 households, only 50 households were sampled. To get the sampling interval, division of 750 by 50 thus: $750/50=15$ was done. This means that the 15th household was the sampling interval. Then the first household unit was selected randomly by tossing a dice for the first fifteen listed households and then selected every fifteenth sample unit until the 50th sample. Finally, the list of selected households was compiled.

In addition to the households, 4 key informants who are knowledgeable and authoritative in project food aid were interviewed. The key informants were drawn from different fields to represent various perspectives on project food aid. That is: 1 from World Food Programme

(WFP), 1 District Officer (DO), 1 woman leader in the area and 1 Catholic Diocese Food Security Officer.

Purposive sampling was used to identify the key informants, because of the following reasons. The WFP representative was chosen as an authority and stakeholder in project food aid practice, whereas the District Officer as government development worker with a responsibility of coordinating project food aid in the area and to represent the government position in food aid practice. The woman leader also was selected because women have a greater role in food aid distribution – it is them who receive food rations on behalf of their households. Lastly, Catholic Diocese Officer was chosen as a contact person who works with the WFP in the distribution of project food aid.

3.3 Data Collection

Research questions

Based on the information that was required to answer the study research questions, the focus of each research question focused on earlier identified indicators. The exact nature of information collected to answer the various study questions was:

(i) What role does project food aid play in the improvement of the livelihoods of households?

The information that was required to answer the following question was: Households' background details, benefits of PFA to households (education, health and food for work) and contribution of PFA to the community.

(ii) How is project food aid related to persistent poverty?

The following information was required to answer the question: Reasons of receiving food aid, efforts households were making to produce food and government interventions, views on the relationship of PFA and persistent poverty.

Secondary data

Secondary data was used to provide background information and literature review for the study focusing on project food aid and was derived mainly from journals, library books,

newspapers, and Internet. Also, project documents from the WFP, especially evaluations and reports were used to provide secondary data for the study.

Primary Data

Primary data was collected through a survey with the use of: questionnaires, key informants interview and observation methods.

(i) Questionnaires:

Data collection started with pre-testing of the survey questionnaires besides conducting key informant interviews. Pre-testing was done to test the questionnaires on whether the questions were understood by the respondents and if they were relevant. From the exercise a review of some questions that were not well understood was done, and some questions were added to the questionnaires to fill the gap that was identified.

The actual survey was conducted in Kyatune, Kaweru, Ndangaini, Itunguuni, Kisauni, Kivunie, Kiteta and Kalelesy villages using 53 structured questionnaires with both open and closed ended questions. The questions in the questionnaires were structured in a way to cover all the research questions for the study so as to achieve the objectives, through detailed sub sections. The study questionnaires were administered with the help of research assistants.

The survey covered 50 poor households as respondents who have benefited from the WFP project food aid and 3 additional households as replacement. The households were picked using systematic random sampling as explained in the research design.

(ii) Key informants:

Key informant interviews to collect qualitative data were done. In-depth interviews were done with the WFP representative, DO, Woman leader and Catholic Diocese Officer who are involved with project food aid in the community.

At first, three key informant interview were conducted i.e. DO, woman leader and WFP representative. Then finally the Catholic Food Security Officer because it was found out that

the Catholic Church is the lead agency in supervision and distribution of WFP food aid. All the interviews took roughly 30-45 minutes. The purpose of key informant interviews was to collect information from the chosen informants, whom are believed to have first hand knowledge about the project food aid in the community.

Notes from the key informants' interview was documented immediately after the interview so as to record the true proceedings of the interviews.

(iii) Observation

Observation as a qualitative data collection method was used and notes taken on observed aspects of project food aid that are of interest for the study. Observational notes were taken and photos taken on anything that suggests improvement of livelihoods or dependence and persistent poverty based on the indicators identified. The focus was on the aspects of the study questions with regard to project food aid checklist.

3.4 Data Analysis

Analyzing data was done using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. It was done as follows:

After collecting data from the field, categories were identified from the data collected that provided rules for coding and codebook construction.

The codebook contained information regarding each variable's name or number, the coding scheme, and codes for missing data. Quantitative questions in the questionnaire were then coded

Qualitative responses from key informant interviews were written in prose form in MS word, ideas separated by paragraphs; then selected all and analysed ideas by themes. The additional information from qualitative data was used to complement quantitative data.

Data editing - This was done during and after the coding phase. Editing by checking for errors and omissions in the questions and variables to make sure all data schedules have been completed as required was performed.

Data cleaning - This was done to ensure data from the field is as clean as possible. It was done through proof reading of the data to detect and correct errors and inconsistent codes.

Entering data into SPSS - Survey data of 53 questionnaires was entered and saved into Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS), version 13.0.

The next step, SPSS programme was used to run, using the statistical technique of descriptive statistics-mainly frequency tables, case summary, cross tabulations and bar charts were used. In the findings, a *single variable analysis* first was done e.g. frequencies so as to have a complete picture of the variables. Then, focus moved to the *study's research objectives* that were analysed based on the findings.

Key informants interview and observation. Qualitative data analysis from the key informant interviews and observation, and secondary sources complemented quantitative discussion. It was of help in discussing the findings. As research progresses, important themes throughout the study were noted and analysed qualitatively through description and thematically in relation to study objectives and questions. Direct quotation of selected comments from key informants was used where necessary.

3.5 Challenges Encountered

This study had a few challenges. First, the residents of Kyatune location, who were the subjects of the study, seemed to be overly enthusiastic about the study. Almost everyone wanted to be interviewed because they thought that the study had been commissioned by WFP as an audit of the WFP projects and perhaps would at the end lead to the food given to them being increased. We thus had to spend a significant amount of time to explain to them what the study was all about i.e that it was for academic purposes only.

Secondly, due to unavailability of the respondents at day time because they go far distances to search for food and water, we were forced to administer the questionnaires in the evening and at night, from 5.00pm to 9.00pm. This was challenging considering the fact that Kyatune location is located in a remote area. We had to hire motorbikes during the night and bicycles at day time to ease our mobility.

Another challenge encountered had to do with lack of ample accommodation. This is because the study site is located in the interior parts of Kitui District where accommodation was hard to come by. The researcher was however able to quickly adapt and was accommodated by a research assistant.

The researcher and the assistants had to read as well as translate and at times take some time to explain the questions to the respondents as most of them had only primary level education or had no education at all. This meant that a huge amount of time was spent on a single respondent. There was, therefore, a real risk of the respondents losing concentration and the accuracy of the information being elicited from them being compromised. This was overcome by ensuring that the questions were asked as precisely as possible with an agreed key of official translation of key words.

The worst challenge was at the stage of writing the report of this study, the cruel hand of death took one of my supervisor Prof. Mary Omosa, thus slowing the pace of work. Indeed, this was challenging but thanks to the support accorded by Prof. Mitullah to proceed with the report to its conclusion.

4.0 SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

4.1 Introduction

First, this chapter reports and discusses findings on the socio-economic and demographic profile of the households with regard to the objectives of the study. The analysis is to reveal the extent to which project food aid has contributed to improvement of livelihoods or promoted dependence hence persistent poverty in Kyatune location, which is the overall objective for the study.

The chapter provides background information about the respondents and their households and will focus on such demographic features such as: gender and household management, level of education and training, age of household head and family size, main economic activity undertaken by each household, and other economic activities that households engage in. These information/details are important as they will give insights into each household and also help in explaining the livelihoods of the beneficiaries of project food aid.

The socio-economic information is also important in this study for it helps to understand the level WFP adhere to its set guidelines in supplying food aid to the target households. The specific criterion that WFP has set focus on the most vulnerable and food insecure households that depict the following characteristics: households should have no, or low food crop harvest; no fixed/formal employment; single female headed households are given preference i.e. widows, widowers; orphans, aged, disabled and HIV/AIDS affected families are highly considered; households without food stocks and level of education are also considered (WFP, 2008). It is against this backdrop that the socio-economic characteristics will be analysed in order to grasp the role of project food aid in the community. This addresses the first research question by providing the true picture and status of the households that receive project food aid.

4.2 Households Socio-economic Characteristics

4.2.1 Age and Family size.

The majority of the respondents receiving food aid in the area were in their productive age and differed in age. The larger proportions (45%) fall in the age brackets of 31-45 years with 30 per cent comprising those of the age category of 46-60. Those aged above 60 constitute only 17 per cent while a small proportion comprising 7.5 per cent comprised of those below 30 years as illustrated in table 4.1

Table 4.1 Age of Respondents

Age bracket	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Below 30	4	7.5
31-45	24	45.3
46-60	16	30.2
Above 60	9	17.0
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

This means the age bracket of the food aid beneficiaries has widened to include those still in their productive ages, which initially WFP considered less vulnerable and food secure in its planning.

In addition, the average number of children per household is 5.57. On average therefore, each household has six children. This confirms the WFP estimate on number of children in a household which enables them to measure the quantity of food they provide. The Catholic Diocesan Food Security Officer (KI 2) said that, regardless of the number of children a household had, they use 6 as a standard average per household to distribute food. In addition, it emerged that a number of households (43.4%) had additional children that they take care of. These are children whose parents had either moved to urban areas or died. A woman leader (KI 3) confirmed that some households had additional children whose parent/s had moved from the community to urban centres in search of opportunities so as to support their families. She further noted that most parents of the children who were orphans and were being taken care of by their relatives, mostly grandparents, had died of HIV/AIDS. Therefore

as more orphaned children are included in existing large families, this translate to sharing limited resources, including food aid given which make them more vulnerable and food insecure. Percentage

4.2.2 Gender and Household Management

Most (86.8%) of those who were interviewed were female with only 13.2 per cent being male. This is because WFP targets women in the distribution of food, mainly because women are more vulnerable and are deemed to use the food more appropriately than men. The WFP representative (K1 4) explained that they have even cases where some men have been found to sell the food aid and use the money for alcohol. Women therefore are an integral part in the implementation of WFP projects that help them realise its objectives and play a very central role in the management of their families.

Regarding the marital status of those households interviewed, the largest percentages 77.4 per cent were married while 11.3 per cent single, widowed (9.4%) and divorced (1.9%). (Table 4.2)

Table 4.2 Gender and Household Management

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Married	41	77.4
Single	6	11.3
Widowed	5	9.4
Divorced	1	1.9
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field Data

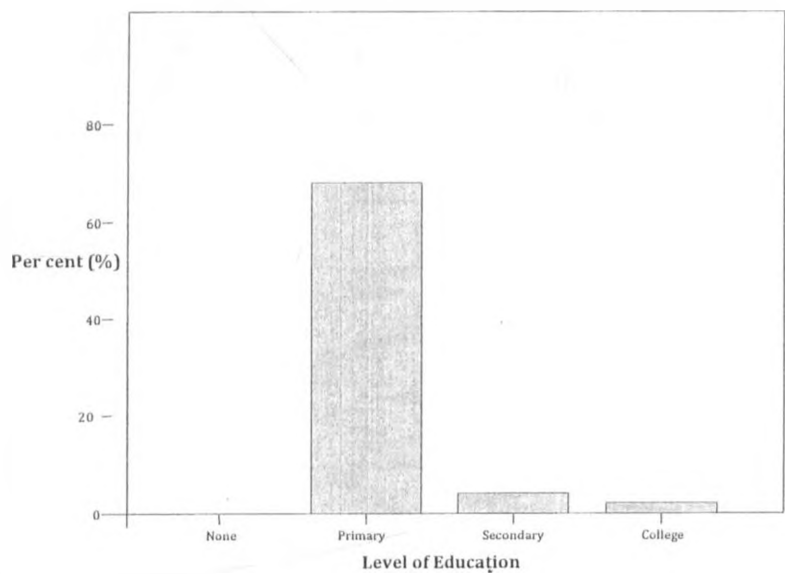
All respondents, regardless of marital status, acknowledged they benefited from the World Food Programme in one way or another. According to the WFP 2008 food aid guidelines, the selection criteria for beneficiary households gives priority to widows, widowers and single mothers and households headed by women. In line with the criterion, the findings revealed that widows and single parents were amongst the beneficiaries of the organisation’s food aid programmes in Kyatune.

4.2.3 Education and Training

Education is one of the aspects that WFP aims to promote as a way of spurring human development through school feeding programme. The skills and knowledge acquired through education play a significant role in helping improve the economic status of households.

The findings of the survey show that a large proportion (62.4%) of households' heads in the study population have attained primary level education while 30.2 per cent do not have any formal education. Only 3.8 per cent of those interviewed have secondary level education with a paltry 1.9 per cent having college education. (Figure 4.1)

Figure 4.1 Level of Education



Source: Field data

Education therefore is an essential tool in fighting poverty as it enables people to use their skills and knowledge to earn a living. Where the levels of literacy are low, as is the case in Kyatune, persistent poverty is likely to be the end result.

Observations and discussion with the District Officer (KI 1) revealed that most of the food aid beneficiaries' had little or no education. This is what has made the government to encourage most of the household heads to enrol for adult education programmes. But according to the DO, so far the number of those who lack formal education still remains high.

From the above findings, it is clear that WFP programmes targets the poor who, coincidentally, happen to have little or no education at all. The fact that a good number of the residents of Kyatune have little or no education, partly explains why most households in the area are trapped in persistent poverty. They lack necessary skills and knowledge to empower themselves move out of persistent poverty. From Human Development Approach, education equips people with knowledge and skills necessary to utilise their potential. The WFP school feeding programme is meant to enable children to access education that is out of reach to many households.

Also, according to the findings, majority (73.6%) of the respondents indicated that they had not undertaken any technical or professional training, while only 7.5 per cent had professional training. 13.2 per cent of those interviewed fall in the skilled workforce category while only 5.7 per cent were trained in a technical field. (Table 4.4)

Table 4.4 Areas of Training

Field	Frequency	Percentage (%)
None	39	73.6
Skilled	7	13.2
Professional	4	7.5
Technical	3	5.7
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

The ones in professional category were in the teaching profession. Those with some skills and technical training worked in such fields as tailoring, masonry, carpentry, driving, weaving, soil conservation and curving. Very few households therefore were in professional fields and majority were in technical and skilled fields in the community. The situations for those in professional, skilled and technical seem better off than those engaged in other activities. The low levels of either professional or technical training, which are usually a means to accessing employment opportunities especially in the formal sector, also explains why the residents of Kyatune seem not to be able to meet their basic needs.

4.2.4 Economic Activities and Income.

The study findings showed that the main economic activities for households in Kyatune include seasonal farming (66%), small business (18.9%), casual labour (5.7%), and charcoal burning (3.8%). It is noteworthy that seasonal farming and business were the main economic activities for the majority of Kyatune residents. Seasonal farming is done when there is rainfall. It is also interesting to note that 3.8 per cent did not engage in any economic activity. The information on these households indicate that they are aged and do not have energy to engage in any economic activity. (Table 4.5)

Table 4.5 Economic Activities

Economic Activity	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Farming	35	66.0
Small business	10	18.9
Casual labour	3	5.7
Charcoal burning	2	3.8
None	2	3.8
Brick making	1	1.9
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

The study established that while some households engaged in only one economic activity, others engaged in more than one activity. Other activities that households engaged in included brick making (26.4%), charcoal burning (24.5%) bee keeping (3.8%) and casual labour (11.3%). These economic activities were meant to supplement the main economic activity. The rest (34%) of households sampled were not involved in more than one activity. Despite the findings revealing that a number of households in Kyatune engage in at least one economic activity, the DO (KI 1) interviewed said that the returns from such activities are meager, making the households vulnerable to famine and food insecurity, hence food aid. This means that the households in Kyatune community belong to different income categories, based on the economic activity they engage in, but they mostly receive food aid. From the

income categories and the economic activities households engage in, it is clear that most of them struggle to earn a living.

4.3 Summary

The socio-economic and demographic profiles of the households contribute to an understanding of the guidelines set by the WFP in distribution of food aid vis-à-vis the recipients of the food aid and persistent poverty. The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of these households such as the income they earn per month, the economic activities they engage in, the number of children that they support, and the level of education and training, as well as the fact that they rely on food aid as their main source of food depicts a situation of chronic poverty.

An analysis of the findings on socio-economic and demographic profile shows that households that receive food aid indeed conform to the WFP guidelines on the eligibility of the recipients of the food aid. The characteristics of the households sampled therefore serve to partly underscore the role of project food in the improvement of their livelihoods. Most recipients of food aid have low level of education and training and that consideration is given to widows; widowers; those affected by HIV/AIDs and those that do not have fixed/reliable form of employment. Most households in Kyatune engage in economic activities such as seasonal farming, brick making and small businesses to earn a living but the earnings are meager making them vulnerable and food insecure, thus WFP food aid to fill the slot as a result improvement of their livelihoods.

5.0 IMPROVEMENT OF HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOODS

Chapter five focuses on the WFP school feeding programme, maternal child health and food for work projects which constitute the thematic areas of the study.

In order to get more information for the first objective of the study, focusing on the role of project food aid in the improvement of livelihoods, the questions in this section focused on three main sub-categories namely: school feeding programme, maternal child health and food for work. These issues will be discussed in respect to the extent to which these WFP projects have improved the livelihoods of the households in Kyatune.

5.1 School Feeding Programme

It was observed that an average of 6.2 children in a household had benefitted from the school feeding programme. Of these, most (94.3%) had benefitted from the programme for a span of 1-5 years, 1.9 per cent for a span of 6-10 years. Only 3.8 per cent had not benefitted from the programme. (Table 5.1)

Table 5.1 Duration households have benefited from SFP

Duration	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1-5 yrs	50	94.3
6-10 yrs	1	1.9
None	2	3.8
Total	53	100.0

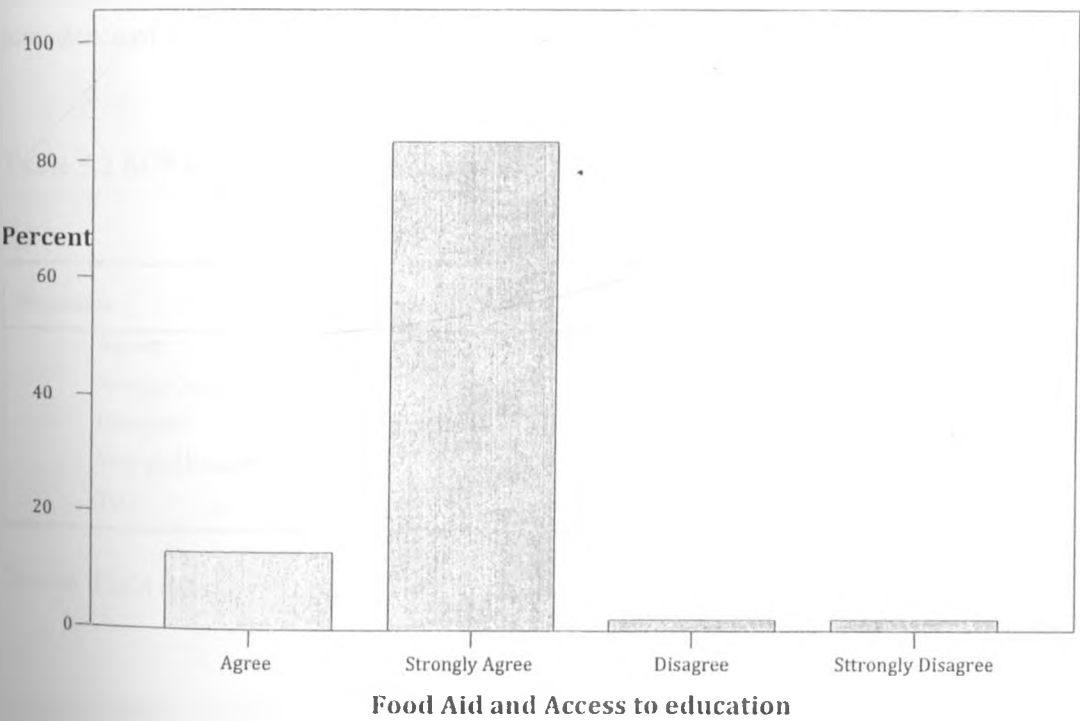
Source: Field data.

The Catholic Food Security Officer (KI 3) revealed that there are 14 primary schools in Kyatune location and all are beneficiaries of SFP. The District Officer (KI 1) said that the government had committed Ksh 50 million during 2009/2010 financial year to support WFP school feeding programme. This is a shift from dependence on only WFP sponsored food aid programmes. This is in an effort to make SFP a home grown practice in which the communities take active role. That is to say, food will be purchased from within the community level by WFP unlike when it was bought from elsewhere. This is meant to

encourage residents of Kyatune to produce own food so as to sell to WFP. According to the Kenya Food Security Group 2nd quarterly report (2009), schools in arid and semi arid areas were in emergency phase, thus pupils urgently were in need of food. While 50.9 per cent disagreed that SFP is the main reason why they send their children to school, 49.1 per cent agreed. This is an indication that SFP actually does play a significant role in influencing households to send their children to school.

The findings therefore seem to agree with Shaw and Clay (2003) who argues that provision of school meals help increase school enrolment. Further, from the survey, majority (83.0%) of the respondents *strongly agreed* that SFP had greatly contributed to their children accessing schooling and some (13.2%) just *agreed* with the statement. A few (1.9%) *strongly disagreed* and 1.9 per cent *disagreed* with the point that SFP provide access to schooling. (Figure 5.2)

Figure 5.1 Food Aid& Education



From figure 5.2, it can be concluded that without SFP, many households will not be able to send their children to school. This, in turn will have the effect of limiting their chances of realizing their full potential as they will lack the skills and knowledge necessary to exploit their surrounding or even access employment opportunities. SFP enables the children to access schooling as it subsidizes household school levies. This means that even children from chronically poor families can access schooling.

That a big number of the households in Kyatune agree that SFP helps them access education is an acknowledgement of the positive contribution of SFP, and by extension the contribution WFP has made and continues to make to their livelihoods. Moreover, it was also noted that school feeding programme influenced school attendance in Kyatune location. In one way or another, SFP motivated pupils to attend school .This is because over 90 per cent of the respondents either *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that food aid given in schools ensures frequent attendance of school by their children. Only 7.5 per cent *disagreed* and 1.9 per cent *strongly disagreed* that food aid given in schools played any role in influencing their children’s attendance of school. (Table 5.2)

Table 5.2 SFP and School Attendance

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agreed	34	64.2
Strongly Agreed	14	26.4
Disagreed	4	7.5
Strongly Disagreed	1	1.9
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

This therefore implies that absenteeism in schools reduces when food aid is given. The Catholic Diocesan Food Security Officer (KI 3) attested that when the food aid is delayed, or is withdrawn, schools experience a sharp decline in attendance because pupils are aware that

food will not be provided at school. This is also well captured by Mora *et al.* (1990) who argues that provision of school meals contribute to reduced absenteeism and lower drop out rates.

The DO (KI 1) also stated that school feeding programme keeps children in school and encourage them to be present. The DO (KI 1) further said that when meals are given, schools attendance shoots up from 15 per cent to 25 per cent and when meals are not provided, attendance goes down by more or a similar percentage. That means that when absence of pupils is reduced in school, their performance is likely to be affected because concentration in their studies is low.

Besides attendance, SFP contribute to completion of school. Majority (73.6%) of households *agreed* that school feeding programme greatly helped in ensuring that their children complete school with 15.1 per cent of households *strongly agreeing* and 9.4 per cent and 1.4 per cent *disagreeing* and *strongly disagreeing* respectively. Related to completion of school, many respondents (62.3%) *agreed* that SFP improved their children's performance in class while 30.8 per cent *strongly agreed*, while 3.8 per cent and 3.8 per cent *disagreed* and *strongly disagreed* respectively. Hay and Clay (1986) asserts that SFP improve alertness and increase pupils physical energy, which in turn improve performance. Completion of primary education helps the children to have the basic minimum knowledge and skills necessary to improve the quality of their life and the livelihoods of their families. This is because, more often than not, good education serves as a gateway to better employment opportunities.

Apart from SFP helping ensure that children complete school and increasing their performance in class, it also enables households to make savings. Most (90.6%) of households agreed that SFP has enabled them to make savings compared to 9.4 per cent who disagreed. Those that make savings (90.6%) said that they kept the money they would have paid to schools as lunch levies and they used the savings to meet other household financial

obligations. The woman leader (KI 3) explained that households are able to make some little savings as a result of SFP that help them to meet other domestic needs.

A good number of respondents (47.2%) said that they used the savings made to buy clothing especially uniform for their children, some (20.8%) said they used the savings to pay fees for their other children in secondary or college, while others (9.4%) said they used the savings to buy domestic animals such as sheep and goats. Only a small number (3.8%) said they used the money to buy food for the household from the saved money and a smaller number (1.9%) said they used the money to start small business, especially selling groceries. The rest (9.4%) use the savings for other unspecified purposes to support their households. (Table 5.3)

Figure 5.3 Uses of Savings

Usage of savings	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Buy Clothing	25	47.2
Paying Fees	11	20.8
Others	5	9.4
Buy Domestic Animals	5	9.4
N/A	4	7.5
Buying Food	2	3.8
Small Business	1	1.9
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

Certainly, savings that households make shows that SFP had assisted them to meet other needs that are also basic and important, which they would have otherwise gone without. This is further evidence of how food aid has helped households to improve their livelihoods.

In underscoring the importance of the education that their children get through school feeding programme, most households (84.9%) said they will still send their children to school even if school feeding programme is not offered. 15.1 per cent of the respondents however said they will not send their children to school if SFP is not offered. This perhaps indicates the motivation that food aid gives the pupils to attend school. The 84.9 per cent who said they will still send their children to school even in the absence of SFP consider education as a right to their children and believe it will help improve the economic status of the household in

future. This shows the high value the residents of Kyatune have placed on education especially as a means to helping them fight chronic poverty.

Most households (84.9%) agreed that the education their children have acquired had imparted skills and knowledge that will help them fight persistent poverty. More particularly, they said that education improved their children's chances of getting better and possibly well-paying jobs. This indicates that households in Kyatune appreciate and recognize the importance of the WFP supported education programmes in improving their livelihoods and specifically the livelihoods of their children.

5.2 Maternal Child Health

The study also revealed that most households (84.9%) had benefited from maternal child health in Kyatune, whereas a few (15.1%) had not. The ones who had not benefited from MCH were aware about both the existence of the programme and its benefits. MCH targets pregnant mothers, lactating mothers and children below 5 years. Lately, WFP has included the aging and HIV/AIDS affected families. The Catholic Diocese Food Security Officer (KI 3) said the aging and HIV/AIDS have been included in the MCH Programme because of their vulnerability. For these reasons, MCH signify the support it accords to the households in Kyatune as more affected cases are included to benefit from the programme which in turn contribute in improving the livelihoods of households.

The food stuffs given under this programme include milk, beans, cooking oil and flour. The Diocesan Food Security Officer (KI 3) indicated that they provide corn soya blend that is nutritious to mothers to improve proper growth of their children. HIV/AIDS affected families also get antiretroviral therapy and drugs besides the food given at the clinics. Maxwell (1991) pointed out that the main aim of MCH is to improve nutrition and health of mothers and children by offering supplementary food at health care centres. MCH is also meant to encourage mothers to go to clinics to have their children immunized. The food stuffs aforementioned given at healthcare centres comprise protein, carbohydrates and vitamins which constitute a balanced diet and which are essential for proper child growth.

On whether food aid given at health centres encourages attendance of clinics, 22.6 per cent of the respondents ranked it as excellent whereas 24.5 per cent ranked it as very good. Others (28.3%) ranked it as good and a few (13.2%) ranked it as fair. This proves Maxwell (1986)

argument that project food aid is primarily designed to improve maternal and children nutrition and to encourage attendance at mother and child health clinics. By encouraging mothers to go to clinics, WFP meets its objective of assisting households access health care, particularly for children who are most vulnerable, thus reducing child and mother mortality. WFP MCH programme has thus gone a long way in improving the quality of the livelihoods of children and mothers in Kyatune location by endeavoring to reduce the incidence of disease among households.

Nutritionally, 60.4 per cent of households ranked the food given in health centres as balanced, 9.4 per cent of the households ranked it as very good, 13.2 per cent as excellent and 5.7 per cent ranked it as fair. (Table 5.4)

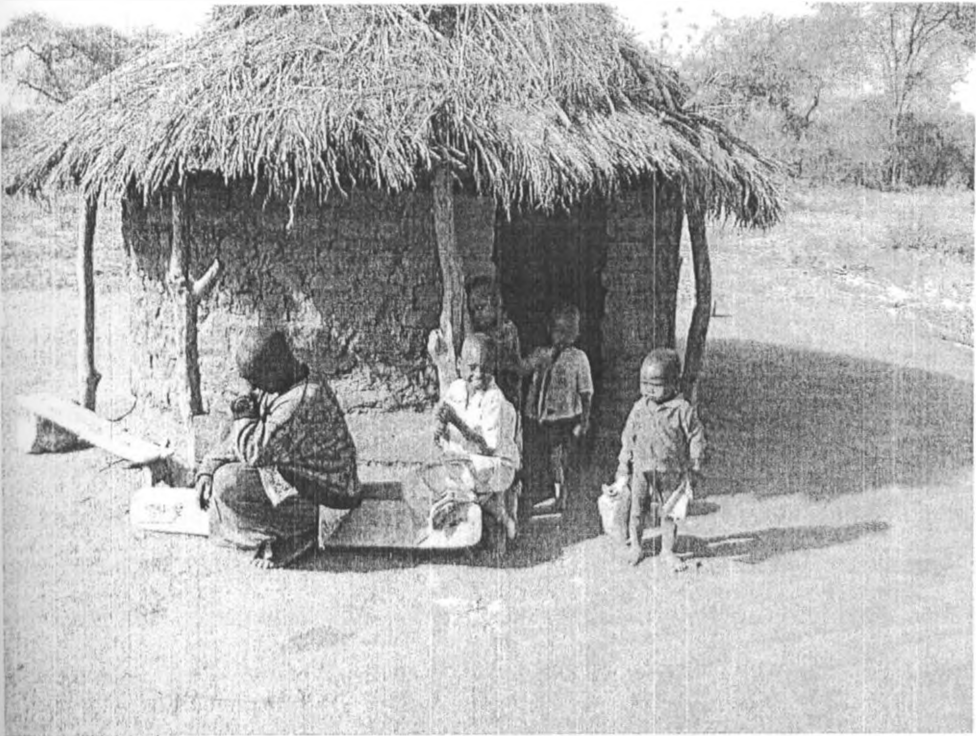
Table 5.4 Food Supplied and Nutrition

Rating	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Fair	3	5.7
Good	32	60.4
Very Good	5	9.4
Excellent	7	13.2
N/A	6	11.3
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

This means that most households are in agreement that the food aid given is nutritious, hence prevents malnutrition.

In addition, photographic evidence below and observation of the children who benefited from MCH speak positively about the programme as most of them looked healthy.



Photograph of the children who have benefited from MCH

Food aid is also given in clinics to prevent malnutrition and diseases among the vulnerable groups. Diseases that are caused by malnutrition such as kwashiorkor and marasmus are prevented through WFP MCH programme which ensures that not only do the children get regular meals, but also that the meals are balanced. With respect to prevention of malnutrition, 35.8 per cent of the respondents ranked food aid given in health centres as very good, 30.2 per cent ranked it as good, 17.0 per cent as fair, 1.9 per cent as excellent and very few (3.8%) as bad. In addition, a good number (47.2%) ranked food aid as far as saving lives is concerned as good, 20.8 per cent ranked it as very good and 11.3 per cent ranked it as excellent.

Only a small number (5.7%) ranked it as fair with smaller number (3.8%) ranking it as bad. The role MCH has played in improving the general health of residents of Kyatune, especially

the most vulnerable among them e.g. mothers and children, has therefore played a positive role in improving livelihoods of the households.

5.3 Food for Work and Household Projects

All households (100%) in Kyatune location are beneficiaries of food for work programme. Of these 24.5 per cent had been beneficiaries for a period of less than one year, 32.1 per cent in a period of 1-2 years, 35.8 per cent between 2-5 years and 7.5 per cent for over 6 years. In food for work programme households are supposed to either work on their farms or in a community project, and given food as compensation. According to the Diocesan Food Security Officer (KI 4), the name of the programme has changed from food for work programme to food for assets. This was done to put the focus on the improvement of household assets such as farms and community infrastructure. The community also has nicknamed food for assets programme in Kikamba as ‘Katulu’ which in English means squirrel as it entails digging as the main activity. WFP (2008) evaluation report underscored the need for communities to be encouraged to develop projects that will improve their livelihoods and food security. These projects include but are not limited to: farm improvement, small scale-surface irrigation, and terracing and construction of gabions.

Many households (98.1%) agreed that food for work, renamed food for asset programme, has gone a long way in making them carry out farming activities in their own farms, with only (1.9%) disagreeing. Besides carrying out farming activities in their farms, 98.1 per cent households also agreed that food for assets has greatly contributed towards encouraging them to produce their own food. The District Officer (KI 1) and the woman leader (KI 2) stated that food for assets help households to prepare their farms on time for the planting season. The DO (KI 1) further said that WFP work with government extension officers to help households prepare their farms. This demonstrates participation and ownership of the programme by households in an attempt to promote food security of the households.

The food for asset requirement per project is a function of the volume of work (total days worked), ration size and the average of 6 members per household size. To quote the Diocesan Food Security Officer (KI 4): “We consider the number of days one has worked either in their farm or in a community project and use an average of six members per households when distributing food for assets”

It was also noted that majority (64.2%) of households that benefit from food for work have got primary level of education, 30.2 per cent do not have any formal education, only 3.8 per cent had secondary level education and 1.9 per cent had college level education. Table 5.5 shows cross tabulation exemplifying correlation between education and food for work.

Table 5.5 Correlation between Level of Education and Food for Work

Level of Education	Response; Beneficiary of Food for work	Total
	Yes	
None	16	16
	30.2%	30.2%
Primary	34	34
	64.2%	64.2%
Secondary	2	2
	3.8%	3.8%
College	1	1
	1.9%	1.9%
Total	53	53
	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field data

Therefore it means those with none or primary level education forms a greater proportion of those who receive food aid. This underscores the importance of education in reducing poverty since almost all households receiving food aid have none or primary level education.

5.4 Food for Work and Community Projects

WFP uses the food for assets project to intervene in community projects that are deemed to be of greater benefit to the community. WFP first identifies a project and then lobbies the community members to offer their labour in carrying it out and get food as wages. A project is chosen based on the assumed benefits it will bring to the community. According to the respondents, among such projects initiated in Kyatune include: rehabilitation of roads, building of gabions, planting of trees, construction of dams and renovation of service centres such as schools and hospitals.

From the survey, 34.0 per cent of households said that roads rehabilitation was the most common in the area, 18.9 per cent felt it was building of gabions, 17.0 per cent thought it was planting of trees, 13.2 per cent said it was construction of dams, and 11.3 per cent renovation of service centres such as hospitals and schools. (Table 5.6)

Table 5.6 Food for Work and Community Projects

Community Projects	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Roads Rehabilitation	18	34.0
Building Gabions/Terraces	10	18.9
Planting of Trees	9	17.0
Dam Construction	7	13.2
Service Centres Repair	6	11.3
Not Sure	1	1.9
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

The woman leader (KI 2) commented about the programme, noting that:

“Through food for work roads have been rehabilitated which have assisted the community in many ways. One is opening up accessibility to service centres such as schools, churches, health centres and market. This is because they act as short cuts to the service centres. The other is that they enable buyers to

access and purchase communities products from the interior areas of Kyatune”.

Opinion by the woman leader (K1 2) underscores the importance food for work has played on community projects to improve livelihoods of the community.

As illustrated in Table 5.6, households in Kyatune community appreciate that roads rehabilitation has improved access to service centres. For instance, they make children easily access schools, farmers get to the market to sell and buy goods and mothers to access health centres. Construction of gabions and terraces has improved soil conservation in the community; hence help them produce food once in a while. Planting of trees is a long term strategy to draw rainfall that they need to produce their own food. These interventions basically are dealing with infrastructure within the community that possibly have hindered progress or increased the cost of access to services.

In WFP (1999) publication, *Time for Change: Food Aid and Development*, the food supplied to households through food for work result in a substantial addition to their income, additional employment, and construction and rehabilitation works. Indeed, 37.7 per cent of households respondents agreed that WFP community interventions have made some positive change in the community, 5.7 per cent categorized the change as great, 47.2 per cent characterised the change as little. Very few (3.8%) felt that no change had resulted from WFP interventions in the community while 1.9 per cent were not sure. Despite the different perspectives of respondents on the improvement that project food aid has initiated in the community, it means that infrastructure system in the area would have been far worse than they were.

5.5 Summary on Improvement of livelihoods

Although food aid helps the households meet their basic needs, 30.2 per cent of respondents said they derive only a little satisfaction with regards to meeting basic needs, while 54.7 per cent indicated they got a bit of satisfaction and 15.1 per cent got a great deal of satisfaction. This means that in some way, WFP has not met all the households expectations, especially the quantity of food rations given to them.

Generally, 50.9 per cent rate the extent to which food aid has improved their livelihoods as moderate, while 43.4 per cent think food aid has been effective in improving their livelihoods and 1.9 per cent felt that it has been highly effective in improving their livelihoods. Only 1.9 per cent felt that it has been ineffective in improving their status.

There is no doubt therefore that food aid has made a positive impact on households, of course with the extent to which it had done this differing across households.

In conclusion, as far as the improvement of the household livelihoods is concerned, majority of households (98.1%) said that food aid had helped their households to meet basic needs: education, health, food and income. This had been achieved through school feeding programme, maternal child health and food for work. The other (1.9%) felt that food aid had not really helped them to meet their basic needs but only helped them to survive. It can therefore be concluded that whereas food aid has not helped the residents of Kyatune to completely become self-reliant in meeting their basic needs, it has at least helped improve their living standards. Apart from the immediate needs, it was supposed to help its recipients access education as well adequate healthcare to mothers and children. Food aid has also assisted in boosting households' incomes and led to the improvement of the infrastructure in the area.

6.0 FOOD AID AND PERSISTENT POVERTY

This chapter discusses the second objective of the study, which is: determining the relationship between project food aid and persistent poverty. It discusses the practice of food aid in relation to dependence and persistent poverty. The households that receive food aid are considered to be persistently poor because they cannot afford such basic necessities as sustaining their children in school, adequate healthcare, food and regular source of income. In Kyatune, food aid as seen in chapter five help households meet their education, health, income and food needs that has improved their livelihoods.

As discussed in chapter four, the demographic characteristics of these households e.g. the income they earn per month, the economic activities they engage in, the number of children that they support, and the fact that most of them skip meals and rely on food aid as their main source of food depicts a situation of chronic poverty.

6.1 Dependence

This sub-section, tries to decipher if the residents of Kyatune purely rely on food aid without making effort to produce their own, making them to be trapped in persistent poverty. Essentially, it is an assessment of whether households make efforts to produce their own food as well as trying to understand how they cope when food aid is lacking.

As observed in the preceding chapter 5 in table 5.1; good number (94.3%) of households interviewed said they had been beneficiaries of WFP food aid for a period of between 1 and 2 years. 3.8 per cent had benefited for a period of 6-10 years and 1.9 per cent for over 10years. On that account it could mean then that majority of households rely on food aid for their livelihoods. While WFP runs the school feeding programme and maternal child health on a continuous basis, the food for work project is only undertaken when funds are available and during certain seasons. This presents a particular difficulty in estimating or quantifying the exact duration a household has received food aid from WFP as some of them are enrolled in more than one WFP programme. Some of the households may therefore have been beneficiaries of WFP food aid projects for a longer period than they reported, depending on the specific programmes they are enrolled in.

6.1.1 Households Efforts to Produce Food

Almost all (98.1%) of households said they cultivated their land seasonally to produce their own food without the help of WFP but often with low harvests. Only 1.9 per cent households said they had never cultivated their land to produce food. Some of the factors households stated that hinder them from producing their food include: scarce rainfall, lack of farm inputs such as fertilizer and seeds, inadequate farming knowledge, soil erosion and pests destroying their crops. The Catholic Diocesan Food Security Officer (KI 3) said that inadequate rainfall is the main reason for crop failure in the community as rains come once after two or three years.

This implies that most households make effort to produce food or try to be self-reliant but are let down by inadequate rainfall, low harvests and lack of farm inputs. It is for this reason that they have resigned themselves to receiving food aid which has over time seen them lose any motivation of making individual efforts to become self-reliant. However, the DO (KI 1) argued that some households rarely cultivate their lands with or without the help of WFP because they rely more on WFP. However, the DO did not provide evidence or examples to substantiate his sentiments. This then implies that there could be some households that purely rely on food aid provided by WFP, without making any effort to produce their own food.

However, the DO's (KI 1) sentiments are disputed by the Diocesan Food Security Officer (KI 3) who indicated that WFP only empowers households to produce their own food, which is in an agreement with WFP guidelines. According to WFP Food for Asset Guide (2008), food aid provided aims to meet immediate households needs and ensures building of assets for the future. Therefore, the long lasting effect of food aid is not only for the creation of assets, but also the building of adequate skills to help households plan and manage micro-initiatives, and to continue to invest in their futures.

Asked if there were households that the respondents knew which for some reasons did not produce their own food, making them rely on food aid, 69.8 per cent indicated that they did not. 17.0 per cent indicated that they knew households that were not making any effort to produce their own food, while 13.3 per cent said they were not sure. (Table 6.1)

Table 6.1 Households and Food Production

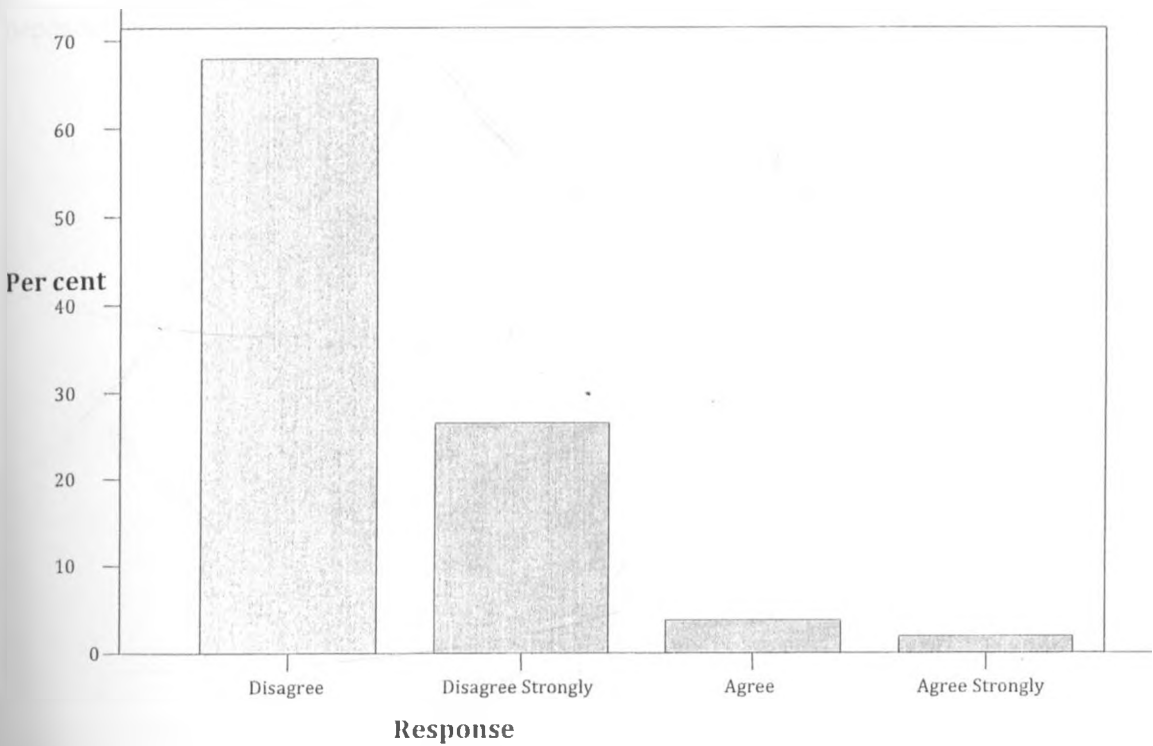
Opinion	Frequency	Percentage (%)
No	37	69.8
Yes	9	17.0
Not Sure	7	13.2
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

Contrary to Maxwell and Buchanan-Smith (1994) argument that food aid competes for labour between food for work and local agriculture thus reducing labour input in agricultural activities leading to lower production, hence overreliance, the findings from this study tend to suggest that households make effort to produce their own food and engage in agricultural activities but are deterred by harsh climatic conditions. This means that the households turn to food aid not because they cannot produce their own food but rather as an alternative to sustain them due to conditions beyond their control.

Majority (67.9%) disagreed and 26.4 per cent strongly disagreed that food aid had made households to be lazy, hence not making effort to produce own food. Only 3.8 per cent and 1.9 per cent agreed and strongly agreed respectively that food aid had made some households lazy. (Figure 6.1)

Figure 6.1 Food Aid and Laziness



Source: Field data

Observations from the field suggest that residents of Kyatune are hardworking as some of them had prepared farms during field work for this study and were waiting for the rainy season to plant. There was also evidence that community members were engaged in other socio-economic activities. It can therefore be said that the residents of Kyatune are dependent on food aid not because they wish to, but because circumstances such as inadequate rainfall have forced them to. The situation would no doubt be different if, for example, the

government initiated irrigation projects in the area for them to carry out farming activities. Indeed, from the survey carried out, it suggests that harsh climatic conditions make the households more vulnerable and therefore making them to rely on food aid.

In addition, all (100%) of the households indicated that continued provision of food aid over the years had made their households better than they were before because it helps them get access to education, healthcare and to make some savings. This points to “a catch 22” situation the households find themselves in that they can not do without food aid even when it has failed to help them get out of poverty. Through SFP, MCH and food for work programs, food aid has therefore improved the livelihoods of the households than creating dependency.

6.1.2 Coping Strategies

When food aid is reduced or withdrawn for some time, households use a number of strategies to cope with the situation. Some of the common coping strategies among the households include: eating wild fruits (1.9%), resigning to starvation (1.9%), casual labour (13.2%), charcoal burning (18.9%), small businesses (26.4%), brick making (9.4%), use of savings (1.9%) and others (24.5%) as reflected in table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Coping Strategies

Coping Strategies	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Small Business	14	26.4
Others	13	24.5
Charcoal Burning	10	18.9
Casual Labour	7	13.2
Brick Making	5	9.4
Wild Fruits	1	1.9
Risk starving	1	1.9
Buying with savings	1	1.9
N/A	1	1.9
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

The others, 24.5 percent, cope by borrowing food from their neighbours and economising the little food they might have. For example, they make *porridge* instead of *ugali* because the former uses little flour than the latter. The World Food Programme (Kl 4) said that once in a while households revert to coping strategies as a result of delays in the supply of food aid because of logistical problems experienced. Interestingly, WFP are considering training households on other strategies they can use to cope whenever there is a decline or delay in the supply of food aid.

From the table 6.2 it was noted that charcoal burning and small business were the main strategies residents of Kyatune used to cope when food aid is reduced, withdrawn or delays. This again confirms that the households want to break away from relying on food aid but if only they can be provided with irrigation and intensive agricultural extension services.

That households have fallback strategies that help them cope when food aid is not forthcoming points to a desire among them to become self-reliant. But this has not been possible due to lack of water for irrigation and farm inputs.

It was also established that most households (90.6%) skipped meals in a day compared to 9.4 per cent who did not as a coping strategy.(Table 6.3)

Table 6.3 Skipping of Meals

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	48	90.6
No	5	9.4
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

Of those households who skipped meals in a day, 67.9 per cent of them did it once in while 24.5 per cent did it frequently. Whether once in a while or frequently, skipping meals help households save food aid given to them so that they can use the supply for a longer period. Besides skipping of meals, the woman leader interviewed (KI 3) identified reduction in the size of meals, borrowing food from a friend or relative and giving food to children only as some of the other strategies households use to save food.

The Coping strategies in the area work to maintain the households whenever there is a shortage or reduction of food in the households. Almost all households in the area use some form of strategy to cope whenever there is a shortage or reduction of the food aid. This points to the gravity of the food insecurity situation in the area which necessitates the provision of food aid.

6.1.3 Government Interventions

In Kyatune, 94.3 per cent of respondents confirmed that they know of interventions that have been initiated by the government to help them produce food. Only a small number (5.7%) said that they did not know of any initiative by the government to support them produce their own food. Answering the question about the specific initiative by the government to help

them farm on their land, 50.9 per cent named provision of seeds, 41.5 per cent cited agricultural extension services and 1.9 per cent mentioned irrigation services. (Table 6.4)

Table 6.4 Government Intervention vis a vis Household Utilisation

Interventions	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Provision of Seeds	27	50.9
Extension Services	22	41.5
N/A	3	5.7
Irrigation Services	1	1.9
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

The District Officer (KI 1) indicated that the government agricultural extension officers educate communities to use drought resistant crops, small surface irrigation and good farming practices. Also the government through its Barazas encourage households to work towards self reliance.

Government interventions to encourage food self sufficiency among its citizens contrasts sharply. Singer *et al.*, (1987) posit that food aid has undermined government agricultural policies to promote farming and led to dependence on food aid. Also, the recent declaration in British Broadcasting Corporation Radio by G8 countries in Rome that donors should direct their attention towards agricultural development instead of food aid in developing countries does not seem to have taken cognisance of the fact that some governments are already making efforts to promote food security.

On support the government has accorded to households, respondents indicated that the government had helped them to: produce food, increase their harvest, plant trees, get enough food, acquire farming knowledge, prepare their farms before the onset of rains and plant punctually. This is as a result of government provision of farm inputs to households, enhancing their farming techniques and promoting food self sufficiency. The DO (KI 1) indicated that in 2008, 5 households from Kyatune location moved from the food aid phase

to self reliance phase, and this year they are expecting more as a result of intensifying agricultural extension services in the area. With all these government interventions, one cannot help but wonder why households in Kyatune have not been able to produce their own food. The answer to this question is, despite all the efforts the government has put in promoting food sufficiency in the area, it has not invested enough in large scale irrigation, which will go a long way to improve food security.

Interestingly, 96.2 per cent of households said plainly that despite the government interventions to help them produce food, they still want the WFP food aid programme to continue providing them with food assistance. They argued that despite the government's interventions, food shortage problems will still persist as the rains are bound to fail. They proposed that perhaps the long-term solution would be for the government to introduce large scale irrigation. They also want WFP food aid to continue because it uses a multifaceted approach in addressing basic issues that affect their livelihoods. The respondents believe that it is through school feeding programme that their children can continue accessing schooling, mothers and children getting health care and getting assistance and incentives to improve their farms. The Catholic Diocesan Officer (KI3) says that WFP food aid programmes should continue at least until large scale irrigation is introduced.

It would appear that much as WFP is helping households in Kyatune meet their basic needs through its programmes, it is also part of the problem. It seems that WFP went into Kyatune without an exit strategy or without a clear timetable of what it wanted to achieve and the duration it should take to achieve it. This is because, from the foregoing discussions, it is clear that the residents of Kyatune are likely to be hooked to food aid, if the government will not begin large scale irrigation as shown in table 6.5

Table 6.5 Should WFP Projects Continue

Views	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	51	96.2
No	2	3.8
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

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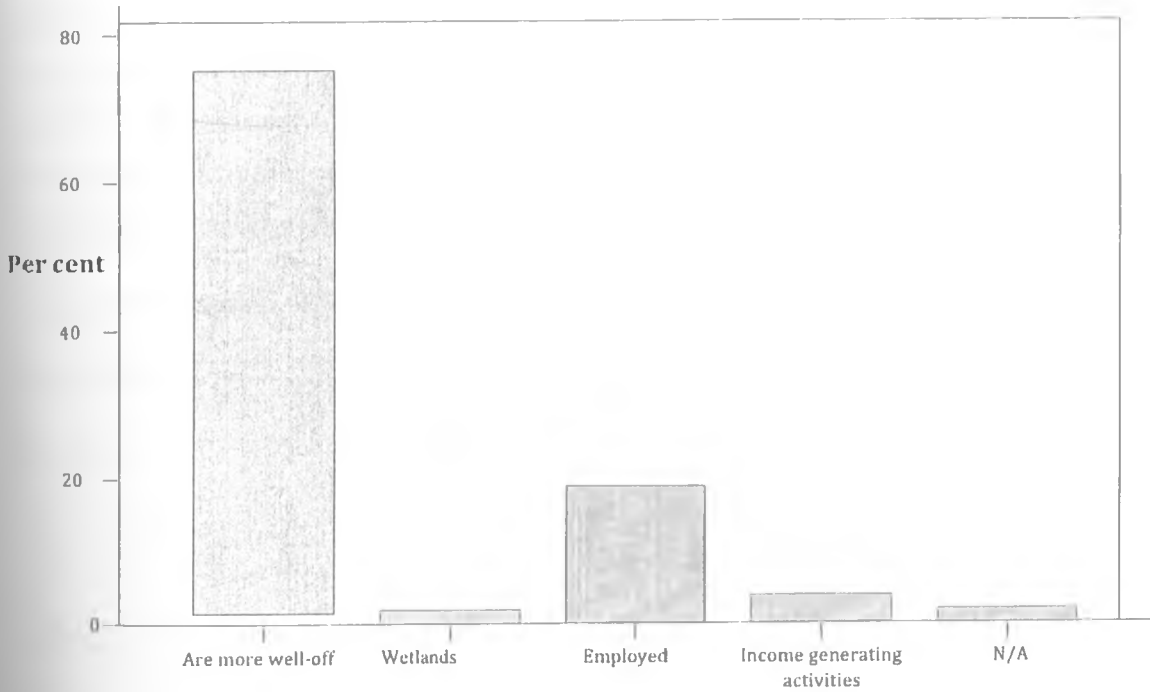
Table 6.5 Should WFP Projects Continue

Views	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	51	96.2
No	2	3.8
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

As to why some households in the community are able to live without relying on food aid, most (73.6%) said that the said households were well off and they can afford to meet their basic needs, unlike those who were persistently poor. Few (1.9%) said that some households were near wetlands and therefore can therefore carry out farming activities, others (18.9%) suggested that the households that do without food aid have some of their members in formal employment and therefore have a reliable source of income, while 3.8 per cent said those who do not need food assistance have income generating activities. (Figure 6.2)

Figure 6.2 Livelihoods without Food Aid



Source: Field data

Consequently, the households surveyed associate, and rightly so, wealth with meeting of basic needs. This is an indication that there is a belief among them that economic empowerment as opposed to being given food handouts is the best way of fighting poverty.

But unfortunately, they find themselves in a situation where WFP food aid programmes are their only lifeline.

6.2 Persistent Poverty

6.2.1 Households Characteristics of Persistent Poverty

The identification of persistent poverty in this study was based on four major household characteristics: education, training i.e. if the respondents had any technical or professional training or any other skills, the number of times the household skipped meals and household size. Starting with education, 30.2 per cent of respondents did not have any formal education, 64.2 per cent had attained only primary level education, and 3.8 per cent and 1.9 per cent had secondary and college level education respectively. 76.6 per cent of the persistently poor households in Kyatune lacked skills and only 26.4 per cent have any training in either a technical or professional field.

Majority (90.6%) of respondents skipped meals from time to time as a strategy to save the food rations given to them. Only 9.4 per cent said they didn't skip meals. Using the household size measure, each household had an average of 6 children and 56.6 per cent had children other than their own whom they were taking care of. Table 6.6 summarises the household characteristics of the persistently poor households.

Table 6.6 Description of the Persistent Poor

Characteristic	Description
Education	Majority of households had no formal education or attained only primary level. Very few attained secondary education
Training	Several households are lacking formal skills and knowledge
Household size	Families had an average of 6 children and others have relatives including grandchildren, niece/nephews to take care of.

Meals	Almost all households skip meals in a day or use other strategies to save little food they have.
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Using households average monthly income, main economic activity that households engaged in, whether households skipped meals or not and the level of education of respondents as the yard sticks to measure the incident of poverty in Kyatune location, most residents of the area seem to qualify to be described as persistently poor. The reasons why they qualify to be described to be trapped in persistent poverty can be understood in the light of the challenges WFP food aid programmes have sought to address such as education, health and food.

From the above findings, for instance, most of the respondents said that they had only primary level education and an equally big number do not have any technical or professional training. Lacking such training puts them at a disadvantaged especially as far as securing employment in the formal sector is concerned. The end result of this is that since they lack a means of earning a living, and they have to continue depending on WFP food aid to meet their basic necessities as food, health and education; it can be argued that assisting such households to access technical or professional training as opposed to just giving them food rations is what will help them to get out of the poverty.

Programme	Household Response		Total
	Yes	No	
Beneficiary of Food for Work	53	0	53
	100%	0%	100.0
Beneficiary of MCH	45	8	53
	84.9%	15.1%	100.0%

Source: Field data

This explains the extent food aid support the livelihoods of these households in the community since almost all benefit from the both food for work and MCH to a large extent.

6.2.2 Households Poverty Trend

Responding to the question how they rated themselves in relation to poverty, some households (17.0%) said they were very poor, 53 per cent poor and 28 per cent average. As illustrated in table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Households in Relation to Poverty

Rating	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Poor	29	54.7
Average	15	28.3
Very Poor	9	17.0
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

Furthermore, cross tabulation that follows shows that 100 per cent of households benefit from food for work whereas 84.9 per cent have benefited from maternal child health. (Table 6.7)

Table 6.7 Food for Work and MCH cross tabulation

Programme	Household Response		Total
	Yes	No	
Beneficiary of Food for Work	53	0	53
	100%	0%	100.0
Beneficiary of MCH	45	8	53
	84.9%	15.1%	100.0%

Source: Field data

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Source: Field data

Those who considered themselves as very poor said that at times they went without food and that they couldn't afford to pay fees for their children. For those whose children proceeded to secondary school, their children could not afford fees. Indeed, observations made tend to support these assertions. In one incident, for instance, a household lamented how their son had dropped from secondary school because they could not afford fees and how the houses they were living in were about to collapse!

Those who categorised themselves as poor also confessed that without WFP food aid, they will not be able to access education, health, food and any source of income. It was noted that those in the average category engage in at least one economic activity.

Asked to comment on the poverty trend in their households for the last five years, majority (58.5%) said that it had worsened over time, 7.5 per cent said it had remained the same, while 34 per cent said it had improved.(Table 6.3)

Table 6.9 Poverty Trend

State of Poverty	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Worsened	31	58.5
Improved	18	34.0
Remained the same	4	7.5
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

Those who said the poverty situation in their households had worsened attributed it to poor harvest or none at all. The ones whose poverty situation had remained the same said it was because the WFP and the government had not really assisted them much to get out of poverty. The ones in the improved category said their households were better because WFP had helped them meet their daily food, education, health and income needs.

That most households in Kyatune consider their poverty situation to have worsened in the last five years is in itself a strong statement of deterioration as opposed to improving living conditions among them. It is a testament to the fact that poverty has not abated among these households despite the massive resources being invested in the area by WFP to at least help

them meet their basic needs. This puts to question the efficacy of WFP food programmes in providing lasting solutions to the poverty situation in Kyatune and perhaps calls for a change of tact by WFP.

6.2.3 Housing in Kyatune

Housing in Kyatune were in deplorable state. This depicts persistent poverty affecting the households in the area for they could not afford to have a decent housing. It means therefore that households that are given food aid, are not able to meet their shelter needs, which is a basic necessity. On that account, WFP targets the chronic poor leaving in such housing to help them meet the basic need of food, education and health. Housing structure that is deplorable in form of leaking roofs has got some health implications, especially on children. In some way therefore, food aid plays the role of addressing the health of children who could suffer from diseases caused by poor state of housing through MCH. Majority (92.5%) of the walls of the houses in the area had been constructed using mud, 3.8 per cent stones and 3.8 per cent bricks. (Table 6.10)

Table 6.10: Wall Materials

Materials	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Mud	49	92.5
Stone	2	3.8
Bricks	2	3.8
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field Data

Construction of house walls using adobe means that the households that receive food aid are neither able to afford bricks nor cement blocks. Observations made showed that some house walls were almost falling, a clear pointer to the impoverished state the households are in, which justifies provision of food aid.

The floors of 86.8 per cent of the houses were constructed using mud with 1.9 per cent and 9.4 per cent having been constructed using wood and concrete respectively as illustrated in table 6.11.

Table 6.11: Floors Materials

Materials	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Mud	46	86.8
Concrete	5	9.4
Wood	1	1.9
Other	1	1.9
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field Data

Mud floor is considered as the oldest and cheapest building material. Mud floor housing easily attracts jiggers and other disease borne insects. Floors of houses in Kyatune location were using mud, points to the dire situation of persistent poverty they are in that warrant food aid.

86.8 per cent of roofing material on the other hand was grass thatch with only 7.5 per cent being made of iron sheets. (Table 6.11).

Table 6.12: Roofing Materials

Materials	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Thatch	46	86.8
Corrugated Iron Sheets	5	9.4
Other	2	3.8
Tiles	0	0
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

Grass thatch is also not anymore in use and it wears out fast unlike iron sheets. Use of grass thatch by households in Kyatune reflects that the households are chronically poor and justification of them to receive food aid.

6.2.4: Households views on how to move out of poverty

To move out of prolonged poverty, 34.0 per cent of households suggested that they needed capital to start business and 34.0 per cent proposed to be given farming inputs and more agricultural extension services. Some (18.9%) insisted that education for their children would go a long way in helping them move out of poverty as they seemed to believe that with good education, their children can get good jobs. Few households (13.2%) felt that water for irrigation will be their gateway out of prolonged poverty.(Table 6.13)

Table 6.13: Households Needs from Prolonged Poverty

Needs	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Education for Children	10	18.9
Capital to Start Business	18	34.0
Farming Materials	18	34.0
Water for Irrigation	7	13.2
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

In summary, the households considered capital, education and water for irrigation as the things they need to move out of poverty. Their explanation for this is that capital will help them start business; education will make their children help them in future; and water will assist them in farming. It would appear that the household know exactly what they need to move out of poverty but they are being let down by those who should help do it i.e the government. WFP on the other hand, seems to be only focusing on providing short term solutions but which have improved and sustained the livelihoods of the households trapped in persistent poverty.

Asked what they will do in the event that food aid is withdrawn, most households expressed apprehension about the challenges they will face in meeting their basic needs such as food, education, health and income. Many (49.1%) were of the opinion that if WFP food aid is stopped, they will not be in a position to meet their daily basic needs. Some (24.5%) said that their children will drop out of school with 5.7 per cent saying that they will have to migrate to urban centres to search for opportunities of earning a living, and 1.9 per cent indicating that the incidence of child labour will rise if food aid is stopped. Surprisingly, 11.3 per cent said that they will definitely die in the event of food aid being halted. But on a more positive note,

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7.5 per cent noted that they will turn to alternative means of earning a living such as burning charcoal and making bricks as illustrated in table 6.14

Table 6.14: Withdrawal Effects of Food Aid

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Inadequate Basic Needs	26	49.1
School Drop-Outs	13	24.5
Death	6	11.3
Strategies like Charcoal Burning	4	7.5
Migration to Urban Centres	3	5.7
Rise of Child Labour	1	1.9
Total	53	100.0

Source: Field data

The views expressed by the households underscore the important role food aid has played in the livelihoods of the residents of Kyatune location. But at the same time, they also illustrate the extent of chronic poverty among the households.

6.2.5 Summary of food aid and persistent poverty

From the foregoing facts and figures, it can be concluded that majority of households in Kyatune location benefiting from food aid are trapped in poverty because they rely almost entirely on WFP food aid programmes to meet their basic needs: education, health, food. The facts and figures also show that households in Kyatune make individual efforts, albeit abysmal, to produce their own food and have even devised coping mechanisms that help them survive when food aid is reduced or delayed. The average level of education, household sizes, household income and the nature of houses the residents live in on the other hand, point to a dire state of persistent poverty that neither WFP food aid programmes nor the government have addressed. The Catholic Diocesan food officer (K13) said that an Information Tracking System (ITS) had been installed to help them track households' status

and eventually establish if the households entirely depend on food aid and the extent to which food aid has improved their livelihoods.

7.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary of Findings

The following are the summary of the findings for the study:

7.1.1 Households socio-economic profile

Based on the background information of the food aid beneficiary households, it was established that the households socio-economic characteristics portray chronic poverty. This is because most households in Kyatune had little or no formal education. Several households skipped meals in a day as a way to save food they get and a big number did not have training in any technical or professional field, and almost all households had an average size of six (6) children that makes it unsustainable. This explains why most households in Kyatune are unable to meet their basic human necessities of education, health, income, decent shelter and food thus making WFP assume the role of assisting them.

7.1.2 Improvement of livelihoods

There is no doubt that School Feeding Programme has gone a long way in promoting education among the households in Kyatune. The programme has improved school enrolment, attendance, performance and completion, which have enabled children to acquire basic skills and knowledge that is crucial for improving their quality of life both at the individual and household level. Furthermore, a number of households have made some savings from SFP as they do not pay school levies. It was noted that WFP school feeding programme was moving from being WFP oriented to involve the government and households more by encouraging them to participate in the programme. This is what has, for instance, led to the shift of approach of the programme (SFP) from being managed more by WFP to community-oriented programme that allows households to sell their harvest to WFP.

Further, the health of mothers, children, the aging and those who are living with HIV/AIDS has improved as a result of maternal child health WFP programme. MCH has motivated mothers to take their children to clinics, provided balanced food to enhance children's growth and ensured immunisation. It was also noted that the aging and those living with HIV/AIDS receive medical care and food which has improved their livelihoods. Besides the flour, beans, milk and cooking oil provided to all beneficiaries in hospitals, corn soya blend is

given specifically to mothers to supplement food given. WFP food aid through MCH therefore has made the households to afford and access health as a basic need, which otherwise the community could go without.

Food for work is another project WFP has initiated in the community. Through food for work programme, it was observed that households were being assisted to prepare their farms in readiness for the planting season, particularly in the rainy season. From the findings, basically WFP promote farm improvement by encouraging households to fence their farms, manuring and digging of terraces through food for work. This has helped them produce food once in a while from their own farms and ensured proper utilisation of their lands.

Other WFP interventions in the community that were identified include: rehabilitation of roads, building of gabions and rehabilitating schools and hospitals. WFP has structured these interventions such that people offer their labour in projects and are given food as wages. Rehabilitation of roads has assisted households to access service centres such as hospitals, school, markets, rivers and churches. In addition, they have also enabled buyers to have access to Kyatune location to buy households products such as honey from beekeepers, charcoal and bricks. The roads have also made possible for agricultural extension officers to have access to the community to offer their services that have provided households with skills and knowledge on good farming practice. It was also found that WFP has supported construction of gabions in Kyatune community. These gabions are meant to reduce soil erosion and help in soil conservation. This is very useful in ensuring that farmers realise meaningful yields from their farms as it helps in the preservation of soil fertility. Over and above, these WFP interventions have created employment for the households to labour and get food.

7.1.3 Dependence and persistent poverty

It was observed that households in Kyatune make effort to produce their own food despite the food aid provided by WFP. This is because majority of them engage in seasonal farming and in other economic activities such as small business and casual labour to get food and other basic necessities. However, these households efforts are challenged by the harsh climatic conditions and poor infrastructure in the area. This is what has necessitated the WFP food aid interventions in the area. Other factors that explain households persistent poverty in spite

their efforts to be food self-sufficient are little or no formal education, little skills and knowledge in training, family size and unemployment.

It was also found out that households in Kyatune use certain coping strategies to sustain themselves whenever WFP food has delayed or is lacking. Some of these strategies include burning of charcoal, brick making, and use of their little savings and eating of wild fruits. Other coping strategies these households use include reduction of food size they eat, skipping meals, prioritising children compared to adults and making porridge which requires less flour as compared to ugali¹ thus enabling them to utilise the flour for a longer period. What this suggests is that households in Kyatune find other mechanism to cope not entirely relying on food aid alone regardless of their status.

The findings also revealed that the government supports farming activities in the area by providing agricultural extension services as well as encourages the households to be self-reliant through barazas. It was established that agricultural extension services in the area have promoted use of drought resistant seeds, and has also equipped the households with basic knowledge on sound agricultural practice. Through public barazas, government administration officers encourage farmers to use good farming practices so as to be able to produce enough food and end reliance on food aid. It was noted that the government extension services have been successful in Kyatune community because so far 5 households have been able to become food self-reliant. However, there is still a lot that the government needs to do in order to make the households food self-sufficient.

It was established that households, which benefit from food aid were persistently poor. This is because they could not afford to meet basic necessities such as education, health, income and food without the help of WFP food aid. Households are trapped in persistent poverty due to failure by the government to provide them with such facilities as water for irrigation and access to good education and healthcare. Although the government is trying to help the households by providing extension services, so far little has been achieved, making the households to remain trapped in persistent poverty. Shelter which is a basic need was also observed to be wanting. The roofing material for most of the houses was thatch and the walls

¹ Stable food made out of maize

as well as the floors are constructed using mud. Most of houses appeared to be on the verge of collapsing. They thus fall short of meeting the required standards and serve to highlight the fact that households direct most of their resources towards food, a clear pointer to the impoverished state the households are in, that justifies provision of food aid.

The study came up with mixed findings as far as the poverty trend among the food aid beneficiary households is concerned. While some households said that their poverty situation had worsened over the past five years, others said it had remained the same and still others said that it had improved. Those who said that their situation had improved attributed it to the support they had received from WFP to meet their basic needs, in particular education, health, income and food. The ones whose poverty has worsened linked it to government failure to support them so as to complement WFP food aid interventions. The few who said their poverty situation had remained the same explained that it is WFP that had sustained them by enabling them to get access to basic necessities.

For the households to get out of persistent poverty, they suggested that they be provided with large scale irrigation schemes, adequate education for their children and access to capital to help them start business so as to be able to meet their basic needs in order not to rely on WFP food aid.

7.2 Conclusion

The role of WFP food aid in the improvement of households in communities has been immense. WFP has achieved this through its school feeding programme; maternal child health; food for work and other community interventions that have helped the households meet their education, health, income and food needs. It can be concluded that without WFP food aid in the area, most households in Kyatune could have easily gone without the aforementioned basic necessities. With regard to the main objective for the study: whether project food aid leads to improvement of livelihoods or increase dependency thus leading to persistent poverty, there is overwhelming evidence that it has made significant improvement of households livelihoods by enabling them to meet their needs, especially by addressing the most important human needs such as food. Further evidence from respondents provide details how WFP's SFP, MCH and food for work programmes have assisted the households to access education, healthcare services and employment in the community. There is however no

significant proof that it increases dependence among the households for they make an effort to produce their own food and to be able to meet their basic needs but the harsh climatic conditions deters them

With regard to the relationship between food aid and persistent poverty, the findings suggest a strong correlation between households that receive food aid and chronic poverty. Food aid does not really enhance dependence because, as has already been observed, the households make effort to produce their own food and they have alternative coping strategies. From the socio-economic profile of the beneficiaries, they seem to be trapped in a situation of persistent poverty especially because they have little or no formal education, earn little income per month and size of family is large beyond what they are able to sustain. It is for this reason that WFP food aid interventions become handy as they help them to cope with the situation they find themselves in.

An information tracking system (ITS) that has been installed by the Catholic Church which is the lead agency in the distribution and supervision of WFP food aid is however expected help to shed more light on issues discussed in this study in future, whether food aid improves livelihoods status or increases dependence. In particular evidence from the system will isolate households whose livelihoods have been improved and the ones that solely depend on food aid.

7.3 Recommendations

From the study findings and discussion, this study makes the following recommendations:

WFP food aid should continue to focus and intensify its programmes in education, health, food, and employment aspects since the programme has assisted in sustaining the households trapped in persistent poverty. These aspects form the basic necessities that are essential for assisting the households move out of prolonged poverty. However, WFP should re-evaluate the programmes so as to make them make great impact on improvement of livelihoods.

The WFP school feeding programme shift to home grown and/or purchase for progress school feeding programme ought to be rethought. This is because it runs the risk of not benefiting the people it is supposed to assist. For example, in the new strategy, WFP want to

provide money to schools through the government so that schools will in turn purchase food stuffs directly from the community, thus purchase for progress. This is not practicable as households in Kyatune rarely produce food for sale. However, this can only succeed if irrigation is undertaken and viable farming is adapted.

There is need for the government to establish large scale irrigation schemes which many households acknowledged will improve farming in the area. Besides establishing large scale irrigation to enable households produce their own food, they also need to facilitate access to capital for farmers to purchase farm in-puts.

WFP should increase amount and frequency of food aid it provides. This was recommended by majority of the households who felt that the amount given is not enough. Also the households suggested WFP should be prompt because at times they go hungry because the food has delayed.

Agricultural extension services should be intensified given that majority of households practice seasonal farming as their main economic activity. Therefore drought resistant crops ought to be promoted and best farming practices encouraged to ensure food self sufficiency among households.

The following are the areas the study recommends for further research:

The gender mainstreaming that WFP has tried to incorporate in its programmes should be studied to establish the extent to which this has improved the effectiveness and the impact of the food aid programmes.

The element of participation, particularly in home grown school feeding programme and in other WFP food aid programmes in general are worth studying. This is because the shift of practice from top down approach to bottom up, for example changing SFP to be home grown and encouraging purchase for progress through buying foodstuffs from the households within the community which, paradoxically, they lack, calls for further investigation.

The WFP food aid programmes: SFP, MCH and food for work should be further studied individually to determine their impact on the persistently poor households that receive food.

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APPENDIXES:

Appendix 1. Household Questionnaire

Introduction

My name is Darius Isaboke, a postgraduate student from the University of Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies. I am carrying out a study on **Food Aid and Livelihoods in Kyatune Location, Mutomo District: A Case Study of World Food Programme (WFP)**. This study intends to investigate the extent to which project food aid improves the livelihoods of households or creates dependence, thus persistent poverty.

In order to achieve this objective, I have designed a questionnaire for gathering information pertaining to that and randomly selected your household as one of my respondents. The information generated will be treated with confidence and will be used for academic purposes only. Your patience and commitment in answering the following questions will be highly appreciated.

Questionnaire No	
Study area(Sub location)	
Date of interview	
Interviewers Name/No	

Section 1:

Background information

1. Name of the respondent [optional]

2. Sex of the respondent

☐Male

☐Female

3. Year of birth.....

4. Name of your village.....

5. Your postal address

.....

.....

6. What is your religion?

☐Catholic

☐Protestant

☐Muslim

☐Other, specify.....

7. Marital Status

☐ Married

☐Single

☐ Divorced

☐Widowed

☐ Other, specify.....

8. Position in the household

☐ Father

☐Mother

☐ Guardian

☐Other, specify.....

9. How long have you lived here?

10. Level of Education

- ☐ None
- ☐ Primary
- ☐ Secondary
- ☐ College
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other, specify.....

11. Do you have any technical/professional training?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

12. If yes, name the course trained

13. How many children do you have?

14. Do you have other children that you take care of in your household?

- ☐Yes (go to 15 & 16)
- ☐No

15. If yes, how many?

16. What is your relationship with the children?

17. What economic activity do you mainly engage in?

.....

18. List other activities that your household engages in

19. What is your average income per month?

- ☐ Below ksh500
- ☐ Ksh 600-1000
- ☐ Ksh 1000- 2000
- ☐ Above Ksh2000
- ☐ Not sure

20. Does your household skip meals in a day?

- ☐Yes ☐No

21. If yes, how often

- ☐Frequently ☐Once in a while
- ☐Seasonally ☐Not sure

Section 2:

Improvement of livelihoods

School Feeding Programme;

22. How many of your children have benefited from school feeding programme?

23. For how long have they benefited from the programme?

24. School feeding programme is the main reason why I send my children to school

- ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Other,specify

Benefits;

25. Indicate your reaction to the following statements by ticking one of the boxes under the four categories provided below:

	Agree	Strongly	Disagree	Strongly
		Agree		Disagree
(a)Food aid helps children access schooling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b)Food aid ensures frequent attendance to school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c)Food aid has helped children complete school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d)Food aid has improved the performance of my children in school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Savings

26. School feeding programme provision has enabled my household to make savings

☐ Yes ☐ No

27. If yes, list what you do with the savings made?

Benefits accruing from Education;

28. In the absence of the school feeding programme, will you still send your children to school?

☐ Yes ☐ No

29. If yes, why? Explain

30. How has the education that your children have attained affected your household?

Maternal Children Health;

31. Has your household benefited from MCH

☐ Yes ☐ No

32. If yes, how often do you benefit from the programme?

☐ Frequently ☐ Once in a while

☐ Seasonally ☐ Not sure

33. List the type of food stuffs commonly given in clinics to mothers and babies?

34. How can you rank food aid given in hospitals with regard to the categories provided below [**circle appropriate**].

	<u>Rank</u>				
(a)The food given is nutritious	1	2	3	4	5
(b)Food given motivate mothers & children to attend clinics	1	2	3	4	5
(c)Food given prevent malnutrition/diseases	1	2	3	4	5
(d)Food given has saved lives	1	2	3	4	5

Food for work;

35. Are you a beneficiary of food for work programme?

☐ Yes ☐ No

36 If yes, how long have you been a beneficiary?

Farming;

37. Do you undertake any farming activities in your farm under food for work programme?

- ☐Yes ☐ No

38. If yes, has food for work helped you to produce food?

- ☐Yes ☐ No

Basic needs;

39. Has food aid created work for your household and others?

- ☐ Very little ☐ A little
☐ Quite a bit ☐ A great deal
☐ Don't know ☐ None

40. Do you think food aid has helped your household to meet basic needs (education, food, health and income?)

- I. Yes
II. No
III. No answer

41. How much satisfaction do you get from project food aid as far as meeting your basic needs (education, health, income and food) is concerned (circle as appropriate)

- I. A little IV. Quite a bit
III. A very great deal VI. No answer

Utility;

42. How can you rank food for work with respect to improving your household status?

1. Very ineffective 2. Ineffective 3. Moderate

4. Effective 5. Highly effective

Other food aid Interventions

43. What are other community interventions/activities WFP helped to develop in the community?

44. What in your view are or have been the benefits of the said intervention to the community?

45. In your view, how has this intervention helped better the community as a whole?

☐ No change

☐ Some bit of change

☐ Little change

☐ Great change

☐ Not sure

46. Personally, how has your household benefited from the said community intervention?

I. A very great deal

II. Quite a bit

III. A little

VI. No answer

Section 3:

Dependence, persistent poverty

Overreliance

47. How long have you been a beneficiary of project food aid?

☐ For 1-5 years

☐ For 6 to 10 years

☐ Over 10 years

48. Have you ever tried to cultivate your land to produce own food without the help of food for work.

Yes

No

49. If yes, how often

☐ Seasonally ☐ Occasionally

☐ Other, specifically.....

50. List some of the factors that make it difficult for you to produce food?

51. Are their households you know of that do not want to produce food or prepare their farms, making them rely on food aid only?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure

52. If yes, why do you think that is the case?

53. In some way food aid has made households to be lazy, hence not making effort to produce own food?

☐ Disagree ☐ Disagree strongly

☐ Neither agree or Disagree ☐ Agree

☐ Agree strongly

54. Continued provision of food aid over the years has made my household

I Better II Poorer

III Not sure

55. List how you cope when food aid is lacking or has been reduced?

56. Which of activities listed below do you engage in as part of efforts to provide your household with basic necessities (education, health, income, food)

☐ Farming ☐ Business ☐ None Other, specify.....

☐Charcoal burning ☐Bee keeping

57. Are there any interventions you know of that have been initiated by the government to help your household produce food?

☐ Yes(go to question 58) ☐ No

58. If yes, please tick the intervention that you have benefited from:

☐ Agricultural extension services ☐ Irrigation services ☐ Provision of seeds
☐ Other, specify.....

59. How did the above intervention help? Explain.

60. In your opinion, with the government interventions mentioned, do you still think WFP project food aid should continue?

☐ Yes
☐ No

61. If yes, why do you think so?

62. Why do you think other households are able to live without benefiting from food aid?
Explain

Poverty

63. Despite food aid provision, how do you consider your household in relation to poverty
[observe and circle]

☐Very Poor ☐ Poor
☐Average ☐ Rich

64. Briefly explain why you think that is the case, mentioned above

65. What has been the trend of the poverty situation of your household for the past five years?

☐Worsened

☐Remained the same

☐Improved

66. Please briefly explain your answer above

67. What are the materials used for construction in this household [observe and tick]

(a)House wall material: ☐Mud ☐Wood ☐Stone ☐Other, specify

(b)House flooring material: ☐Mud ☐Wood ☐Concrete ☐Other, specify

(c)House roofing material; ☐Thatch, ☐Corrugated, ☐ Tiles, ☐ Other, specify

68. What does your household need to move out of prolonged poverty so as not to depend on food aid?

69. Please give reasons for your answer

70. Suppose project food aid stops, what will it mean to your household in terms of meeting basic needs (food, education, health and income)?

71. In your view, what do you think needs to be improved about WFP food aid in order to meet your needs?

Appendix 2: Key Informants Interview Guides:

(a)WFP Representative

Questions

Improvement of livelihoods

1. By channeling food aid in school feeding, maternal child health and food for work projects, what do you aim to achieve in the livelihoods of the households?
2. How have these projects benefited the households in Kyatune location?
3. Apart from the SFP, MCII and food for work, what other interventions have you initiated in Kyatune location?
4. In your view, what is the contribution of the interventions in supporting the livelihoods of the community?

Dependence, persistent poverty

5. In helping households meet their educational, health and income needs, do not you think these makes them to rely on WFP, rather than making effort to produce their own food?
6. From your project evaluations and experiences, have you made observations with regard to households tendency to rely on your food aid to meet their basic needs (education, food, health & income)?Explain.
7. Despite your continued provision of food aid projects, it seems the households' situation remains more or less the same. Why then do you think the households have continued to receive food aid and how is this related to continued inability of the household to meet their basic needs?
8. In your view, suppose WFP withdraws food aid, what will it be like or mean to households in meeting their basic needs (food, education, health and income)?

(b) District Officer –Government Rep

Questions

Improvement of livelihoods

1. What are the benefits of the WFP food aid projects-School feeding Programme, MCH and Food for work in supporting livelihoods of the households?
2. What are the government expectations on the WFP food aid projects in improvement of livelihoods?
3. Apart from SFP, MCH and food for work, what other projects has WFP initiated in the community.
4. In your view, in each of the above intervention, how have they contributed to the livelihoods of the households?

Dependence, persistent poverty

5. In what ways do you think the food assistance given to the households deter them from producing their own food/self-reliant?
6. What is the government doing to support the households to stop receiving food assistance?
7. How has WFP food aid encourage inability of the households to meet their basic needs over time?
8. In your view, suggest what can be done by the government to empower the households to be self-reliant so as to meet their needs.

(C) Woman leader-Community Rep

Questions

Improvement of livelihoods

1. What are the benefits of the WFP food aid projects-SFP, MCH and Food for work in supporting livelihoods of the households in Kyatune?
2. When you compare SFP, MCH and food for work, which among them enhance the livelihoods of households more than the others and how?
3. Apart from SFP, MCH and food for work, what other projects has WFP initiated in the community.
4. In your view, what do you think these interventions have contributed to the community?

Dependence, persistent poverty

5. Do you think continued provision of food aid to households makes households rely on it, rather than making effort to be self reliant? Explain.
6. Are there any other support you receive from government or other institutions to help you meet your basic needs
7. What do you think could be of help to households to meet their basic needs
8. In case food aid is withdrawn, what will it mean to your households and the community?

(d) Catholic Food Security Officer

Questions

Improvement of livelihoods

1. What are the benefits of SFP, CMH and food for work to the households?
2. Personally, does the food aid given to household better their livelihoods? Explain.
3. Apart from SFP, MCH and food for work, what other projects has WFP initiated in the community.
4. In your view, how have the interventions contributed to the community?

Dependence, Persistent Poverty

5. In what ways do you think the food assistance given to the households deters them from producing their own food/self-reliant?
6. List what you think keeps households to continue receiving project food aid
7. How does food aid perpetuate overreliance among the recipient households?
8. In your view, suppose food aid is withdrawn, what will it be like or mean to households in meeting their basic needs (food, education, health and income)?

Appendix 3. Observation Checklist

1. Housing conditions and appearance

2. Environment surrounding

Whether/Climate

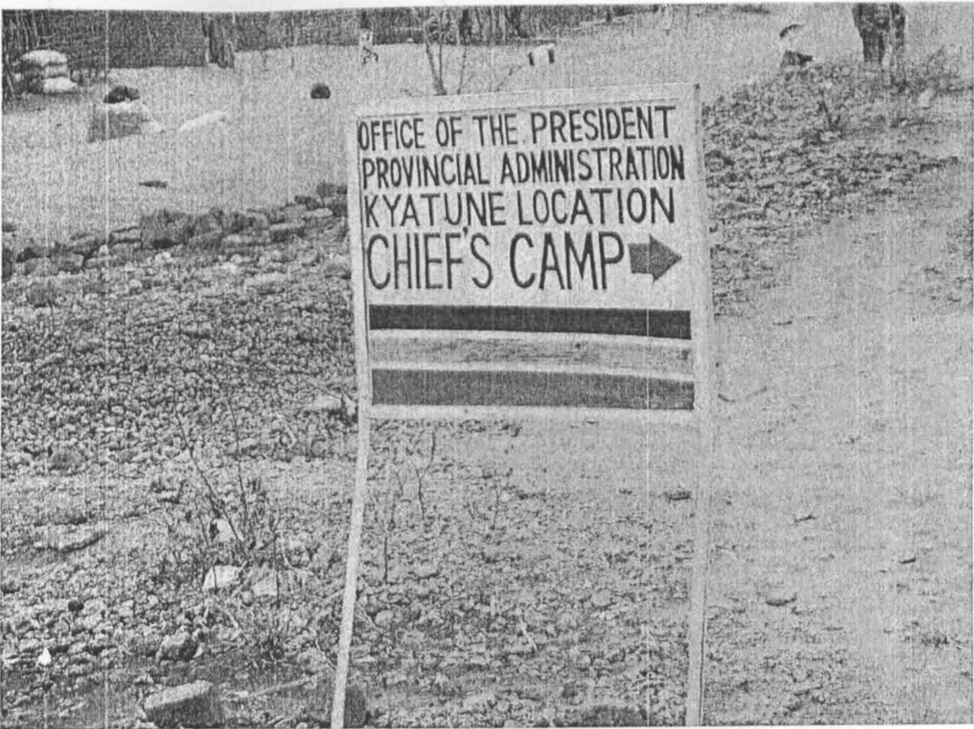
3. Physical Appearance

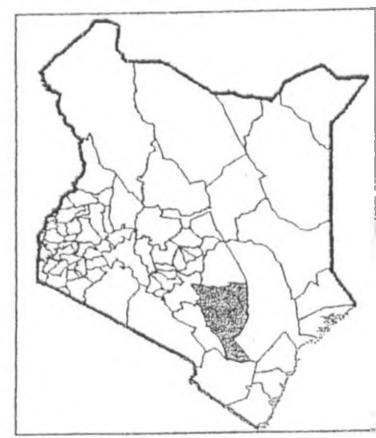
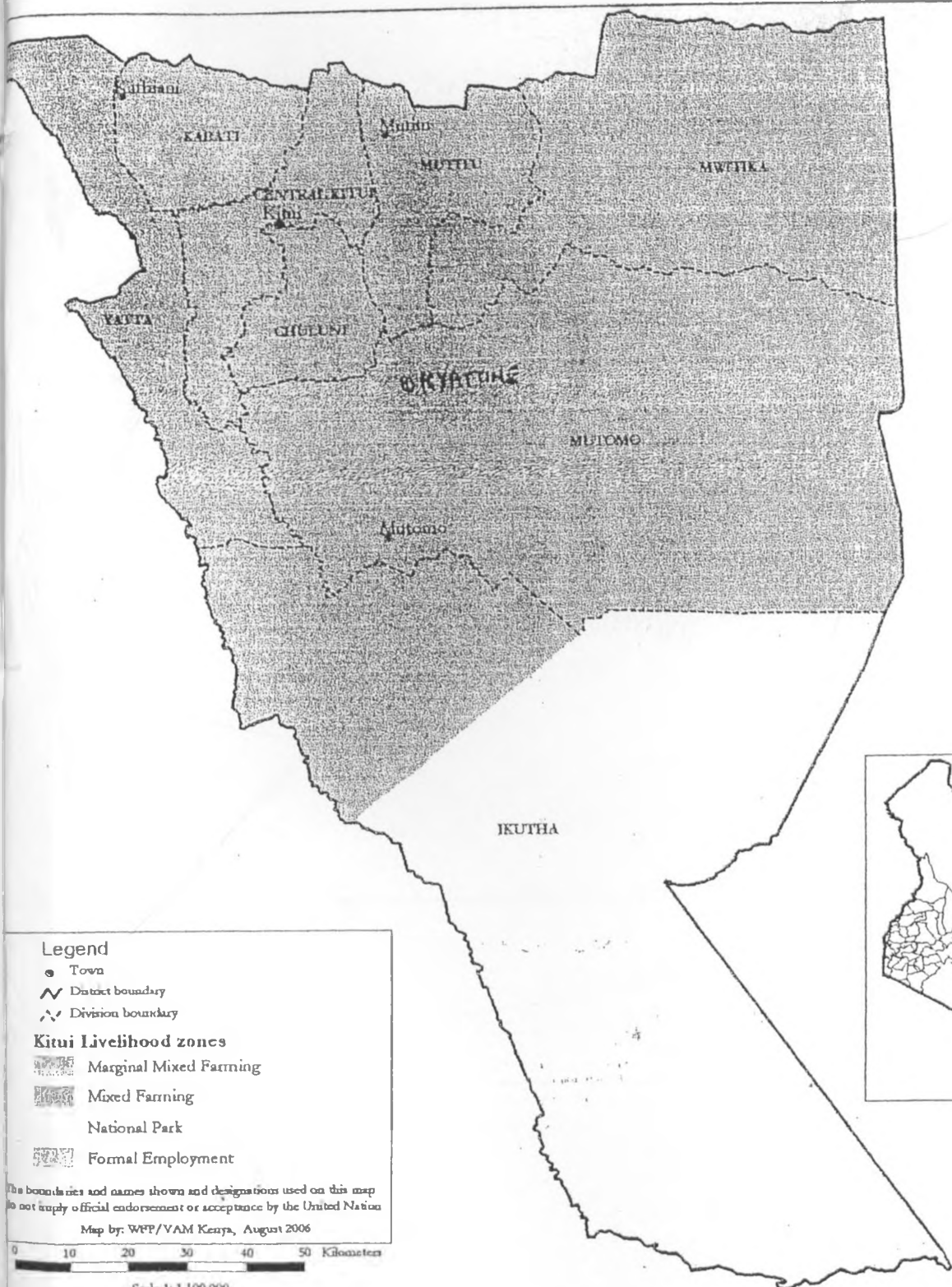
Children appearance

Dressing

4. Any social and economic activities around

Appendix 4: A picture showing direction towards Kyatune location, the site location for the study.





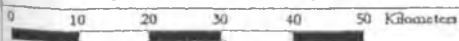
Legend

- Town
- ~ District boundary
- Division boundary

Kitui Livelihood zones

- Marginal Mixed Farming
- Mixed Farming
- National Park
- Formal Employment

The boundaries and names shown and designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations
 Map by: WFP/VAM Kenya, August 2006



Scale 1:1,100,000