TITLE: NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS AND FOOD SECURITY IN KENYA

This Thesis has Been Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Studies Leading to a Masters Degree in International Studies.

SUPERVISORS: DR. PHILIP NYING’URO & MR. G.K. IKIARA

October 2001
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

PATRICIA WANGONG’U

Candidate

This thesis project has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.

DR. PHILIP NYINGURO

GERRISHON IKIARA
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my better half Godwin and to our children, Annette, Booker, Brian, Cecil, Kelvin and Margaret.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis would not have been possible without the input of the following people to whom I am deeply indebted. My very able supervisors Dr. Philip Nying’uro and Mr. G. K. Ikiara who gave me focus and direction on how to go about the research. Thank you for your time and wise advice.

This thesis would not have been complete without the most valuable logistical and financial support of two organizations, International Christian Fund (“ICS”) and PACT Institutional Support for Grants Management (PACT). To ICS and especially its Director Mr. Charles Eastwood Bury and his staff who gave me a lot of information concerning their work in food security, God bless you. Thank you PACT, the Chief of Party, Dr. Bill Polidoro, Deputy Chief of Party, Florence Omosa and Finance Manager Mr. Chris Ngovi, for your patience and understanding. I will never forget the facilities you extended for research on the internet, magazines and other material. May the Almighty reward you greatly.

I would also want to thank Mr. James O. Oduor of the Ministry of Agriculture for acknowledging the needs of a student and agreeing to spare his time without prior arrangements. You have certainly given a new face to our government. The information gathered from the Ministry was invaluable.
I cannot forget my very good friends, Bernice Kimacia, Catherine Kariuki, Dr. Maryanne Kahugu and Ms. Jane Muthumbi, for the extensive input and tireless work and for your encouragement. God bless you. To the Ekklessia group and study group that prayed for me unceasingly. Thank you.

Last but not least, to my dearest husband, Godwin without whose financial, spiritual and emotional support I would not have coped. God bless you. Finally thank you to my children who encouraged me and urged me forth. I could not have made it without you all. Thank you.
This Study focused on the social dimension of food production, distribution and policies that affect food security. It set out to examine the roles of NGOs in food security with specific reference to the national food policies. The ultimate goal of the study was to provide recommendations towards the policy formulation process. To this end it was found that all stakeholders must be involved throughout the formulation, implementation and evaluation stages. The view of the NGOs during the process were found to be important as they are in touch with people on the ground and are able to articulate their problems. The level of government commitment to implement food policies was observed to affect full participation of NGOs. The land tenure policy was particularly found to bring about conflict in terms of participation of women in agricultural production.

The study's findings show that despite fairly sound national food policies on paper, in practice their implementation is an impediment to NGOs food security activities. The study has made some observations in the area of food policy, especially with regard to the role of NGOs. Some recommendations have been suggested as a result of the study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACK</td>
<td>Anglican Church of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFC</td>
<td>Agricultural Finance Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI</td>
<td>Artificial Insemination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMS</td>
<td>Aggregate Measure Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALRMP</td>
<td>Arid Lands Resource Management Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASAL</td>
<td>Arid and Semi Arid Lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBK</td>
<td>Coffee Board of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COW</td>
<td>Committee of the Whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWFS</td>
<td>Committee of World Food Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRR</td>
<td>Department of Relief &amp; Rehabilitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMOP</td>
<td>Emergency Operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EWS</td>
<td>Early Warning Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEWS</td>
<td>Famine Early Warning System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FNPU</td>
<td>Food and Nutrition Planning Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GoK</td>
<td>Government Of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDS</td>
<td>Institute of Development Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICS</td>
<td>International Children Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFPRI</td>
<td>International Food Policy Research Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFST</td>
<td>International Food Security Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KFSSG</td>
<td>Kenya Food Security Steering Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KFSM</td>
<td>Kenya Food Security Meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRCS</td>
<td>Kenya Red Cross Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declaration</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Maps</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE- GLOBAL FOOD INSECURITY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1. Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. Objectives of the Study</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. Justification</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4. Literature Review</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.0 Concept of Food Security</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.1 Global Food Outlook</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.2 Food Security Experiences in Other Parts of the World</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.2.0 India</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.2.1 China</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.2.3. Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Non Governmental Organisations</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER FOUR- SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Summary 105
4.1 Conclusion 107
4.2 Recommendations 109
Bibliography 119
# List of tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>The Food Equation</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>World Population Growth, 1950-1990, with projections to 2030</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>World Grain Production, Total and Per Capita, 1950-2000 (projected)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Estimated number of people living with HIV/AIDS worldwide</td>
<td>(22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Impact of HIV/AIDS on the agricultural labour force in the most</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Affected African countries</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Projected cereal production and import needs for Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Checklist, potential adverse effects of cash cropping for food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consumption and nutrition</td>
<td>(64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.</td>
<td>Distribution of Population by Province (1969-1979)</td>
<td>(68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Resource Ranking by NGOs</td>
<td>(77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Characteristics of Households by Zone</td>
<td>(95)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# List of Maps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>Populations Census for Kenya 1979</td>
<td>(66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>Normal Rainfall in Short and Long Rains</td>
<td>(70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>Agricultural Livelihood Systems</td>
<td>(72)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Appendices

## Questionnaires

| I     | Government officials                                                | (113) |
| II    | NGOs                                                                | (115) |
CHAPTER ONE GLOBAL FOOD SECURITY

1.0 Introduction

Global food security refers to the world’s ability to produce for the planet’s population. The current global food situation can be attributed to a continual decline in the prices of grains such as wheat and maize due to their increased production. At the same time, there have been demographic increases at an alarmingly high rate making the threat of food insecurity a reality in certain parts of the world, where the excess grain is not easily accessible. The paradox however, is that the world is awash with grain, and yet scarcity looms due to the concurrent existence of both these conditions (Bryant: 1998:136).

By the year 2025, the world population is expected to rise to 8 billion (World Bank: 2000). An estimated 2 billion of these people will be from developing countries. One cannot begin to fathom the implications of such projections in the developing countries which are already in deep poverty and unable to feed their current population.

Additionally, it was also estimated that over 700 million people in the 1990’s in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), were food insecure, five million if them in Kenya alone (Todaro: 1992: 77). A more recent analysis carried out by the Office of Coordination of Human Affairs (OCHA) in June-December 2000, on the effect of drought in the Horn of Africa, indicated that over 13.4 million people were food
hungry in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somali and Kenya (UNICEF: 2001). “Never in history has there been the kind of challenges faced in increasing incomes and achieving food security in a situation of rapid growth.” (World Bank: 1999). Kenya’s population, for instance, grew at a rate of 4% percent annually between 1965 and 1988 (Downing et al: 1989: 6). In fact, this growth rate is matched with a large food deficit in many countries and this is mainly due to inaccessibility to food.

According to World Bank projections, even if the population growth rate remains constant, with a food production growth rate of 2 percent per annum, there would still be a food gap of 254 million tonnes by 2020 (Table 1.1). If food security is to be achieved, then desired food production rates (see Table 1.1) should increase by 4 percent per annum. At the same time the fertility rates should also decrease at a rate of 3.3 percent in order to reduce the food gap from 254 million tonnes to 5 million tonnes in the period between 1990 and 2020.

Ironically even if food production grows at the said 4 percent per annum, food imports would double to about 20 million tons by 2010 and then would decrease to 5 million in 2020 (World Bank: 1998: 4). This is because the population growth would still be constant. To meet the required food needs during the transition period (until the reduced fertility rate is achieved), food aid would be required to feed the population and then as projected, food self-sufficiency would be achieved.
by 2020. These projections are relevant to the study because they give a concise picture of the complexity in achieving food security.

Table 1.1 Population and food security in sub-Saharan Africa, 1990-2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case 1</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Populations (millions of persons)(with constant fertility)</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Food production (mtme at current trend growth rate of 2 percent per year)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Food requirement (mtme for universal food security by 2020)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Food gap (mtme)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Case 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Population (as in case 1)</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Food production (at 4 percent annual growth)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Food requirement (as in case 1)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Food gap (mtme)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Case 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Population (millions of persons)(with total fertility rate declining By 50 percent to 3.3 by 2020)</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>1,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Food production (mtme at 4 percent annual growth)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Food requirement (mtme)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Food gap (mtme)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: World Bank (Sub-Sahara Africa, From Crisis to Sustainable Growth, A long-term Perspective Study, 1989:73)

Note: mtme= millions of tons of maize equivalent.

1.1 The Problem

Population explosion, increased poverty and misuse of natural based resources are threatening global food security. Despite many achievements in addressing global hunger, around 800 million people in 46 countries were malnourished and at least 40,000 people died every day from hunger related diseases by 1997 (Baylis & Smith: 1997:460).

At the sub-regional level, the food crisis is even worse especially in Africa. The world at large has had its fair share of food crisis, starting with India, which had disastrous harvests in 1965/66 triggering the 1966 world food crisis. The Sahelian drought followed in the 1970s and was punctuated by the great African famine of 1985 when an estimated 300,000 people died in Ethiopia alone (Bryant:
Chronic hunger increases people's vulnerability to disease, especially HIV/AIDS (Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Disease Syndrome).

As in many African countries, farming is the most important economic activity in Kenya with over 80% of the population still living in the rural areas, the majority of them employed in the agricultural sector. Available data on hunger and poverty reveals that famine occurred in the country more than fifteen (15) times between 1889 and 1997 (FNPU: 1998:135). The effects of the latest famine (in 2000) are still being felt. In the year 2000 alone, statistics showed that more than 300 people died in Kenya as a result of famine, and many more lost their livelihood. Some of the headlines from the local newspapers are still fresh in our minds: "Food Reserve Stocks Dwindle", "Hunger Kills Seven in Pokot". (Nation Newspaper: June, 2001:12)

In September 1997 a boy by the name Mutinda Nzau died from feeding on the carcass of a dog. (East African Newspaper: 1997:16) All these deaths occurred in rural areas.

Incomes in the agricultural sector are extremely low, making it difficult for rural folk to access the food that is grown in the very areas in which they live. The food outlook is frightening and many have continued to die from hunger related diseases. In the circumstances, the role of NGOs in combating food security in the rural areas cannot be overemphasized.
Since many of the NGOs work in rural areas, how effective have they been in alleviating food insecurity? Many of them are involved in giving relief food during crisis periods, which is a temporary measure that helps alleviate many deaths. The question that the study seeks to answer is how do they augment government initiatives in the implementation of food policies aimed at achieving sustainable food security?

1.2 Objectives

Food security is a global concern and documentation of all activities in this area is imperative if analysts and policy formulators are to make any progress in finding a solution. The objective of this study is to understand the role of NGOs in the search for Kenya’s food security. Since NGOs have unlimited access to the community, and interact with them in a way the government cannot, it is imperative that their experiences be documented so that others can learn from them.

The specific objectives of this study are:

1. To assess the role and performance of NGOs in food security in Kenya.
2. To identify gaps/problems faced by the NGOs in their effort to fight food insecurity and make recommendations on how their work can be enhanced.
3. To examine how NGOs relate with other players involved in food security in Kenya such as the Government of Kenya, the private sector and others.
1.3 Justification

The fact that food security has not been achieved in Kenya despite various forums and organizations having been formed to address the issue demonstrates the need for further study into the issue of food insecurity.

A general overview of both local and international NGOs indicates that a significant number of them have a component of food security in their overall strategic plans. However, amid recurring food insecurity in the same areas in which they have been working, a comprehensive study needs to be carried out to establish their role in food security.

The study aims at providing useful and concrete information, which may be used as a point of reference by the Government, NGOs, and other organizations working in the area of food security. It contributes to intellectual research and hopefully sheds light as to what is being done in specific areas pertaining to food security so that others can use successful practices as lessons.

The study is, thus expected to play a useful role to policy makers in the country, especially in the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA). International and local organizations that deal with food security issues in Kenya will certainly find this study useful.
1.4 Literature Review An Overview of Food Security

1.4.0 Concept of Food Security

Various people have defined food security. Valdes (1989) defines food security as "the ability of food deficit countries or regions within countries to meet target consumption levels on a year to year basis" (Rukunu, Mundibu & Jayne: 1989:133), while the Committee on World Food Security defines it as "the economic and physical access to food, of all people, at all times" (FAO: 1989: 1).

Almagir and Arora link the concept of food security with food intake at the individual level and food availability at other levels such as the household, sub-national and national. (Amalgir & Arora: 1991:7). At the individual level there should be enough food available to ensure proper growth in terms of body size, weight etc. At household level, food security is seen as food supplies, which can fully satisfy the nutritional and dietary needs of all its members. (FAO: 1992 & Beiger: 1992).

Food security levels are determined by variations of food provided by the work and wealth of the household. Availability of food depends on many variables such as food production, knowledge, technology etc. At the sub-national level, the concept of food security becomes more difficult to define since an individual’s food intake is not easily quantifiable. At the national level, however, food security is measured through availability of food for households and the ability to meet their minimum
consumption requirements over a period of time. At the national level, food security can be defined as assured national availability of food to meet current needs, as well as any unexpected shortfall over a limited period of time.

According to Braun food security is seen as "access by all people at all times to the food required for a healthy life" (Braun et al: 1992:1). His definition is close to that of the World Bank, which states that "food security exists when all people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preference for an active and healthy life" (World Bank: 1986:10). This definition is by far the most comprehensive and has two components in it. The first is that of food availability through domestic production, storage and trade, and the second component is access to food through home production, the market or through food transfers.

The United Nations (UN) Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] on the other hand, lays emphasis on three factors in food security. These are food supply, access to food and stability of flow over time (FAO: 1994:3). For national food security, a country must have enough foreign exchange to enable food import and households must also have sufficient incomes. The basic causes of food insecurity are low productivity in agriculture combined with fluctuations in food supply and low incomes. To combat these effects, FAO came up with a special programme to meet food security. One of the objectives was national ownership focusing on
areas with high potential and a participatory philosophy where there would be creation of environmental awareness and sensitivity with regard to women. This is because previously their role in food production in Low Income Food Deficit Countries (LIFDCs) had been ignored. The special programme was to complement NGOs and other programmes to ensure poverty is alleviated and accessibility to food by vulnerable households is enhanced.

Gittinger (1990) cites two problems pertaining to food insecurity; the first is chronic food insecurity, which is long term in nature and can be alleviated through increased food production. The second problem is widespread fluctuation in prices and grain production, which is short term in nature and requires food relief before the weather patterns that cause poor production stabilise (Gittinger: 1990:13). This is related to the cyclical variation in access to food in the short term, as described by The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISID) (Chattopadhy & Spitz: 1987: 5), whose definition of food security is broader and includes not only the capacity to generate sufficient supply but also the existence of socio-economic conditions which permit all members of society to meet acceptable minimum standards of consumption. It is also taken to imply lessening of seasonal and cyclical variation in access to food plus the longer-term effort to preserve natural resources on which future production depends. The definition encompasses reduction of international market fluctuation and political manipulation.
Drèze et al (1977) blame food insecurity on fluctuation in food supplies and production, which normally affect the poor adversely by causing an increase in food prices, forcing them to spend more on food. This reduces their income and further compounds the acquisition problem (Dreze, Sen & Hussein: 1997:175) (Clay & Shaw: 1987:18).

To further reduce the negative effect of supply and price fluctuations, a cereal import facility was created in 1981 at the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Food aid was used as the basic principle to meet immediate food security for developing countries (Adams: 1983:79)(Mellor et al: 1987: 187). It enhanced increased variation for export prices, lowering inflation rates, which was better than the domestic stocking arrangements. The IMF cereal facility was meant to provide cheaper rates than those associated with domestic storage and to also provide low-income countries with financial means to procure food in times of fluctuating supplies or world wide shortages to make up for the deficiencies in food aid.

Foster (1992) uses the food equation to explain the concept of food insecurity. The equation states that food insecurity is present if the value of food production deficit in a household is less or equal to the income and liquid assets available to purchase food. It is summarized in the following equations (see table 1.2).
Table 1.2 The Food Equation

| Value of food production deficit in a household | ≤ | Income and liquid assets available to purchase food |
| Food purchase requirement | ≤ | Income and liquid assets available to purchase food |
| (Household food consumption requirement - Household food production) x Price of food | ≤ | Income and liquid assets available to purchase food |

Source: Foster: 1992: 111

He asserts that one is more secure as the left hand side of the equation gets smaller relative to the right, or as the right hand of the equation gets bigger relative to the left (Foster: 1992: 111). Factors that influence the elements in the equation are the number of people per household, sex, age, health and working status of individuals, land technology, capital, education, and government policies affecting household food production. The price of food is influenced by quantities produced, population size and income of population. Finally income and liquid assets available to buy food depend on a complex set of variables that include education of members of the household, capital position of household, land position, employment opportunities, attitudes to work, transportation costs to and from work, and health. The food security equation is important and helps in understanding how policies affect the food security of a country.

The World Bank distinguishes two types of food insecurity: chronic food insecurity and transitory food insecurity (WB: 1986: 11). The latter is a temporary decline in a household's access to food and arises from instability in food prices and
production or insufficient household incomes. The former refers to a continuous inadequate diet caused by lack of access to sufficient funds to buy the required food (Ibid: 1986: 11). This particular concept ties in with Sen's concept of food security, which he calls the "entitlement model" whereby food security stems from possessions, which in turn stem from endowments.

Sen et al (1997) argue that one cannot begin to understand the precise influences which make it possible or impossible for a people to have access to adequate food without first understanding the conditions that govern the process of acquisition. They emphasize that if the acquisition problem is ignored; it makes it more difficult to resolve the food problem (Dreze, Sen & Hussein: 1997:51). They further highlight the fact that even Malthus in his famous "Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Further Improvement of Society" (1798) ignored the acquisition problem but included it in his later writings. The consequence of ignoring acquisition, as Sen et al note, is seen when scholars concentrate on the population growth problem by comparing it to the relative expansion of food. This is because the current statistics as mentioned in the introduction show that there is adequate food to feed the population, but a deeper problem of accessibility exists which makes the hunger problem persist. Population and food production are not the only factors that should be taken into account in resolving the hunger problem.
The use of population growth to explain hunger is referred to as the orthodox method (Baylis & Smith: 1997:462), while the entitlements model is referred to as the society-focused approach to hunger. The orthodox explanation which was introduced by Malthus generally states that population grows faster than growth in food production. For him population increases geometrically while food production grows only linearly, and it is over-population that causes hunger. His assumption was that population growth would exceed food production. Fortunately his nightmare has not come true. Available data on population may tend to encourage this assumption especially in some countries where the population is projected to triple in the next few decades. Countries that are most likely to be affected by these are those in the third world such as India, China, Bangladesh and Indonesia among others, due to a slowing down in the decline of fertility rates in these particular countries.

Food output in the developing world rose from 1900 calories per day in early 1960s to 2,500 calories in the 1990's even as the population doubled. However not many developing countries have shared in this progress. In some, food production failed to keep pace with population growth giving alarming future projections. The Director General of FAO observed that "In Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, the agricultural sector will have difficulty feeding the population, which is expected to increase from 550 million in 1995 to 1,200 million by 2025 unless much is done to accelerate the growth of staple food production and particularly to
increase yields" (FAO: 1994: 2). The countries most affected are the Low Income and Food Deficit Countries (LIFDCs).

The following table (1.3) extracted from Baylis & Smith projects population growth from the 1950's to 2030. It shows that the population is likely to triple by 2030 and is most likely to increase in the coming decade. On the other hand food production has also tripled, according to Table 1.4, from 631 million tones to 1,842 million tones, between 1990 and 2000. At the same time, the per capita grain production fell from 322 kilograms in 1980 to 316 kilograms in 1990 and is projected to fall further to 295 kilograms by the year 2000. It is quite evident that two factors must be taken into consideration when the two tables are compared: the slowing down of population growth and raising the per capita grain production if food security is to achieved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population (in billions)</th>
<th>Population growth (in billions)</th>
<th>Population growth per year (in millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2030</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Baylis & Smith (1997:463)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total (million tonnes)</th>
<th>Per capita (Kilograms)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1,103</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,441</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1,684</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1,842</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The population increase has meant a decrease in arable land for cultivation due to congestion and most of the fertile and irrigable land is raising concern worldwide about the environmental implications of encroaching on new land. Urban and industrial users are competing for water and land as population increases, posing a great danger to humanity as a whole. The use of new seed varieties, more chemical fertilizer, pesticides and increased irrigation has contributed to the continued increase of food production. The challenge will be to increase the yield more without damaging the environment.

On her part, Omosa(1998) goes beyond the issue of supply versus demand and argues that the search for food security is more complex. It is a function of how individuals conceptualize and actualize livelihoods. She states that food insecurity is a process guided by the relationship between historical, economic, political, technical and cultural factors which transform and affect the rural livelihoods (Omosa: 1998: 4).

The food problem does not only have to do with food production, but also poverty and unequal distribution in purchasing power. How can a system be devised that will distribute purchasing power more equitably within and among societies, with minimum adverse ecological costs? Facts show that hunger is linked to poverty and is concentrated in regions whose per capita incomes average less than US$ 400 per year. Countries such as Ethiopia, Bolivia and India have average incomes
of US$ 90 per year (Brown: 1972:108). Acceleration in economic growth combined with a strategy to slow population growth may in the long term help preserve, not only the ecosystem, but also widespread hunger.

Food security therefore depends not only on raising global production, but also on reducing the distortions in the structures of the world food market and shifting the focus from food deficit countries, regions and households to individuals who are food insecure. The task is to ensure that even the poorest of the poor gets ample food via proper food distribution by governments. The strategy for sustainable food security requires more than just adding environmental components to programmes but it must take into account all the policies of shifting production where it is most needed in securing livelihoods of the rural poor.

1.4.1 Global Food Outlook

As Dwight D. Eisenhower stated, “it is madness to suppose that there could be an island of tranquility and propriety in a sea of wretchedness and frustration.” (FAO: 1997: 125) As the world increasingly becomes a global village, there is growing interdependence socially, culturally, economically and politically. The challenge of ensuring global food security demands the concerted efforts of developed and developing countries.
For Baylis and Smith (1997) it is possible to explain the occurrence of hunger by reference to the process of globalization, which means that events occurring at one end of the globe can affect and be affected by other events occurring elsewhere in the globe (Baylis & Smith: 1997: 464). Since 1945, a global food production system concentrating on cash crops for export, has slowly replaced the traditional one of growing subsistence food crop.

By 1980 the South was producing over 40 percent of the world’s food for export in form of cash crops. Self-sufficiency of food crops for the South was affected because of the preference for cash crops for agribusiness. At the same time food surpluses produced by the US after the Second World War for use by the war-ravaged European countries, found their way to developing countries in the form of food aid. The food aid was cheap, and smallholder farmers, who were not getting much from their subsistence, bought the cheaper imports instead, reducing the production of subsistence crops in developing countries. The end result was a growing dependence on food aid and a change in consumer patterns. Globalization can simultaneously contribute to increased food production and increased hunger in this way.

To address these negative effects, various international forums were formed. In October 1945 soon after the Second World War, the FAO was established with a mandate to alleviate hunger and poverty through development, and to ensure food
security for all. 72 governments and the European Economic Community (EEC) endorsed FAO’s international undertaking whose aim was to act as liaison between governments and ensure continuous consultations among them on food security problems. The Committee on World Food Security (CWFS) was established in 1975 to coordinate these activities.

The 1974 World conference, at which governments proclaimed that “every man, woman and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition”, was also as a result of these concerted efforts. 22 years later in 1996, FAO convened the World Food Summit to discuss how to change negative trends affecting food security, with hunger and malnutrition as the main theme. The participating heads of state endorsed a common goal to eradicate food security within a decade (that by the year 2015 the chronically undernourished would be reduced by half) (FAO: 1996: 1). They would endeavor to create a peaceful, stable and enabling political, social and economic environment, essential for states to be able to give priority to food security and poverty eradication strategies. A stable environment would also promote democracy and the fundamental protection of human rights including full and equal participation of men and women.

The United States Department of Agriculture and State hosted a day of hearings in Washington on June 3 1996, to gather the views of the public on the U.S. position concerning food security to be presented at the World Food Summit that
November. After the debate, what emerged was that an agenda for an International Food Security Treaty must be pursued which must be in line with the right to food in international law. Ensuring the right to adequate food and the fundamental right to be free from hunger is enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which the UN has identified access to adequate food as an individual and collective responsibility. The right to be free from hunger means that the state has a responsibility to ensure that their citizens do not starve. It is obligated to provide an environment that is conducive, where people can have economic and physical access at all times to food that is adequate and sufficient for a healthy active life. This right should not interfere with other social fundamental political rights; they should not be enjoyed at the detriment of other rights (FAO: 2001: 1).

Other efforts made in the past by the international community to resolve the global food problem included the formation of the Committee of the Whole (COW) whose aim was to pursue the goal of the New Economic International Order (NEIO), which Miljan envisions as a world without hunger, and argues that the slow growth in developing countries has affected developed countries (FAO: 1980: 42,43). The COW set up agreements based on the Mexico declaration. Some of the areas agreed on were that donors would increase their contribution to the special account for the action program for prevention of food losses, and they would also support FAO in establishing food reserves. They also urged that
maximum efforts be made to create conditions which would allow for the early conclusion of a new food aid convention and approve the five-point plan of action on World Food Security proposed by the Director General of FAO. This would be passed on to the Committee on World Food Security for action in its next meeting. These events partly show the importance given to food security and also explain the multi-strategy approach that FAO uses to enhance food security.

The next meeting held on 30th November 1999 resolved that reduction of poverty and consequently food insecurity would be first on their agenda. This would be done by enhancing sustainable rural livelihoods and equitable access to resources through improving opportunities for the rural poor. They would also strengthen local institutions by enacting proper policies and legal provision for more equitable access to natural, economic and social resources. Promotion of gender sensitive participatory initiatives imparting skills on the rural poor and civil society would be done (FAO: 1999: 1)

FAO has estimated that unless accelerated food production was achieved by then, there would be about 680 million hungry people in the world by 2010; 250 million of these would be from Sub-Saharan Africa. A renewed vow to fight hunger from the highest political echelon will be made at the FAO headquarters in Rome, on 5-9 November 2001, when the World Food Summit will be reviewing the progress made in the last 5 years. The Director of FAO, General Jacques Diouf, reiterates,
"We must raise both the political will and the financial resources to fight hunger. The international community has repeatedly declared that it is dedicated to the eradication of poverty. Eliminating hunger is a vital first step" (FAO: 2001:2). The Conference, titled "Sustainable Food Security for all by 2020", will help participating countries to have a common vision with their biggest challenge being how food security can be achieved for all humans in the new millennium. The forum recognizes that serious environmental, economic and social disruptions, including war, are a cause for global instability and sustainable agriculture and development is the only way to achieve future food security.

Some of the papers to be presented will focus on how to empower women to achieve food security. FAO recognizes the important role that women play in food crop production and therefore have a strategy to integrate relevant FAO projects and activities concerning women in order to facilitate access to and control of land and other productive resources. They hope to increase their participation in decision and policy making while at the same time reducing their workload and broadening their employment horizons (FAO's Development Plan of Action for Women in Development (1996-2001)). The agenda will include perspectives on overcoming hunger, poverty and environmental degradation.

The study would be incomplete if it did not consider the devastating effects of HIV/AIDS on food security. NGOs, in their day-to-day work whether in
development or advocacy, are constantly faced with the issue of HIV/AIDS. The spread of HIV/AIDS is no longer just a health problem; the disease has ramifications on nutrition, agricultural production and rural societies globally. The global dimensions of the epidemic show that an estimated 36 million people worldwide are infected with the HIV virus, 95 percent of whom live in developing countries. The number of people estimated to have been living with the virus by region in 1999 is shown in Table 1.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number infected</th>
<th>Proportion of adults infected (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global total</td>
<td>34,300,000</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>24,500,000</td>
<td>8.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
<td>530,000</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia &amp; New Zealand</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South &amp; South-East Asia</td>
<td>5,600,000</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe &amp; Central Asia</td>
<td>420,000</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>520,000</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Africa &amp; Middle East</td>
<td>220,000</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>900,000</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td>360,000</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>1,300,000</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Www.fao.org/docrep/meeting/003/yo828

The table shows that South and South-East Asia has over five million people infected with HIV. At the regional level the epidemic is greatest in Sub-Saharan Africa, with more than 24 million people infected with the virus. HIV/AIDS aggravates food security in the following ways. Since it affects the most economically productive members of society, it directly impacts three dimensions of food security; stability, accessibility and availability. Agriculture is also affected
due to labor reduction. Table 1.6 shows FAO’s estimates of the impact of HIV/AIDS on the agricultural labor force.

Table 1.6 Impact of HIV/AIDS on agricultural labor force in the most affected African countries
(Projected losses in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central African Republic</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

www.fao.org/docrep/meeting/003

Labor force decreases at a rate of 10-26 percent in the most affected countries. FAO estimated that out of the 27 most affected countries in Africa, 7 million have died of HIV related causes and are from the agricultural sector. Their estimates are that 16 million more are likely to die in the next two decades. In Ethiopia and Tanzania it was found that in households where there was an AIDS victim, the women spend less time in agricultural activities and the rest was spent taking care of their ill. Organizations should address food security and HIV/AIDS simultaneously.
1.4.2 Food Security Experiences in Other Parts of the World

The Asian experience in dealing with food problems has been extremely successful. India and China are cited as case studies whose experiences can be extrapolated to the Kenyan context, though it may not be easy to transfer the lessons from these experiences due to the different environments of the two continents.

1.4.2.0 India

India's agricultural sector has a vital place in their economic development having helped them achieve success in self-reliance of food grain production through the use of multi-pronged strategies and technologies such as the green, blue, white and yellow revolutions. The per capita availability of food went up to 484.1 gms per day in 1988-1999 compared to 395 gms per day in the early fifties (Indiangos: 2001:2). In India, about 100 million farmers are involved in agricultural activities, which contribute to 26 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) while providing food to over one billion people. It forms nearly one-sixth of the total export earnings of the country. The Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for formulating, implementing and coordinating of national policies and programmes.

Some of the steps that the government took in order to achieve a record food grain production included a national policy on agriculture which was presented to parliament on July 18, 2000 (Indiangos: 2000: 3). Its aim was to strengthen rural infrastructure, support faster growing agricultural development, increase potential
growth areas for agriculture, accelerate growth in agro-business and create employment in rural areas. The policy also undertook measures to curb migration to urban areas, and the challenges brought about by economic liberalization and globalization. The aim was to attain a growth of at least 4 percent per annum in the agricultural sector by the year 2015. By the end of year 2000, there was already a record production of 206 million tones including 74.25 million tones of wheat and 88.25 million tones of rice. This put India on the threshold of becoming globally competitive with other major grain exporters. Coupled with these strategies, were others to ensure efficient use of soil, water and bio-diversity to ensure a growth that is sustainable environmentally, technologically and economically.

Other steps that the government took in order to ensure surplus production was the introduction of crop and seed crop insurances. The crop insurances were to provide small and marginal farmers with a 50 percent subsidy under the scheme and the second was to boost production of seed by seed-growers and farmers. Cold storage was improved by providing a subsidy of 25 percent for construction, and modernization or expansion of existing ones. Credit cards, which provided flexibility and security for the farmers were also introduced strengthening the agriculture credit system.
The national development plan in India recognizes the importance of NGOs in poverty alleviation and has subsequently embraced it in its strategic plans. It notes that NGOs act as catalysts and are able to organize beneficiaries, involve people in planning and development while at the same time providing the necessary support to make development a reality (World Bank: 1997:6). The Government, NGOs and International agencies worked together to achieve this success especially during the drought that stuck some parts of India such as Rajashtan, Gujarat, Andhra Praches and Madhya Pradesh.

During the drought period, the NGOs in India helped in the distribution of food. Many of these NGOs, are situated in the rural areas where they plan their activities together with the community thus enabling them penetrate the remotest places in India. Because the Indian government works closely with the NGOs, it has made it possible to implement food security projects successfully.

1.4.2.1 China

Recent Projections show that China could continue feeding its population for three decades and their domestic production would be able to keep pace with the population growth (World Bank: 1997:1). Some of the initiatives taken include, improved agricultural research and extension including a balanced fertilizer application, improved water distribution to increase the irrigation supplies, reclamation and development of arable land. Integrated grain and oilseed
Transport facilities including reduced government intervention in the cereal and fertilizer sectors, to encourage market-determined prices was also adopted. Markets were opened and trade competition increased. Ability to formulate and implement policy reforms centered on less government interventions helped it achieve food production goals for the year 2000.

A case study of Baimamiao village in the Sichuan Province of China recorded increased yields of their four major crops rice, maize, potatoes and wheat. Credit for this improvement was given to FAO’s Special Programme for Food Security (SPFS). Potato yields showed the sharpest increase, form an average of 2085 kg per hectare in 1992-1994 to 3450 kg per hectare in 1997. Yields for maize, wheat and rice also improved with increases of 43 percent, 24 percent and 16 percent respectively (FAO: 2001:1) The village was a low-income deficit area with poor soils and inadequate irrigation systems lacking modern agricultural inputs and practices affecting the production of food crop. After three years and with the governments enabling policies, arable land from the valley floor to the hilltop was rehabilitated and the dry land valley converted to paddy. Old irrigation facilities were repaired and drainage channels built. Trees were planted on the mountaintops and water storage capacities increased. Some of the farmers were quoted saying, "No more worry about drought and water logging after building irrigation and drainage ditches in the field. Because water storage ponds are built in upland area, water can be stored for emergency use. It is really easy to grow
crops!” (FAO: 2001:1) There are more success stories in various parts of China, due to the enabling food security policies.

At the same time, although China’s policy for food grain self-sufficiency is still inadequate, it is supplemented by a mixture of food production and domestic production together with policies for grain pricing and labor migration, which contribute to the large differences in rural-urban incomes. Estimates for China’s grain demand was about 697 million tons of which 90 percent was produced by the country. Remarkable progress has also been made in its national food security but household food security remains a problem for low-income groups. A study titled “At China’s table: Food Security Options” focuses on how China will avoid national chronic grain shortages that have occurred in the past leading to widespread famine. The study evaluates chronic grain storages and addresses problems of transitory food insecurity from drought to other seasonal calamity. National food security constraints are discussed and strategies to boost supply and demand to 2020. The government recognizes the fact that it has potential to do much better than it is already doing.

1.4.2.3 Sub-Saharan Africa

A study conducted by Nubukpo et al revealed that West Africa’s population rose from 45 million people in 1930 to 220 million people in 1994 and is expected to
double by 2020. The government faces the challenge of demographic pressure, coupled with producing enough to assure food security.

Table 1.7 is a summary of assumptions by FAO, IFPRI and World Bank showing forecast for food needs in Sub-Saharan Africa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forecasts 1989-2010</th>
<th>FAO</th>
<th>IFPRI</th>
<th>WORLDBANK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estimated Production (million tons)</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated annual growth rate (%)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated demand (million tons)</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated annual growth rate (%)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated imports needed (million tons)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: Actual growth rates from 1989-91 were 3.4% for production, 3.1% for demand, and 8% for imports.

The table indicates that food deficit in SSA will "increase by a factor of 2 to 4 between 1990 and 2010". Unless SSA doubles its food production, hunger and food insecurity will only increase. These projections are alarming and according to the study, there is need for collaboration with all stakeholders in order to improve the food situation.

The numerous famines that Africa experienced since the 1980's prompted the creation of the Sasakawa Global 2000, an NGO that undertakes agricultural projects in Africa. The aim was to address the structural weaknesses that caused food insecurity in SSA. Projects to increase agricultural productivity were begun in Ghana and the Sudan in 1986 and also in Mali and Burkina Faso. The NGO works in close collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture where extension
programmes are jointly developed with the ministry using research institutes in the country and other development organizations. Pilot schemes are set up as a study center for farmers where they learn how to use the new technologies and credit is advanced to them as a starting capital for future activities.

In Ghana between 1986 and 1990 more that 100,000-production test plots of maize and sorghum were planted and the yields on the plots were found to be higher due to the technologies used. This was transferred to the local farmers and the yields from their farms have increased tremendously. In Benin the activities began in 1989 and most of the methods used were as a result of the lessons learnt in Ghana especially as pertains to credit cooperatives. In addition to maize and sorghum, cassava was also planted. The results were a higher yield in maize output. Similar schemes have been adopted in different parts of Kenya.

SSA is the only region where per capita output of food has been fluctuating and declining in the past three decades. Achievements of China and India have been extremely impressive in reducing the number of hungry people. China doubled the income of rural areas in the 1980's reducing abject poverty in many rural households, while India's anti-poverty programmes were responsible for increased income earning opportunities (Dinar: 2000: 1).
Towards the end of the 1980's, 40 out of 68 low-income food deficit countries failed to provide enough food to meet average nutritional requirements (UPENN: 2000:1) Twenty-nine of these were in Africa. The reason for such a poor performance was not only due to poor purchasing power because of low incomes but also poor supply of the food required. Between 1981 and 1990 the GDP per person in Africa was negative and 340 million people in developing countries in 1980 did not have enough income for the minimum calorie diet required for an active life.

Africa has not been lying dormant despite the adverse conditions especially with regard to food security. A growing awareness of the need to revamp the agricultural sector and to enhance rural development has been there. Appropriate national and international policies that will foster economic growth are imperative. Past experience has brought about better understanding of what needs to be done. Africa is still very dependent economically and technologically and adoption of action oriented and socio-economic development strategies including economic policy reforms and measures are necessary to remedy the situation. Various forums such as OAU’s Lagos Plan of Action (1980), the Harare Declaration of African Ministers of Agriculture, FAO’s African Agriculture: The Next 25 years (1986), Africa’s Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (1985), the UN’s Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990 (UN-PAAERD) in 1986, the UN’s New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the

1.5 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

This section gives a general overview of the concept of NGOs. Their activities in food security will be tackled in greater detail in Chapter three. It is appropriate at this juncture to define what Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are and how they operate. Cromwell et al see NGOs as bridging organizations (Cromwell, Wiggins, Wentzel: 1993: 32) (Cromwell and Brown: 1991: 33). The bridging role is carried out in different ways depending on institutional capacity and the nature of the particular project. The intermediary role can be between for example the World Bank and Community Based Organizations (CBOs). The banks emphasis is on poverty reduction, investment in human resources, environmental management and ensuring that capable bodies such as NGOs do the capacity building. NGOs are able to facilitate communication between project beneficiaries and the government (World Bank: 2001.1).
The International Development Institute ("IDI") on the other hand defines NGOs as "any organization that is operationally distinct from the government" (IDI: 1998: 1). Most NGOs are non-profit making and are basically development oriented. Some are private non-profit institutions, and can be national and international, providing direct services to farmers or the civil society at large. (Bebbington, Thiele, Davies, Prager and Riveros: 1993: 178)

Advocacy NGOs are involved in defending the rights of indigenous people as was seen during the World Food Summit 1996, where the NGO forum issued a statement reaffirming foremost the basic human right to food. It stated that neither food nor famine should be used as a national or international weapon, access to food should not be denied to any nation, ethnic or social group for political, economic or religious reasons. It advocated for the termination of any economic embargoes or sanctions that were incompatible with food security to be abolished (WB: 1996: 1-14). Part of the civil society's proposal to achieve food security included: strengthening the capacity of small scale farmers, including indigenous peoples, women and youth together with local and regional food systems, a revision and action to be taken in order to reverse concentration of wealth and power to prevent further concentration, agriculture and food production systems that rely on non-renewable resources and that negatively affect the environment be changed towards a model based on agro ecological
principles and that governments should shoulder the responsibility to ensure food security.

The World Bank's draft (Laws relating to NGOs and Society, 1997) gives various reasons why governments should have laws relating specifically to NGOs. As an independent sector, they enhance social stability and the rule of law by acting as a safety valve for the society to express itself. A protective law for NGOs would ensure that groups meet formally and are responsible for their behavior. This would create a stable society conducive for development that is in line with the objective of political and social stability, by the World Food Summit as one of the conditions necessary in achieving food security.

In the structural adjustment process, the World Bank identified various roles for NGOs within the international system. NGOs implement projects that the government cannot because they have a better capacity for flexible, honest and sufficient administration and the bureaucracy that is found in many governments is assumed to be less in such organizations. In Ethiopia for instance, The World Banks Residence Mission made it very clear that it will collaborate with the NGOs more in its support of national development (Clark et al: 2000: 27)

Adopting NGO laws would also facilitate efficiency for private, voluntary organizations as partners for governments in the provision of public goods and
services (World Bank: 1997: 3). Their ability to deliver high quality goods and services that are cost effective is easy due to their voluntary nature and they are also able to meet the public needs in a more responsive manner since they know the real needs of the people whom they serve on the ground. A research on the enabling environment for NGOs in Ethiopia revealed this very need, that is the development of clear, fair and flexible NGO regulations at the regional level (Clark et al: 2000:24). With this need came two realizations. One that the NGOs would be able to work with the regional government without interference from the central government and this would speed up issues. But on the other hand, the hasty enactment of unclear guidelines may overlap with existing ones causing complications in operations. Therefore adoption of NGO laws would have to be done in a clear, systematic and uniform manner.

Other economic justifications for adopting NGOs laws were support for a market economy and public sector market failure. "No matter how intelligent, dedicated, hard working, and public spirited the officers and employees of any government are, they simply cannot and do not anticipate all the public goods and services that are desired by the citizenry"(World Bank: 1997:4). A law permitting individuals and groups to come together would enable them meet the desires of the citizens which the government would not be able meet. NGOs would provide indirect support for the market economy through social stability and enhancing respect for the rule of law. This aspect was also collaborated by a research
conducted by Prof. Putnam of Harvard University who found that the best predictor of future economic development was the existence of a strong civic tradition of cooperation, social network, trust and commitment to social good, which is only possible where NGOs have laws supporting them (World Bank: 1997:5).

As an indication of the seriousness with which the international community takes NGOs, they were invited to participate in international meetings on global food security. In one such meeting, Mrs. King of the Green Belt Movement stated:

"I think that at a forum like this there always tends to be someone standing and saying you forgot my issue. I think my issue, as an NGO is rather important; it is the issue of women and I am sure that most of the people here have serious sensitivity to women's role vis-à-vis the environment. Especially in Africa, I think it has been clearly stated over and over again that women are responsible for between 60 and 90 per cent of the food production, processing and marketing. No one can really address the food crisis in Africa or many other crises that seem to exist here, without addressing the question of women, and really seeing women as participants in decision-making processes from the very basic all the way to the highest level." (WCED: 1986)

Yet again this re-emphasizes the gender aspect in resolving the food security issue.

A distinction is made between operational NGOs, which are primarily involved in designing and implementing projects and advocacy NGOs whose main purpose is to defend or promote a specific cause. The Bank-NGO collaboration described above is operational in nature. Some NGOs are involved in both activities.

Many governments in developing countries and donors have recognized the role that NGOs play. By 1987 for instance, UK was channeling US$30 million of aid
through NGOs while EEC was channeling US$210 million (Wellard, Copestake: 1993). In his study of NGOs, Fowler discovered there existed over 290 NGOs in the UK, by 1998 Out of these; the two richest were the Catholic Secretariat and National Council of Churches, which spend over US$ 225 million, almost equal to the total annual coffee earnings in Kenya (Fowler: 2000).

WFP is the United Nations "frontline agency that is mandated to combat global hunger which afflicts one out of every seven people on earth" (WFP: 2001:3) with more than 1,100 NGOs while carrying out its activities. They are invaluable to international organizations as they help in the distribution of food and monitoring and assessing the risk of hunger. Some of the partnerships with NGOs include, providing WFP with technical expertise, transport, storage and distribution of relief where governments are unable to do so and because some NGOs own small-scale projects, some of this are included in wider WFP food aid programmes.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework is to some considerable extent informed by the literature reviewed above. Different scholars have explained the cause for food insecurity in Africa using various perspectives. These would have been applicable to the study but it is concerned with NGO role in food security in Kenya. However a review of the scholars' perspectives is imperative to understand, food insecurity in general.
The theory of underdevelopment advanced by the likes of Emmanuel Wallerstein, Andre Gunder Frank, Samir Amin, Walter Rodney and Arghiti Emmanuel has been used to explain underdevelopment in Africa and to explain the food problem. Underdevelopment theorists divide the world into two main categories: the core and the periphery. The Core consists of the developed countries i.e. Northern Europe, Western and European countries and the periphery are underdeveloped countries mostly from Latin America, Asia, Africa and elsewhere. The theory asserts that those countries with an advanced form of capitalism are that way because of exploiting those in the periphery by draining their resources to their advantage.

This theory tries to explain why the agricultural sector failed to generate adequate supply of locally needed food. Because the economies of the developing countries are shaped by their dependence on the global economic systems, there is tendency to favor export-oriented crops over locally consumed food, bringing about a significant imbalance in the agricultural sector. The dichotomy between the export sector and the food-producing sector is described as the “agrarian dualism” (Lofchie, Commins: 1982: 4). Export crops are grown in large estates in the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) and are favored in terms of inputs while peasant farmers in the rural areas grow the food crops for local consumption and these are badly deprived of needed agricultural support bringing about the high
food insecurity in these areas. The small-scale farmers are unable to take advantage of the modern farming technologies due to lack of sufficient capital and small pieces of land on which they farm unlike those with plantations. Feeder roads to the rural areas are pathetic and storage facilities are unavailable so that even if there is surplus to sell, there is no means to get it to the market. Proponents of this theory explain Africa’s food crisis using this theory.

Although the theory highlights some of the pathologies of African agriculture, the theory can be criticized for its tendency to oversimplify the bimodal division of the world into twos, ‘periphery and core’. The term periphery is extremely broad and does not fully explain the economic and political differences between the different countries. Each country is unique in different aspects and such factors should be taken into consideration. The theory also leaves out other political aspects such as the nature of the leaders who shape the policies and consequently affect the food security situation.

The other alternative to the theory of underdevelopment has been the comparative advantage theory advanced by the likes of Ricardo. The theory emphasizes that countries should maximize their economic potential by specializing in the production of commodities which cost them the least in terms of capital and labor. This kind of specialization according to Ricardo would lead to improved living conditions and give countries a better chance to participate in the world market.
Developing countries that ignore this theory would only worsen their economic position and would be worse off by withdrawing from the world markets. They would be better advised to narrow down to the range of products that would enable them most advantage in the world trade markets. Other scholars have expanded on Ricardo's theory, which only has labor as main component by adding to it, the land and capital factor as main components that determine a country's efficiency

Chernery an economist with the World Bank distinguishes between comparative advantage (trade theory) and economic development (growth theory). He says "comparative advantage is a static concept that ignores a variety of dynamic elements" (Lofchie, Commins: 1982:9). The growth theory would be advantageous to the developing countries because it would assist them in allocating their scarce resources in the most beneficial manner. The theory is concerned with changing relationships over time and is concerned with expansion of multiple sectors of the economy and not simply the export sector as the comparative theory is.

"(Development requires) much more emphasis on the sequence of expansion of production and factor use by sector than on the conditions of general equilibrium. Growth theory either ignores comparative advantage and the possibilities of trade completely, or considers mainly the dynamic aspects, such as the stimulus that an increase in exports provides to the development of related sectors. . . . with this different point of view, growth theorists often suggest investment criteria that are quite contradictory to those derived from consideration of comparative advantage" (Lofchie, Commins: 1982:10)
To Cherney, the best way forward for LDCs, lies in adopting a balanced multi-sectoral strategy, which would ensure long-term economic profits. However, he also continues to advocate the comparative advantage theory even after criticizing it and argues that it can be modified by introducing factors such as quality and quantity of the factors of production, economies of scale and complementarities of commodities in both producer and consumer demand. Accepting these assumptions would help the country to better plan its policies achieving a balance between foreign trade and other strategies. His contribution establishes that participation in global trading economy alone is not enough by itself to enable a developing country allocate its resources and achieve economic growth. This principle is called "market failure" and is proven by the fact that countries which have strictly applied export agriculture have experienced market failure consistently.

Reasons given for market failure are that concentration on export-based crops by LDCs is highly affected by a bumper crop of the same in a different country, which depresses prices. For example Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Uganda including Ivory Coast all are coffee producers, and so are countries in Latin America such as Brazil and Colombia. All these countries compete intensely for market share and the tendency is to depress the prices. The buyers on the other hand are oligopolistic or monopolistic and they set the prices, buying cheap and selling dear. The market strength of the producer country is further affected by the
elasticity in demand and the ready availability of substitute products. The culminating effect has been inability to gain price leverage in the international market place resulting in market failure. A strategy of comparative advantage would only be good if other important factors such as the political, economic and environmental considerations are taken into account. Parts of the current liberalization policies are from this school of thought.

The food aid theory has also been advanced in explaining food insecurity. Food aid is excellent for addressing short-term food deficiencies but in the long term, as the Presidential Commission on World Hunger noted, food aid increases dependency of recipients on donors and decreases the food production capacities of developing countries (Lofchie, Commins: 1982:19). It also reduces the pressure on recipient countries to implement policy reforms and can depress farm prices and promote undesirable consumptions patterns (Eicher: 1982:469). From a study carried out in Upper Volta, it was noted that:

“So extensive has the food aid mentality permeated the way of life, that rather than act as an incentive to community improvement, food aid has the opposite effect. It is an assurance that despite bad labor practices that lead to eroded and exhausted soil and marginal harvest, there will be food to eat, there will be food aid. Food aid is an argument against the idea that land reclamation and sound agricultural practices are necessary” (Lofchie: 1979:5).

A fourth approach to the food problem is that advanced by Armatya Sen, which uses the entitlements approach. It holds that food security is only possible if one has possessions, which in turn flow from endowments, which in turn constitute one’s entitlements (Sen, Dreze & Hussain: 1987: 55). Sen argues that people go
hungry because they lack the means to access food. His arguments are presented in detail in the literature review part of the study.

This study goes beyond all these approaches to access how NGOs and the government collaborate to achieve sustainable food security strategies. Kenya's food policy aims at ensuring that there is adequate supply of nutritionally balanced foods in all parts of Kenya (Sessional Paper: 1994: 24). Such a policy aims at increased production coupled with an effective market and a proper distribution system. The study takes this into account and seeks to establish how NGOs enhance such government policies and the challenges faced in the process. The social, political and environmental complexities that surround food insecurity are highlighted and the study reveals that there are other technical issues such as proper policy formulation to be tackled for food security to be achieved.

1.7 Hypotheses

The Study is guided by the following hypotheses:

1. That the success of Non Governmental Organizations in augmenting the role of the government in ensuring food security, depends on the level of resources available

2. That the level of commitment of the government to food policies affects full participation of Non Governmental Organizations in food security issues.
1.8 Methodology and Data Collection

The study utilizes both primary and secondary data sources. Interviews with officers from Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) at the provincial level formed part of the basis of the data used in the report. The discussions shed light on the collaborative activities in the Government of Kenya (GoK) and the international and local NGOs on food security issues.

Respondents were NGOs senior staff, including field workers who are the actual implementers of the food security projects. The discussions focused on the challenges faced during implementation and enabling factors that contributed to success of the projects. The community's perspective of the project was also discussed from NGO workers point of view.

The challenges they faced, solutions adopted and collaboration with both NGOs and Government officials formed part of the discussions. The interviews were conducted on a one to one basis.

A narrative form was used to analyze the data. Due to the limited number of interviewees available, the data is not taken to be representative of the whole region, but it gives some insights of the general situation in the area.

The study selected two NGOs as case studies out of the list of NGOs working in food security in general. Many of the NGOs based in Nairobi were not considered in the study because most of their activities concentrate on regions outside
Kenya, which do not form a part of the study. The choice of the case studies was based on the following:

1. Due to limitation of time and financial constraints, the study selected NGOs with their offices based in Nairobi, because it was cheaper and easier to access them in terms of transport.

2. PLAN International Eastern (PLAN) was selected because it has worked in Kenya for the last 17 years and has undertaken food security projects in Meru and Embu for the last 10 years, some of which are on going. PLAN's vast years of experience are relevant to the study and can be used to form a generalization on NGOs work in Kenya.

3. Oxfam Kenya was selected on the basis that it has widespread food security projects in almost all the regions in Kenya. They have worked in Kenya for the last 13 years, virtually covering most regions, which give them different experiences in food security projects. They have food security activities in both Arid and Semi-Arid (ASAL) areas. Their work is representative of NGOs roles in food security in general.

Secondary data was obtained from previous research findings on food security. These included publications by organizations concerned with analysis of the food situation globally, such as FAO, WFP and World Bank. Books on food security together with local newspapers, policy documents, sessional papers and the Internet were other sources of useful information.
CHAPTER TWO AN OVERVIEW OF FOOD SECURITY POLICIES IN KENYA

2.0 Introduction

In chapter one, different theories were examined which explain Kenya's agricultural crisis as in many African countries. This chapter assesses how the policy factor influences agricultural production and its implications to food security in the country. The study also recognizes that the policies are formulated within an environment that also impacts on food security. Therefore the last section of this chapter, gives a brief overview of the environmental factors within which these policies are set and how they affect the Kenyan agricultural production.

Writers such as Berg, Bates and Lipton argue that since independence, many African governments as well as those of other developing countries, adopted economic policies that reduced economic rewards to small-scale agricultural producers. The effect of this was to lower the prices received for the commodities produced while at the same time increasing the prices paid for purchased goods (Lofchie: 1989: 50). The agricultural policies were an attempt to use the agricultural sector to provide economic resources that were to be dispensed elsewhere in society, specifically in the urban industries. As a result, such policies were a disincentive leading to a dangerous model of per-capita food production with a steady loss in the market share of world trade in export-oriented commodities.
Kenya’s past and present experiences forced it to rethink about the agricultural policies it adopted after independence and as Niger’s president Seyni Kountche stated, “Africa must conceive of an authentic development strategy which takes into account our experiences, our failures and our successes. We must abolish policies which marginalize the bulk of our laboring people” (ODI: 1984: 182).

In Ethiopia, a deliberate effort has been made by the government to include NGOs in the national policymaking so that they can participate more effectively in food security. This has achieved milestones because the government and NGOs have clearly outlined roles for each party ensuring that there is no conflict of interest. Through examining the past performance of agricultural policies, this chapter aims to show that together with the collaborative efforts of NGOs in food security, a sustainable food security strategy can be realised.

### 2.1 Historical Background

During the colonial period, starting with the depression years of the 1930’s, agricultural policies were mainly oriented towards European settlers, largely neglecting African agriculture. Europeans had exclusive rights to own land and were protected by the colonial government, which further alienated Africans. The major agrarian revolution in Kenya began with the Swynnerton Plan of 1954, which proposed changes to land reform by individual ownership, and consolidation of fragmented holding, government controls on pricing and
marketing commodities. The plan had positive suggestions on improving agriculture through soil conservation, livestock improvement and use of research.

Settler agriculture was facilitated through demarcation of the country's regions into the privileged 'white settler' and the neglected 'African reserves' (Sessional Paper No. 10:1965). It further introduced a tenure system whereby landowners were issued with title deeds. This in effect meant that only the rich Africans could afford to buy land and adopt the new farming methods that were meant to increase production, thereby improving their living standards. Those who could not afford land formed the majority of the labor force, earning meager wages. They were made poorer by this process, further increasing their inaccessibility to basic needs including food security.

Other policies affecting food and agricultural production were pursued. These included policies on pricing, marketing, research extension policies, credit and financial institutions, agricultural input, infrastructural investment. Policies on food security and self-sufficiency were all tackled in this context; they favored the urban dweller especially the pricing policies. The only policy that seemed to favor the small-scale farmer was introduction of agricultural credit envisaged to help expand African agriculture. Cooperatives were introduced to run these but above them, marketing boards were also set up to oversee and control them.
Even after independence as Omosa (1998) rightly observes, Kenya did not have a specific food policy in place until the 1980s. It was assumed that the agricultural policies would take care of food security (Omosa: 1998: 52). The overall economic policies were still based on Sessional Paper Number 10 on African Socialism and its application to planning in Kenya. The main need addressed was introduction of a firm basis for rapid growth. The immediate need was to resettle Africans who were landless and therefore landownership policies were introduced. The process followed was basically guided by the former settlers' policies. A natural land use policy was also adopted to closely monitor farms to avoid mismanagement. Marketing institutions inherited after independence such as the Coffee Board of Kenya (CBK), Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) and Kenya Tea Development Authority (KTDA) continued to be operated in the same way. The research extension policies emphasized cash crop production. These policies were only successful until the 1970's and yet were maintained until the era of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs).

The recession that occurred in the 1970's due to the oil crisis coupled with increased population by the 1980's increased the government's awareness that fundamental rethinking of food and agricultural policies was imperative.

The first change in policy was in the Fourth Development Plan (GoK: 1979-1983) towards liberalization and reduced government controls. The removal through
price decontrol of import licensing systems in order to curb price distortions was introduced as part of the liberalization process. Sessional Paper no 1 of 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth (GoK 1986) also removed government control and increased the role of the private sector in the economy. For agricultural growth, a market-based incentive was used to channel resources in the most productive manner. Reduced donor funding as a measure to increase the apportionment of costs for agricultural services between government and private sector and beneficiaries was adopted. The policies were geared towards sustainable food production, security and internal self-sufficiency as strategic reserves.

Many development plans and sessional papers have been developed in Kenya but by far the most significant in this study is Sessional Paper no. 4 of 1981 on National Food Policy. The paper assessed the declining food production and is discussed in detail below.

2.2 The National Food Policy

In 1981 a national food policy paper was published, in which food security was defined as “ensuring that there was adequate supply of nutritionally balanced foods in all parts of the country at all times”. The policy was a response to severe food shortages experienced in 1970 forcing Kenya to import maize, wheat and milk in substantial amounts. These shortages were as a result of low production due to
the area under cultivation being reduced, low levels in usage of fertilizer, and adverse weather conditions. The increased population was quickly absorbing the increase in food production and preventing a marked improvement in the per capita nutritional intake. Although Kenya retained a capacity to be broadly self-sufficient, certain sectors of the population remained greatly malnourished as a result of income inequalities. There was also an imbalance in the relationship between national supply and demand of food.

The proposal was an increase in use of agricultural inputs in order to increase production, better distribution of basic foodstuffs to increase self-sufficiency, an increase in hybrid varieties was encouraged through research and the extension program strengthened through adoption of effective extension techniques. The government however continued setting producer prices a deviation from gradual price decontrol.

The policy framework was guided by the need to increase food production. Agricultural input policy was formulated aimed at provision and optimum utilization of agricultural chemicals, improved variety seeds at affordable prices, appropriate technology and reduction on imported capital intensive equipment. The research and extension policy concentrated on food crop research to increase yields and breeding programs. The food security policy laid emphasis on increasing food production all over the county, by increasing drought resistant
crops such as sorghum and millet in drought areas, while establishing a food monitoring system.

However, there was one weakness with the policy: an emphasis on increasing and expansion of the production of coffee, tea, maize, wheat, milk, beef and horticulture. Coffee and tea were for export while milk and horticulture were to achieve income and food security (Ngethe, Owino: 1995: 143). The focus on production of cash crops subsequently led to the neglect of traditional food crops and an over-reliance on maize as the staple food. Furthermore, growing of wheat did not prove to be profitable because of competition from other producers and particularly the US, whose production of wheat was supported by subsidies from the government. Gittinger et al say that in some developing countries, there has been radical dissociation of agriculture from the exchange economy, which has led to failure in maximizing comparative advantage. The withdrawal from the international exchange economy means that in the short-term, such an adjustment would affect the rural and urban poor (Gittinger et al: 1987: 129).

Ongoing debates have been centered on the above argument on the effect of concentrating on cash crops; that export crops create hunger and it is up to governments to choose between food production and export crops. (Gittinger et al: 1987: 500). It is possible for cash crops and food crops to coexist without farmers
necessarily forgoing the economic benefits that cash crops bring, while at the same time not compromising food crops.

In recent years, various steps have been taken to combat world hunger, in 1982, the EC Council of Ministers adopted the "pisani plan", an action plan to combat world hunger and Kenya was among four countries in sub-Saharan Africa which were to be assisted to implement the food strategies formulated by the World Food Council of Ministers at Ottawa in 1979. The four countries, Kenya, Mali, Rwanda and Zambia entered into a "mutual commitment" where they committed themselves to implement policy reforms (Gittinger, Leslie, Hoisington: 1987: 497-8). It had been found that the per capita food production was decreasing and food imports had increased, including food aid and malnutrition among the rural areas and the urban poor.

Kenya's national food strategy was supported by donors as it was a permanent instrument for policy planning and management which was to ensure that there was coherence of the different technical actions, investments and social and economic policies related to the country's food sector. The purpose of the national food strategy was three-fold. First it established a framework for food production and consumption whose objectives would help to identify policy priorities over time. Second, it specified the short and long-term programs and projects and third it provided a mechanism for a more effective implementation of specific
programs and project proposals, which would strengthen both national and institutional capacities so that the food sector would be more profitable. The practical results of these policies are yet to be analyzed (Gittinger, Leslie, Hoisington: 1987: 498). Kenya's challenge to date is to deal with the growing national food deficit, and to see how we can involve other stakeholders to contribute in a sustainable way to the goal of national food self-sufficiency.

As a further measure to improve agricultural productivity, GOK 1989-1993 development plans included measures where the National Cereals Produce Board (NCPB) would gradually liberalize trade, with a projected 75% increase in the earnings of private traders, millers and co-operative societies, as well as increase maize production. Unfortunately, these projections were not realized. Instead, liberalization encouraged import of cheaper maize from neighboring countries such as Uganda, providing a disincentive to the farmers who are not willing to produce locally as the selling prices are much lower than the cost of production (Nation: February 27, 2001).

A food security strategy is required to motivate the farmers to increase their production. Policies that distort food production and food trade should be monitored and quantified through Aggregate Measured Support (AMS).
Thus the food policy paper (Republic of Kenya, 1981) highlights the factors that have undermined the country's capacity to feed itself. It stated that unless investment was increased in agricultural research, irrigation and land reclamation, food production would continue to decline. Population growth would also have to be addressed. Cohen sees the role of other stakeholders in the following way:

"Role of donors should be urging the African policy makers to focus on policies and strategies to be able to achieve a reliable food surplus. Concentrate their resources on helping local professionals develop an improved micro foundation for food policy analysis that addresses the constraints on achieving a reliable food surplus with emphasis on food shortage and international trade" (Cohen: 1988: 473).

Policies that also address the food problem in Kenya include the fifth development plan (1984 -1988), which contained a special section in its planning measures to improve agricultural output for self-sufficiency and for export; and the latest development plan (1997-2001), which emphasizes the primary role that agriculture plays as the backbone of the Kenyan economy and vows to stimulate growth of the agricultural sector.

2.3 Other Policies Affecting Food Security

Agricultural reforms of developed countries after the global recession following the oil crisis in 1979 reinforced the trend towards agricultural protectionism. Some of the measures taken were the introduction of price support and non-tariff barriers; these helped to bring about food surpluses, which consequently resulted in a
downward trend in price levels of agricultural commodities (OAU: 1985: 12,13). The net effect was acute over-production of primary agricultural commodities, which meant that debt repayment for developing countries became even more difficult. Export volumes for both Latin America and Africa had to increase and therefore depressing prices further and causing a global glut.

During a meeting by the Group of 77, a delegate from India expressed his disappointment due to the lack of follow-up by some countries on agreements that had been made in Rome in 1980. (Common Wealth Secretariat: 1981:9) The lack of seriousness commitment by developing countries continues to be a problem. For instance in spite of OAU's Lagos Plan of Action (1980) advocating that each member state set up national strategic food reserves of 10 percent of total food production and adopt a coherent national food policy, was largely ignored. Kenya government for instance, established, Kenya Food Security Steering Group (KFSSG) in 1999.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that first came into force in 1947 was envisaged as part of International Trade Organization (ITO) and was to deal with various issues such as commodity policy. The ratification of the same was done during the Uruguay round and was subsumed under WTO taking effect from January 1995. Two rules, on quantitative import restrictions and prohibition on use of export subsidies were adopted, mainly to counter the great depression of
the 1930's, which had been associated with agricultural incomes. Unfortunately for African countries these rules did not favor them as they joined the WTO many years after, and were not party to their formulation. It is against this background that widespread food insecurity problems in most parts of the world, including the declining ratio of farm to non-farm incomes in some countries, that exceptions for agriculture were written in GATT (FAO: 2000: 156).

One of the objectives of the WTO agreement was to reform trade in the sector and to make policies more market oriented. Global liberalization to remove distortions in international trade, improving competition in the market place, was advocated. As a result, there was reduction and a final removal of subsidies to attract higher prices. The increase would subsequently act as an attraction to businesses to invest in the industry further increasing production, efficiency, and the quality and quantity of products in general. In Kenya as in Uganda (Stiftung: 1999: 50), the effect of liberalization was deregulation of prices in the agricultural sector and dismantling of state monopolies, leading to an increase in the prices of coffee and other cash crops and attracting private firms to invest in the country.

For Kenya, like many developing countries, the WTO agreements on agriculture were difficult to implement due to the rationalization of the institutional and human capacity, and the policy adaptation together with national coordination between the sectors that were to be involved. Key problems included the change
of national policies and legislation in an effort to bring them in coherence with the WTO provisions. Implementation would also imply the ability to identify and take advantage of the opportunities and rights arising from the agreement. Rural infrastructure and storage facilities would need to be greatly improved in order to meet the agricultural aspects of the agreements especially in food security and food delivery systems. The research and extension services were inadequate, the production technologies were low and there were poor storage facilities. These continue to impede the implementation of WTO agreements and hinder Kenya's ability to take full advantage of WTO rules.

2.4 The Role of Policy in Food Security

Global food security depends not only on raising production but also reducing distortions in the structure of world food markets and shifting focus to food deficit countries, regions and households. It also depends on ensuring that all people, even the poorest of the poor, can get food. The task lies within global food distribution policies and the national governments and their distribution policies on assets. Unemployment and underemployment are at the heart of the problem of hunger in many developing countries and hence the need for collaboration between different ministries in the government. The strategy for sustainable food security requires more than a conservation program. It is not just a matter of adding environmental components to programs (World Bank: 1987: 118) but it must take into account all the policies of shifting production to where it is most
needed, and at the same time securing the livelihoods of rural poor and conserving resources.

When considering strategies to promote subsistence crops and cash crops, policymakers should take into account the question of who the malnourished are and how the production policies affect them. How can their nutritional situation be improved while at the same time pursuing a viable policy for agricultural development?

Some of the policies affecting food security are those concerned with forestry. In the past the national forest policies were geared towards maximizing revenue for the government and ensuring raw material supplies for industries while neglecting the local people who are directly affected by such policies. "Focusing on food security would require a fundamental shift in who the forests are managed for" (FAO: 1989:100). It would have to stop focusing on government revenue and place emphasis on local people instead in order to meet their food security needs.

For accelerated food production in Kenya to occur and for food security to be achieved, the government must have appropriate policies in place. Policy decisions have to prioritize and allocate more resources to the agricultural sector, which is the backbone of the economy. There is need to have skilled and trained policy analysts and researchers together with the institutional structures to support
them (Mellor, Delgado & Blackie: 1987: 369) The three most important areas where a critical analysis needs to be done are in, firstly, food policy data, which is generally lacking in Africa. Secondly, food policy analysis would enable the government increase their knowledge base as a tool for proper decision-making, and finally, food policy research, apart from increasing knowledge, also acts as a resource base.

Kenya's export oriented agriculture could provide it with the finances required to pay for imports of grains such as wheat and rice which are available at depressed prices due to over-production in the world market, but this can only be possible if an adequate agricultural policy is introduced that facilitates foreign exchange earning capacity. The World Bank (World Bank: 1981: 46) made some attempts to help increase production and resolve Africa's food crisis by following the advice of reports such as the Berg Report (named after its writer Elliot Berg) on Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa. Unfortunately the saying that what is good for the West should be exported to the rest did not work. Each individual country should be analyzed on its own merit and changes adopted accordingly.

A later report (World Bank: 1987) stipulates that policies in food security cannot be ignored because agriculture does not lack resources, but policies are needed to
ensure that food is produced where it is needed and in a manner that can sustain the livelihood of the rural poor. It proposes that the challenge can be met through devising new strategies for sustaining food and livelihood security. As Delgado notes in article “Setting Priorities for Promoting African Production”, global agricultural policies focused on output growth, made achieving constant production difficult. Factors that have made it difficult include subsidies in North America and other incentives, coupled by a lack of demand due to production surpluses. In the USA farm support cost grew from US$2.7 billion in 1980 to US$25.8 billion in 1986. In the European Economic Commission it grew from US$ 6.2 billion in 1980 to US$21.5 billion in 1986 (World Bank: 1987).

Professor Kamba, (Rukuni, Mudiba & Jayne: 1989) the Vice Chancellor of Zimbabwe University, in an address to SADC, articulated considerations that should be taken into account during food policy formulation:

“Simple slogans such as ‘food self-sufficiency’ and ‘food self-reliance’ must be expanded to address the following question: What is the most cost-effective mix of domestic food production, storage, trade and food access programs to meet household, national, and regional food security objectives?”

This is a question that every government ought to ask itself in the wake of rising food insecurity. Lofchie on the other hand ((Lofchie: 1989: 2) insists that Africa’s food shortages cannot be explained entirely based on short-term episodic events such as ‘drought, civil wars or crop blights’, but by analysis of the fundamental structural factors such as inappropriate policies which have an adverse effect on
the international economic system. The fact that Africa has continued to import grains during good and bad weather bears witness to the fact that there is more than meets the eye in explaining food insecurity. More than ever, the donor community believes that

"Africa's food deficits are the product of poor agricultural policies. The appropriate remedy therefore is policy reform not food assistance. Donor policymakers have also become sensitive to the extent to which food aid contributes to the continent's crisis, whether through a disincentive effect on agricultural prices or by providing a substitute for agricultural reform." (Rukuni & Mudima: 1989: 3)

The government's role in policy formulation on food security should be political empowerment (Sergeldin, Landel-Mills: 1993: 291) to bring about significant changes in the levels of food security. Macro-economic policies should ensure that Sectoral Adjustment Programs result in a raised income, while at the same time reducing the risks for poor and hungry people in the medium and long term.

Policies focusing on increased production only would intensify the food crops market. The problem cycles of government deficits could also be arrested by such policies. (Cohen: 1980: 180) Another factor that should be included in policy formulation on food security is economic and political empowerment to bring about significant change in the levels of food security.

The NGO perspectives on what food security policies should comprise of were given in the Hunger and the World Bank Conferences held in 1993. They stated that
economic empowerment should form the core of strategies in food security. They should also include the adoption of policies which build self-reliance in food security. The policies should be identified, formulated, implemented and evaluated by those whom the policies are meant to assist, and they should not be imposed from the top. This bottom-up approach is the reason that NGOs involve women in the decision making process in food security projects.

It would therefore be appropriate to conclude that the current agricultural policies are inadequate and more needs to be done so that they can achieve their desired effect. The following table (adopted from Gittinger et al: 1987: 1993-194), shows a checklist which can be used by policy formulators to determine the potential effects of planned policy decisions. The table captures some of the problems that Kenya has been facing in implementation of agricultural policies and what the alternative actions should be (see table 2.1).

The table also tackles the questions of who the malnourished are, and how production policies affect them. It is imperative that the causes of malnutrition in the rural area be understood before offering solutions for it. Different areas call for different actions. For example, we can conclude from the table below that if more cash cropping leads to unfavorable income distribution, then more targeted subsidies should be extended to compensate those affected. Subsidies that lead to productive employment and steady unsubsidized incomes for the poor in the long
run are important. The checklist below is based on these assumptions. The table clearly indicates that policies and programs that can lead to increased commercialization of subsistence agriculture must be carefully designed and implemented if they are to achieve desired results. Specifically, attention should be paid to the effects of policies on incomes, employment and household decision-making.

**Table 2.1: Checklist: Potential Adverse Effects of Cash Cropping for Food Consumption and Nutrition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What are the potential effects?</th>
<th>Selected possible actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National and regional level (issues for policy dialogue):</td>
<td>1. Action (as in 2) required only if answer to question 2 is yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Are such resources as land and labor for cash crop production withdrawn from subsistence food production?</td>
<td>2. Increase in food imports, including temporary food aid; promotion of interregional trade within the country, promotion of subsistence food production along with cash crops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Is national or regional food supply from domestic production reduced because of cash crops?</td>
<td>3. Improvement of rural infrastructure, for example, transport and market infrastructure for basic foods; also actions under 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Are local food prices rising as cash crop production increases?</td>
<td>4. Intervention for stabilization of markets or of incomes of the poor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Is there an increase in seasonal and irregular fluctuations of food supply and prices?</td>
<td>5. Employment generation in rural areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Is demand for hired labor reduced by increasing cash cropping?</td>
<td>6. Land tenure policies; regulations for access to resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Is control over land and other resources such as water becoming monopolized as cash cropping increases?</td>
<td>7. Improved competition in food markets; establishment of public sector food outlets; consumer cooperatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Are local markets for food becoming monopolized as cash cropping increases?</td>
<td>8. Improved efficiency of public sector companies; assistance in building up cooperative schemes handled by farmers; extended role of private sector in marketing and processing with control over concentration and monopolistic tendencies if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Are public sector companies and parastatals that handle cash crop marketing and processing acquiring an undue share from cash crop returns (without transfers back to the farm sector through such indexes such as investment in agriculture)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Program and household level issues necessary for program design and implementation

9. As cash cropping increases, are the real incomes of the poor malnourished:
   a. Decreased temporarily?
   b. Decreased for an extended time?

10. Do the cash crop in question and the related production and processing technology significantly degrade the resource base and the ecology, thereby negatively affecting long-term food and agricultural production and the income generating capacity of the location?

11. Is increased commercialization destroying local welfare and food sharing systems?

12. Is the income stream in cash more irregular (lump form) than the earlier flow of subsistence food income?

13. Is control over income within households shifted to members less concerned with food and nutritional needs (for example, from women to men)?

14. Is cash crop production increasing the demands on women's time, with negative effects for childcare and health environment of children?

15. Is increased cash cropping raising demand for child labor in field and household activities?


Kenya’s policy formulators and implementers would benefit from studying the table and coming up with similar benchmarks as a guide. Food security is clearly affected by the country’s inadequate rural infrastructure such as feeder roads,
water, electricity and storage facilities which are critical determinants of effective implementation of the sustainable agricultural strategies, particularly as relates to food security and food delivery systems.

2.5 Demographic and Climatic Factors Affecting Food Security in Kenya

Figure 2a. Distribution of population. Based on the 1979 census, population densities are highest in central and western Kenya, often over 4000 people per sq km.

Source: Downing et al: 1989: 16
Apart from policies, the environment has an impact on achievement of food security and at the same time, affects service providers such as NGOs. This section briefly summarizes how demography changes and climatic features affect Kenya's agricultural productions. The map above (fig.2a) is compared to the population census results in 1999 (see table 2.2) to demonstrate how demography has influenced agriculture in Kenya since independence.

Demographic influences are among the principle sources of change in the Kenyan food economy. Food policy instruments and food projections needs are benchmarked on population growth and migration. Increasing agricultural production therefore is the basis for the food self-sufficiency policy in Kenya. The policy contends "due to the rapid population growth and increasing demand for food, food production and food security will remain key priorities in the agricultural sector". (Sessional paper. No.1: 1981: 1), (Sessional paper no. 1: 1993: 1). Results from the population census conducted in 1979 are shown on the map below (see figure.2a).

The map shows that the highest population is concentrated on the high potential areas. With the existing land tenure systems and small-scale farms divided into small land portions, the corollary effect is increased environmental degradation. Additionally an increased population has reduced arable land significantly. The 1999 census (see table 2.2.) shows that population increased gradually in 1989 and by 1999 it had almost doubled in some regions.
Table 2.2. Distribution of Population by Province (1969-1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>1969</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1999</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>509,286</td>
<td>827,775</td>
<td>1,324,570</td>
<td>2,143,254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>1,657,647</td>
<td>2,345,833</td>
<td>3,111,255</td>
<td>3,724,159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>944,082</td>
<td>1,342,794</td>
<td>1,825,761</td>
<td>2,487,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>1,907,301</td>
<td>2,719,851</td>
<td>3,768,689</td>
<td>4,631,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/Eastern</td>
<td>245,757</td>
<td>373,787</td>
<td>371,391</td>
<td>962,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>2,210,289</td>
<td>2,643,956</td>
<td>3,507,160</td>
<td>4,392,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>2,210,239</td>
<td>3,240,402</td>
<td>4,917,551</td>
<td>6,987,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>1,328,298</td>
<td>1,832,663</td>
<td>2,622,397</td>
<td>3,358,776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kenya 10,942,705 15,327,061 21,443,774 28,686,776

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics: 2001:xiii

Comparison between the map and the table indicate the following. The highest population growth is concentrated in the areas around Nyanza province. Nyanza’s population in 1979 was 2,643,956, rising to 3,507,160 in 1989 and finally doubling the 1979 figure in 1999 to 4,392,196. The slower population growth noted between 1989 and 1999 in Nyanza can be explained by out-migration and increased mortality rates attributed to the HIV/AIDS scourge (CBS: 20001:xiii).

In the Rift Valley, population in 1979 was 3,240,402 increasing gradually to 4,917,551 in 1989 and finally doubling the 1979 figure in 1999 to 6,987,036. The increase was due to rural urban migration. The sudden increase in North Eastern province between 1989 from 371,391 to 962,143 in 1999 was due to sudden refugee influx from neighbouring countries. While on the other hand in Central province, the gradual decrease in population growth was due to out-migration and a decline in fertility rates.
This kind of data gives a succinct picture of the issues that NGOs and government have to deal with in achieving food security. It is imperative to note that even as population grew, the land occupied did not expand. Subsequently this led to sub-division of land and environmental degradation (soil erosion and over cropping). Further to this the refugee influx increased pressure on available food supplies increasing food insecurity. Coupled with HIV/AIDS pandemic, which virtually wiped out the labor force, agricultural production was drastically affected.

The rapid population growth, together with shortage of arable land in the high potential areas created an imbalance in the relationship between the national supply of food and its demand. Shortages of maize, milk and sugar especially in the drought years of 1980/81, 1984/85, 1992/3 and 1999/2001 were severe. The domestic growth of wheat, rice and oil crops did not match the population growth increasing food insecurity in Kenya. In addition to the drought, increased donor pressure for political reforms and their withholding of aid denying the country foreign exchange resources to purchase food aid aggravated the situation further.

Climatological factors play a major role in agricultural production. The climate of an area is defined as the synthesis of weather, or day-to-day atmospheric conditions of that area (Russell: 1962:77). It is the change in weather patterns that is ultimately responsible for phenomena such as drought, which seriously affect
the food production of an area. According to Downing et al (Downing, Gitu, Kamau: 1989:3) change in weather could result in deficiency of available moisture to lower levels than expected. The resulting effect depending on climatic expectation could lead to drought affecting agriculture and livestock production.

Fig. 2b Normal rainfall in the short and long rains. The long rains are generally wetter and more reliable, except in parts of Eastern Province.

Kenya covers an area of 57,000 square kilometers and is a country of great diversity with varying climate from region to region. It has tremendous ecological extremes from a sea level of 17000 feet to above sea level on top of Mt. Kenya. Since 1984 the rains have fluctuated a lot, making it difficult to correctly predict expected amount of rain in any given year. These vast changes in its ecology affect the climatic conditions giving it two rainy seasons (see fig. 2b).
The rainy seasons are between March and May and October and December. Areas that receive the highest rainfall are those around the lake region and the Kenya highlands including the coastal region. The temperatures in Kenya vary according to the altitude of a place. Areas along the coast can have temperatures exceeding 73°F, while those in the Northern region are ever higher.

When the rainfall maps (fig 2b) are compared to the distribution of population map (fig.2a), it is evident that the concentration of population is around the high potential areas. This clearly points out the connection between places that receive heavy rainfall with high population. The next map (see fig.2c) also indicates agricultural farming of cash crops is concentrated in the same areas.
Fig. 2c, Agricultural livelihood systems. Most of Kenya is suitable for pastoralism and ranching. The smallholder agricultural lands are located in the central and western highlands and along the coast.

The different environments dictate the agricultural systems that are found in Kenya. Except for the pastoral areas, most if the country is suitable for maize
production (i.e. in areas with over 300mm of rain) during the long rains. About two thirds of the national maize production is grown during the long rains.

Maize is the staple food in Kenya and a lot of research has gone into developing varieties that are suitable for low rainfall. Katumaini (Composite B) is one such variety and requires 95 days to mature. It needs at least 250mm of rainfall for a crop to give average yields compared to 400mm for local maize. The maize can be replanted for successive seasons using seeds from the first crop. It is used as a drought coping strategy to improve the food security in dry places such as Mwingi.

Cash crops such as tea and coffee are grown around the Kenya highlands and are important to the small-scale farmer. Apart from earning an income for expenses such as school fees, it secures farm inputs. The money earned from cash crops may increase the farmer’s access to rural credit and the profits can be used for pesticides and other farm inputs. This in turn may increase the farm yields and food production improving household food security in the short-term. This is because agriculture is dependent on good weather in Kenya. Again as revealed in the literature review, market failure may occur depending on how competitor countries faired in similar cash crops. If there is a glut then it means no markets to sell the cash crops. Without sales from cash crops household financial needs would have to be met through sale of food crops.
The impact of climatic variability on livestock production is dependent upon agro-ecological zones and customary systems. In the lower zones the Zebu cattle is kept and there is less reliance on farm produce. Livestock grazing is deeply rooted in custom and wealth is gauged according to the number of livestock owned. Cattle rustling practices and banditry activities have increased food insecurity in the Northern parts of Kenya. During drought seasons, livestock returns are meager aggravating the food situation and further diminishing accessibility to food.

What emerges from the above discussions is that food insecurity is a complex phenomenon, which cannot be blamed on any one factor. Inadequate physical availability of food either through shortage of production factors such as land, labor, capital or technology are some of the factors that should be addressed. Production shortfalls due to human actions such as banditry activities that lead to civil disturbances and wars cause political instability. Where over 80% of the population relies on agriculture, political stability is important for increasing accessibility to food. Lack of access is further catalyzed by low personal incomes due to poor infrastructure and policies leading to poor market integration which can only be resolved by taking into account the political, economic and social cultural factors affecting food security.

Low utilization of available food can also be cited as a major cause of food insecurity. Cultural beliefs affect consumption patterns. For instance people
living around Lake Turkana in Northern Kenya suffer from malnutrition in spite of
abundant protein sources from lake Turkana fish because they would rather eat
red meat. NGOs working in this area have to learn the culture of such people and
understand that changing attitudes is a process. This may slow down their food
security projects.

The multiple causes of food security indicate that the agricultural sector is not the
only important actor in food security. NGOs, other ministries (such as the ministry
of health and the ministry of livestock development) are important. International
agencies such as WFP are also important key players in food security. Their role in
food security will be examined in the next section.
CHAPTER THREE NGOs AND FOOD SECURITY IN KENYA

3.0 Introduction

Chapter two reviewed how policies, demography and climatic factors impact on agricultural production in Kenya. This chapter will examine how different resources influence and impact on goal achievement food security for NGOs. The activities that NGOs carry out will also be assessed in detail and the constraints faced identified. The findings from this chapter will form the basis of the conclusions and recommendations in the last chapter. Other institutional actors in food security will also be reviewed to establish the collaborative activities between them and NGOs and how this enhances food security in Kenya.

The general findings on how resources affect performance of NGOs in food security are summarized in the sub section below. The resources on the table were as a result of questions answered by the NGOs pertaining to the resources they felt best enabled them achieve their food security goals. The few number of NGOs interviewed as explained in chapter one was because many of the food security NGOs in Nairobi have activities outside the area of study.

3.1 Significance of NGO Resources

The study set out to investigate if the level of resources available to the NGOs affected achievement of their objectives. This information is captured for all NGOs interviewed, presented in table 3.3. The table shows how different (local
and International) NGOs weighed the importance in availability of various resources on a scale of 1-5. A scale of 1 indicates the least importance, while a scale of 5 indicates most important.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGOs</th>
<th>FUNDING</th>
<th>AVAILABILITY OF TRANSPORT</th>
<th>EDUCATIONAL LEVEL</th>
<th>ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE COMMUNITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLAN Int.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FITCA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFSO</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTION AID (K)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCODP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxfam Kenya</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher

A comparison can be made between the ratings given on resources between the local and international NGOs. The local NGOs rated funding between 4 & 5 which was very high and meant that they considered funding as a very important resource in facilitating their activities in food security. One of reasons given by the local NGOs for ranking funding as high as they did, was that raising funds locally was very difficult and without the funds they were unable to operate well in the community especially with competition from the international NGOs. The community prefers to work with those NGOs, which, they perceive to have funds because they hope to gain more from them.

Other reasons given by individual local NGOs for the rating selected were as follows: Farming in Tsetse Control Arcas Projects (FITCA-K) also a local NGO, rated funding high and this was because its activities are based on providing Draught power, micro financing and improved animal health delivery systems among other
activities which are all capital intensive. Rural Energy and Food Security Organisation (REFSO) a local NGO in Busia rated funding at 4. The reason given was that the implements used to carry out their work in food security activities were expensive and they had no income generating project from which to draw funds.

In contrast, the international NGOs ranked funds between 2 & 3. Oxfam, ranked it at 2 stating that funding without good management skills was not enough to achieve the set objectives. PLAN International Embu ranked it at 3 stating management of the resources as more imperative and they also felt that locally available resources were more important.

Depending on the locality of the different NGOs, transportation was ranked as moderately vital. Sustainable Community Oriented Development Project (Community food Security and Farming) (SCOPD), a local NGO rated it at 1 arguing that they had various branches in the communities where they work and also hired staff locally reducing their need for transport. For PLAN an international NGO, transport was seen as vital because they worked in remote areas where no public transport is available. All their programme officers ride motorbikes, which helps them negotiate their way to community through the bush. In this case of transport, it enables NGOs perform their role better as a means of getting closer to the people with whom they work.
For both the local and international NGOs, the level of education of the staff who implement the food security activities, was important but again there is a difference in the rating. Each organization had its own explanation for the ranking. REFSO rated education at 4 as their work required people with technical know how. For Most of the NGOs, the education level of the staff was rated between 3 and 5. Most of them agreed that it was important to have qualified staff. Oxfam qualified their rating on education level, stating, “Qualifications were not synonymous with community skills”. Education level was important in so far as the person is able to impart the knowledge and skills to the community. Action aid rated it at 4 stating that the staff were sent to the field and lived among the community which means they have to know their work well. Technical skills and ability to partner with other organizations was important requiring individuals with negotiation skills. This made education level important for them.

For all the NGOs, ability to communicate with the community was rated at 5. It was deemed as the most important factor for it would otherwise bar the NGO from achieving their food security goals. For all the organizations, it was imperative that their message gets across to the communities with which they work with as little distortion as possible. The international NGOs encouraged their staff to learn the local languages of the communities in which they worked to better achieve their goals while most of the local NGOs recruited from within the same community because communication was imperative to their work.
In summary, availability of resources was deemed to be important depending on the location and the different activities being carried out in food security. A general consensus was that resources are vital in achievement of food security objectives for all the NGOs and these determined how well they achieved their goals.

3.2 Institutional Experiences in Food Security

The last section presented general findings on the perceptions of how resources impact on the achievement of NGOs objectives in food security. This section reviews food security activities carried out in the country by different institutions, the constraints experienced during implementation and how the availability or lack of resources influences achievement of set objectives.

3.2.1 PLAN International (Eastern)

PLAN is an International humanitarian, child focused development organisation. It was founded in 1937 as a child sponsorship foundation. PLAN works in over 43 developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. PLANs' vision is for a world in which all children realize their full potential in societies which respect peoples rights. It strives to achieve lasting improvements in the quality of life of deprived children by enabling the communities and families in which the children live to meet their basic needs. Food security is only one of the many development
projects that PLAN carries out around the world in an effort to provide these basic needs.

In Kenya, PLAN International Eastern (PLAN) works in Meru and Embu districts in Eastern province. It has been carrying out development projects in these areas for the last 17 years. Ten of these years have been largely dedicated to food security activities. Embu and Meru districts are on the Eastern lowlands, which have unreliable rainfall with some places having poor soils making it difficult to carry out agricultural activities. The most affected part is in Northern Meru where the rains have been inconsistent since 1998 increasing food insecurity in the area. Some parts of Embu are high potential with moderate rainfall and good farming soils. The different climates dictate the sort of food security projects that are carried out in these areas.

The whole of the Eastern lowlands have had one only harvest season since the year 2000, which was in January 2001, following the long rains in November and December 2000. The production was poor and all the food was consumed locally. In some places there was barely any harvest, which led to hunger and in some instances death. PLAN targets such poor people in the rural areas, as they neither have adequate food for consumption nor surplus for sale. They lack access to agricultural inputs such as fertilizer, which further reduces yields. Coupled with the unreliable weather the food situation is pathetic.
3.2.2. Oxfam Kenya

Oxfam is a development agency that has been in operation since 1942. Oxfam’s programmes are aimed at helping people claim their basic rights to employment, shelter, food, health and education. By helping them have a say in decisions that will affect their lives and by supporting their efforts in ways which do not destroy the environment. It works in over 20 countries in Africa including Kenya.

Oxfam has been working in the area of food security in Kenya since 1988. It works in the following areas; Western Kenya (Kisumu & Vihiga), Turkana, Wajir, Samburu, Machakos, Nakuru, Baringo and West Pokot. Concomitantly, Oxfam also funds suitable local NGOs to carry out food security projects in all the other areas. Their main input apart from funds, is institutional strengthening and grants management in such NGOs. Turkana and Wajir in the ASAL areas are currently facing drought and Oxfam has 162 staff working on the emergency operations. These are on short-term contracts until expiry of the emergency situations. They have 22 permanent staff working on development and food security projects throughout the year.

Oxfam uses a social organization approach in all its development projects in Kenya. This is done through involving people in examining the causes of their poverty and how these can be tackled. It uses this approach in four main areas.
First it works with pastoralists in the ASAL areas, second it protects and promotes the interests of women through responding to their immediate and practical needs. (For example by providing improved water supply or maize grinding mills). This generally improves their status in society. Third, Oxfam supports community-based healthcare not only via provision of medical supplies but also by improving their living conditions. Fourth it works with farmers to improve food security in marginal lands where rainfall is scarce and the soils are poor. All these are seen as facets of food security and are carried out simultaneously.

Signing of an agreement with the community is a prerequisite before beginning any work with them. This is a basic policy that Oxfam applies to all the communities with which it works. This establishes the time frame that Oxfam will work in the community and each partner’s roles are made clear. The community is therefore aware right from the beginning as to what is expected of them. Oxfam on their part ensure that they create mechanisms whereby projects will be carried on once their time expires and they have move on to another community. They facilitate this by imparting leadership and project management skills through training.
3.2.3. Activities

PLAN international and Oxfam carry out similar activities which are outlined here below.

3.2.3.1 Capacity Building. PLAN's central activity in food security is capacity building for the farmers. They are trained on improved farming technologies and management skills to enable them increase their production. The training is carried out in collaboration with other local NGOs, together with the agricultural extension officers from the MoA. Kamarugu Agricultural Development Project is one of the local NGOs that works in the same area with PLAN and compliments their activities in capacity building. They support the management structures in both agricultural and animal production activities. The Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) also collaborates with PLAN by providing Artificial Insemination (AI) services.

On the other hand, Oxfam carries out capacity building through Institutional support and grants management of the NGOs that Oxfam funds to carry out food security projects. Oxfam believes that it does not have to take its own staff to the ground in order to contribute to the food security activities in Kenya. They do this sufficiently by funding suitable local NGOs who carry out the activities on the ground. By in turn provide training to support the staff in these NGOs through building their capacities to enable them perform their work more efficiently.
3.2.3.2 Seeds Provision. PLAN provides drought resistant seeds to the farmers throughout the year. The poor harvests of 1999 had a twofold effect on agriculture. One is that all the produce was consumed locally and there was no surplus for sale or for seed normally kept for replanting. Thus the need for PLAN to provide drought resistant seeds to the farmers. Secondly community was forced to rely on PLAN for relief supplies and as a consequence other development projects stalled to temporarily address the hunger issue. At the same time PLAN encourages the farmers to use local resources such as cow dung and mulch as fertilizer. Artificial fertilizer is too expensive and unaffordable for most of them. This also helps in making the community less dependent on them.

In an effort to increase food production, Oxfam provides drought resistant seeds to farmers who practice crop farming. In the ASAL areas, production is increased through livestock breeding and livestock marketing promotion. Oxfam assists the livestock herders to increase their production by training them on how to diagnose diseases and how to use modern drugs.

3.2.3.3 Animal production. This is a very recent approach started by PLAN in 1998 to address food insecurity in Embu's high potential areas. These areas are suitable for dairy farming. PLAN together with the community set a criterion that was used to identify beneficiaries of the
project. The conditions set were that the farmer have of a small piece of land for zero-grazing, second he must also build a cow shed using locally available material and he/she must have Napier grass and fodder with which to feed the cow. Once a farmer meets the above requirements, he/she received a cow from PLAN and is also trained on how to take care of it. The conditions were to facilitate commitment and self-reliance thereby reducing dependability on PLAN to provide everything. The projects objective was to help upgrade the farmer's livelihoods. The families are able to sell milk from the cows and invest the earnings in other income generating projects such as poultry.

In collaboration with the government extension officers, especially in the ASAL areas, Oxfam trains farmers on better farming technologies thereby enhancing production. Like PLAN, they encourage the use of compost and manure for farming. Some of the concerns that motivate them to promote organic farming are environmental in nature. Besides being a health hazard, the farmers that Oxfam works with are poor and cannot afford to purchase synthetic fertilizer.

3.2.3.4 School feeding programmes. Relief programs during emergency periods are done through school feeding programs. PLAN provides
maize, beans and oil to schools in the communities within PLAN programme areas. The schools in turn cook the food and feed the children at lunchtime. Mothers with infants aged between 1 - 6 years are encouraged to take their children to the schools for lunch. This helps increase the nutritional levels of the children through the drought period. In the past, PLAN did not collaborate with other NGOs or international agencies when carrying out emergency programmes. However, their future plan is to provide relief in collaboration with WFP so that there is a centralized approach countrywide. PLAN was fortunate because it had adequate funds to carry out relief activities in the areas where it has been working.

3.2.3.5 Other projects by Oxfam. Oxfam carries out irrigation, water and soil conservation projects in collaboration with the extensions services of the Department of Soil and Water Conservation. It facilitates collaboration with other ministry departments creating a link between them and the community members for purposes of continuity. This working relationship can continue long after Oxfam has withdrawn from these communities.
3.2.4 Constraints

Most of the constraints pointed out by Oxfam and PLAN International Eastern are policy related. These are:

3.2.4.1 Marketing Policies

For Oxfam as was explained by the food security representative, marketing policies such as the liberalization of maize has affected smallholder farmers negatively. From a food security point of view, beneficiaries of liberalization seem to favor the urban dwellers where the prices of maize flour are low due to competition in the milling industries. On the other hand the farmers who incur expenses during production such as use of fertilizer and other farm inputs, get a very low returns for their maize. The reason for these is two fold. One the taxes on farm inputs like VAT, customs duty on farm machinery and chemicals is passed on to the farmer increasing his production costs. Secondly, liberalization has seen the import of cheaper maize from neighboring countries creating unfair competition for the local farmer. Above this the NCPB is no longer the dominant buyer of maize in the market, leaving the community to the mercy of unscrupulous businessmen who buy it at a cost lost lower than that of production. These factors have acted as a disincentive for farmers growing maize and this in turn has slowed NGO work in especially high potential areas.
3.2.4.2. Extension Policy

The new government policy, which has reduced the number of extension officers per district, has affected NGO work in food security. PLAN and Oxfam work in collaboration with the government using the extension workers to train the farmers. These have been reduced per district and are now too few implying that extension services (already scarce) are not readily available to the communities as of when they are needed.

3.2.4.3. Trust Land Policy

The government policy which dictates that holding lands for livestock in transit be held in trust for the pastoralists communities by the county council have been abused. (Holding lands, were pastures where livestock farmers would graze their cattle for a day or two before as they walked them to the market places on the outskirts of Nairobi) The country council has the right to dispose of the trust land and have done so without consulting the communities affected. The land has been turned into an Export Processing Zone (EPZ), where roses are grown for export. Because there is nowhere to rest the Cattle, attempting to walk the cattle as before would be futile (they would die due to fatigue and hunger). This has meant an extra cost for the livestock farmers. They have to hire trucks to transport their cattle and even when the cattle arrive in Nairobi, the city council askaris arrest them for having cattle in the city.
The Kenya Meat Commission, which used to buy the meat, was mismanaged and shut down leaving (again) the farmers to crooked businessmen. The businessmen refuse to buy the cattle when they arrive, and within a short time they begin to grow thin from hunger. When this happens the farmers are forced to accept any price offered even if it is lower than what it cost them to transport the animals.

3.2.4.4. Contradicting Policies

The MOA policy on farming along the rivers contradicts the Ministry of Lands policy on issuance of title deeds. The MOA policy states that people should not plant crops along the riverbanks. On the other hand, when an individual is issued with a title deed, he is allowed to do whatever his sees fit with his land. People therefore use the excuse of ownership and cultivate along the riverbanks. Others go as far as damming the river if it passes through their land denying others along the same river access. This conflict has lead to deterioration of water sources, which in turn affect the food production increasing food insecurity.

3.2.4.5 Cash Crop Farming

The government policy that forbids intercropping of cash crops with food crops has increased food insecurity in the sugar belt area in Western Kenya. The problems surrounding the sugar industries are political and
difficult to resolve. Meanwhile the farmers are no longer able to get sufficient income to subsidize their diets while on the other hand the law does not allow them to farm crops. The same law affects farmers who have coffee such as cash crops. The policy is retrogressive and should be amended to give smallholder cash crop farmers an alternative.

3.2.4.6 Land Tenure Policies

The land tenure system affects food security across board in all the regions. Just like PLAN land owning policies have affected (Oxfam's and other NGOs) activities in food security. These happens in three ways:

3.2.4.6.0 The major producers in smallholder farms are women. The women do not have access to the land; most of them are also poor and illiterate compounding their problems because they cannot go and look for alternative employment. The accessibility factor especially affects single mothers who are dependent on their fathers and other male relatives. Production by a disillusioned gender reduces drastically increasing food insecurity in the household. The land tenure system has also affected agricultural production negatively. The registration of land title deed in Kenya favors men which means that women rarely own land. The effect is that the women lack commitment in improving the land or investing in it. This has been a challenge for PLAN International especially in Meru
North. For instance, when their husbands die their in-laws making them most destitute throw women out of the land.

3.2.4.6.1. Again the Ownership of title deeds allows people to hoard land, which lies fallow for many years. The owners' fence off the land and no one is allowed to use it. This is wasteful and if well utilized it could lead to increased production.

3.2.4.6.2 The third way that the land tenure system affects food security is through the law that allows the county council to hold land in trust for pastoral communities. The council appropriates the land without consulting the community and turns it into national parks, reducing the grazing area for their livestock. This further compounds the food security problems in Kenya. This has been of particular concern to Oxfam Kenya who work in the ASAL areas.

3.2.4.7 Traditional Customs

In Western Kenya, Central Province and Ukambani division, the traditional custom of sub-division of land has also affected the food security of these areas. This is the traditional custom where the father as the household head, holds the land in trust for his sons which land is then passed on them as an inheritance after his death.
This land is passed on from generation to generation. The area under cultivation continuously reduces making farming in such areas unviable. In Chapter two, the effects of population growth had a similar effect on land. The swynnerton plan which introduced the land fragmentation policies, that continue to be applied, can be seen as a root cause of the food security problem in the rural areas.

3.2.4.8 Monoculture

Oxfam has had to contend in dealing with monoculture in pastoral areas. The pastoralists who are livestock farmers are averse to crop farming despite the lack of grazing pastures and water. The challenge for Oxfam has been to help the community adopt new farming methods (such as zero grazing and crop farming). They accept that is going to be a long process but not an impossible task.

3.2.4.9 Climatology

As much as the farmers are trained and taught how to prepare their land including provision of seeds, poor weather sometimes prevails and production is sometimes very low. This is discouraging to the NGOs and to the farmers. This is a natural phenomenon, which neither the farmers nor NGOs have control over but alternative plans that are carried out
include digging of boreholes to provide water although this is not sufficient.

### 2.4.10. HIV/AIDS

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has affected many families leaving many orphans behind. This has affected production and deprived the agricultural sector of its labour force further compounding the food problem. This has increased cases of food insecurity making it difficult to cope.

### 3.2.4.11 Dependency

Some of the community members perceive NGOs as charity organisations and therefore await handouts from them. This attitude is discouraging and complicates PLANs work as they try assist the community members attain food self-sufficiency. The dependency syndrome clearly explained in the literature review is evident and has affected food security achievement especially since the drought season began.
Institution

utes also contribute towards food security in Kenya. The State of Agricultural Policy and Development of Egerton University and the fact that agricultural policy in Kenya is often made with outdated data. In collaboration with Michigan State University, they take large household surveys to fill in the gap. The aim of the research which they conducted in 1997 in Kenya in the same and PLAN International work are reflective of the constraints to improve household food security (See table 3.2). TEGEMEO contributing positively to food security in the country through such they used household survey to assess the level of poverty in the country. Kodhek et al (Kodhek, Kiuru, Tschirley, Ochieng and published)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Female headed household</th>
<th>% Using fertilizer</th>
<th>% Received credit</th>
<th>% Involved in external labor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nmo TAMPA Project 2001:16
The incomes of rural households were found to be dependent on factors such as crop income, fertilizer use, and improved seed. The table indicates that agricultural areas of the highlands and high potential maize zones have more households that use fertilizer and therefore have higher yields. These are the same areas that grow cash crops enabling farmers' access credit from companies. The low potential areas use less fertilizer as a result of lack of cash to purchase it. The returns from use of fertilizer are also very low. The role of extension workers would greatly improve crop yields in the low potential areas, but instead, the government has reduced their numbers.

The general findings of the Institute were that: income is unequal whether across different zones or across households in the same zones. The institute researchers concluded that analyses between the rich and the poor households might give a clue as to the strategies that should be adopted in future. Wealthier households were found to use more fertilizer and improved seed, which can be adopted by the poor families if extension of information and services were to be availed to them (Kodhek et al 2001:46). This is because not all the areas suitable for organic farming and this would go a long way in improving food security for the poor.

The information gathered by Tegemeo and is an indication that indeed there are more than NGOs and government who are actors in food security. The government should take advantage of such information.
3.2.6 Government of Kenya (GoK)

This sub-section examines the role of government in food security by studying its role during the last drought, which occurred in 1999 to 2001. The government's major role in food security is in the formulation and implementation of policies. The Ministry of Agriculture is charged with the responsibility of actual implementation through its extension officers throughout the country. The extension officers provide both advisory and practical services to the communities by training them on animal husbandry, better farming technology and soil conservation methods among others.

The two food policy papers (Sessional Paper No.4 of 1981, consolidated in Sessional Paper No.4 of 1993) had achievement of food self-sufficiency as its major objective: To achieve this, one of the strategies adopted was the continual monitoring and forecasting of weather conditions in the main agricultural zones. The information gathered would be disseminated to all stakeholders so that would know expected weather patterns and subsequently prepare themselves for any eventualities (e.g. drought). As part of achieving this objective, the GOK together with NGO agencies, the United Nations (UN) and WFP, developed an Emergency Operation (EMOP) to better deal with the effects of droughts in the future. By analyzing the EMOP, the study will be able to assess the most recent activity that the government and to some extent international agencies have been undertaking in food security.
3.2.6.1 Brief Background on Emergency Operation (EMOP)

Kenya has been grappling with the effects of several years of drought forcing it to mount a multi-sectoral operation to prepare for drought effects in the future (Anderson: 2001:3). The challenge has been in mobilizing the actors. Getting donors, NGOs and government to commit time and resources to the ongoing process considering their tight schedules was successful but not easy. This led to a situation whereby all were able to come up with a common approach that redefined those targeted for food and a joint distribution mechanism that effectively led to joint management of the entire emergency operation.

By November 1999, the ASAL of Kenya were suffering from hunger due to crop failure, which was unexpected after the short rains. By March 2000 the situation was worse and early warning systems (EWS) in both Turkana and Moyale Districts were signaling an emergency warning together with other deficits in the ASAL regions. (The Early Warning System covers all 10 ASAL districts and Monitors a wide range of indicators. It has a series of warning stages (Normal, Alert, Alarm, Emergency) each of the stages has different response actions).

Emergency food aid in Turkana in December 1997 had expanded to include Moyale, Mandera and Marsabit. WFP launched EMOP in 18 districts targeting a total of 1.7 million people. By January 2001, EMOP was operating in 22 districts and provided food rations of over 4.4. Million people (Anderson: 2001:6).
As the food situation in the country took a turn for the worst in 1998, the technical group of people dealing with food intervention was assigned more tasks. Mapping of the developing scenario began and slowly the group evolved to what was later called the Kenya Food Security Information Group (KFSIG). This group carried out planning and assessment. The most remarkable thing that happened was that a core group of donor/NGO co-ordination process began. By 1999, the scope of duty enlarged to include early analysis and overall situation updates. The forum was re-named the Kenya Food Security Meeting (KFSM) while the steering group was called the Kenya Food Security Steering Group (KFSSG). Institutional strengthening became instrumental in creating a forum where the joint efforts of research carried out by Food Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS-NET) together with other organizations would be reported.

The other members of the co-ordination team were:

The National Food Security Executive Committee, which has ministers, concerned with food security and is chaired by the president. The National Food Security Co-coordinating Committee (Permanent Secretaries to key ministries chaired by head of Civil Service). The Inter-Ministerial Committee on Drought and Food Security Chaired by office of the president and includes ministers involved in National Food Security and Drought Management. The National Food Security Drought Management Secretariat (Arid Lands Resource management Project- (ARLMP)) The
ARLMP is responsible for strategic planning and management policy of drought and manages EWS. Kenya Food Security Meeting (KFSM) comprising of donors, UN agencies and NGOs involved in food security management.

The co-ordination framework is responsible for crucial monitoring of the drought situation and ensures coordinated food distribution and other interventions. Sectoral groups supporting it include groups in Health and Nutrition, Water and Sanitation and Agriculture and Livestock. The make up of the different actors clearly shows that food security touches on every aspect of life and that there is collaborative action between the different actors in food security.

The major hindrance to the EMOP is that there is no policy framework in place to deal with disaster management. The office of the president is currently working on it. On the other hand, many strengths were identified. These were, a) the early warning information coming from one credible voice could be trusted. b) A common methodology for approach and assessment was possible. c) There was a unified appeal for food and a single NGO voice, which made things easier. d) The GOK approach was proactive and most important there was coordinated review and evaluation (Anderson: 2001:27).

What emerges from the above process is that NGOs, Donors and GOK in collaborative action can achieve much more than when they work independently.
This was unlike the experience during the 1984 drought, where NGOs seem to have been sidelined (Downing, Gitu & Kamau: 1989:48). This time round they involved the NGOs right from the decision making stage to the implementation stage. Downing et al also noted that government documentation on the 1984 activities were treated as confidential (Downing et al: 1989:48) the document used for this analysis was availed by the Ministry of Agriculture at Kilimo house. This is a sign of the willingness of the government to be more transparent and to involve all stakeholders in the decision making process.

3.2.6.2 Constraints

3.2.6.2.1 The preparedness planning was weak especially at district levels. Organizations such as Development for International Development (DFID) were ready to fund earlier interventions but had difficulty finding well developed proposals for funding (Anderson: 2001:10)

Other constraints were connected to resource issues. There was predominance of food aid while some communities, like in Wajir preferred to receive diesel to operate boreholes. They only conceded to be given food when the situation worsened.

3.2.6.2 There was opportunity cost implications for NGOs in their normal development projects, which had to stall during the emergency period. The fragmentation that exists between development programming and early response were responsible for this conflict.
3.2.6.3 Resources were also delayed due to the time needed for all within the EMOP structure to come to a consensus. Bureaucratic delays were also evident when waiting for approval from within government, international agencies and NGOs.

3.2.6.4 Inflexibility was observed on the part of donors such as WFP insisting on beans and vegetable oil as the food aid as opposed to substituting it for animal fat and proteins for pastoralists areas through a de-stocking campaign. Had this been done, it would have save the livestock farmers the agony of watching their animals die from hunger and also made some income from selling them.

In summary working together with within a structure such as the EMOP, where the government, donor agencies and NGOs collaborate has the following benefits. It encourages open sharing of information. Anderson (2001) notes that prior to the KPSM, information sharing was on an ad hoc basis with a lot of suspicion between the different organizations. It also avoids duplication of efforts and thus time and money. Increased transparency of the government came about as a result of the collaborative action. With the enhanced trust it will be easier to lobby for resources in future and NGOs can implement their projects with a clear knowledge of the accountability structures that exist.
One of the objectives of the study was to find out how NGOs enhance food security in Kenya. Through the study of EMOP, it becomes quite evident that food security during the emergency period would not have been addressed adequately without the help of NGOs in distribution of food. The study also established that NGOs are close to the rural people and have identified major constraints emanating from interpretation of policies by lay people to suit their own needs. NGOs and its partners (local NGOs) and other collaborators have not developed strategies to address policies that affect them at a national level but have done so at the district level. Because they collaborate with government extension services at local level, they manage to influence some of their actions. For food security to be achieved, NGOs need to be more proactive at a national level since this is where policies are formulated.

3.2.7. Research Constraints

3.2.7.1 Financial constraints were a big hindrance to the research especially because it would have facilitated a visit to individual projects in some of the rural areas. The research relied on the interview questionnaires.

3.2.7.2 Majority of the NGOs with food security projects operated outside the country and the few that had projects in Kenya, were based in rural areas. They were therefore were not accessible and hence the small number of NGOs that was interviewed.
There was inadequate time to visit all the NGOs and some of those visited appeared to be too busy or sometime the staff with information pertaining to food security was not available.

Data to measure the success of the projects was not readily available, as PLAN had not carried out monitoring and evaluation. They were in the process of hiring consultants for this purpose.
CHAPTER FOUR SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

4.0 Summary
The study explores the research problem through in depth literature review. It gives an overview of food security policies in Kenya. It tackles the food policy from a historical perspective since the pre-colonial period to date. In so doing it highlights the fact that the country's food policies in the colonial period and immediately after independence favoured white settlers farming. It also observes that apart from the oil shock periods (1973 and 1979) food production was satisfactory. It is evident that Sessional No.10 of 1965 was only a peripheral attempt to address the food security of Kenya. However, a more specific food policy was introduced in 1981 through Sessional paper No.4 on National Food Policy. The Chapter then ends with a review of the effects of GATT and WTO on the country's food policies.

The study observes that the environment within which NGOs operate influence their activities. It argues that the level of resources available affect the performance of NGOs and the government in alleviating food security. It is then noted that policies that affect NGOs' operations would further enhance their achievements in food security projects. It observes that scholars, policy formulators and NGOs have to join hands in order to tackle the food problem from the same angle.
The institutional experiences in food security of NGOs and the Government of Kenya (GOK) and other actors is analysed in this Chapter. International agencies emerge as the key actors especially during the emergency period of drought in 1999. Provision of food and transport funds international agencies and coordinated by the government through EMOP in 1999 and enabled by NGOs clearly highlights the role of NGOs and how they relate with the rest of the actors in food security. Certain shortcomings in the different institutions in responding to food need such as poor coordination and slow response to emergency situations are observed. While many NGOs distributed the seeds to farmers, the amounts were often inadequate and at times distribution was delayed.

The study observes that the level of resources available to NGOs is seen to affect their performance and that of GOK in alleviating food insecurity. The extent to which the food policy in Kenya responds to food insecurity, also impacts useful lessons for improving food production and food security. These include revised food policies, expanded food storage facilities, food security planning and coordinated early warning systems and a contingency plan for food distribution. These experiences are a pointer to the direction in which scholars should concentrate their energy in both research and design of foolproof policies while the government ensures proper implementation.
4.1 Conclusion

The study observes that despite the persistence of food insecurity in some parts of rural Kenya, NGOs are actively participating in food security activities but are impeded by some constraints mainly emanating from the implementation of national policies food policies. The land tenure system is observed to affect all NGOs across board in different ways. Assessment of NGOs roles in food security in chapter 3, alludes part of the success of alleviating food insecurity to their collaborative role with the government.

The extension and agricultural officers interviewed confirmed that it is the availability of resources such as funds, vehicles and materials availed to them by NGOs that they have been able to carry out their duties better. More often than not, when a farmer needs some consultation from the extension officers, they are transported to the field by NGOs vehicles. The collaborative action is enhanced by use of endowments which one organization has while the other does not. The government has trained manpower but no funds to ensure implementation. Part of the study objective sought to find out if the collaboration of NGOs is catapulted by availability of resources and this has been established as true.
Environmental, historical, economic and political factors must all be taken into account if food security is to be achieved in Kenya. The alternatives may be radical changes in mode of especially policy analysis, formulation and implementation. Unless steps are taken to overcome the basic technical, structural and policy constraints, Kenya may end up in the permanent list of those countries that are always begging for food aid. Kenya was the most productive country in the region of East Africa and Africa for many years. What has happened to change this situation is mostly due to nature but is also manmade. When those in power propose to excise more forests to resettle people (good reason due to increasing population) yet a lot of land that is already cultivatable lies fallow, there is something wrong.

In February, 2000, during the drought season I visited a retired civil servant in Kirinyaga district and was amazed to find that the farm was totally dry and the only thing that sustained the villagers was a small patch of land which he faithfully irrigated using a borehole he had dug. Kenyans are beginning to learn not to rely on outsiders to come and solve their problems but are coming together as the need arises. Bodies such as the ‘Karengata’ group in Karen area of Nairobi and the ‘We can make it’ group in Westlands evidence this. This should be extrapolated to a national level where every Kenyan is aware that change begins with oneself before expecting others to help.
Finally the Kenya government should however not abdicate its duties to its citizens but should strive to be more transparent, accountable and resolute to assist its citizenry throughout. It should make use of all the learning institutions and professionals available in the country to come up with useful and practical policies which can be implemented and involve everyone in a participatory process like the PRSP before coming up with solutions that affect them.

4.2 Recommendations

After an analysis of the literature review and primary data, much still remains to be done in the area of achieving food security not only in Kenya but also at a global level. The following recommendations are made to enable creation of a sustainable way of ensuring food security is achieved to a greater level.

4.2.1 The starting point for any country, in food policy analysis, should be in developing a food policy strategy. A recommendation is that the policy analysts who develop the food policy strategy should go a step further after identifying the specific role to be played by various sectors in society, and initiate a process whereby each stakeholder commits to fulfill its role as assigned. But merely stating that NGOs or civil society will be involved is not enough. If this is done, development projects and implementation plans which are well known long in advance would assist it the implementer of the
policies in execution of his role, to monitor and evaluate specific outcomes. Most of the time the policy formulator and implementer are totally different and there is often a misinterpretation of policies due to ambiguity and broadness of the policy.

4.2.2 Policies aimed specifically at increasing the nutritional intake of low-income groups should be formulated. This would address the inequalities in income, which dictate people's ability to purchase food. Taking steps to modify the pattern of demand for food and to strengthen and re-orient policies aimed at increasing food can add to reduction of dependency on imports which also influences peoples consumer patterns.

4.2.3 In order to achieve a sound food policy strategy, the food policy analysis should be gradual and systematic. Two or six months is not enough, it should be an on going process with mid term evaluations to allow for adequate time in the event of need to change or divert the policy.

4.2.4 In the Kenyan situation preparedness of a government concerning adverse weather conditions is very important. During the El-nino rains in 1999, the GoK had ample time to raise funds and take measures to harvest the flood
waters, which destroyed crops and cattle including people. The building of dams early enough would ensure that if in future such rains do occur, then water will be conserved for re-use during drier periods.

4.2.5 KFSSG so far have done an excellent job of collecting data from all parts of Kenya and collaborating with various bodies including NGOs and UN agencies. It would be better if the public was made aware of how food security is being dealt with to avoid accusations and counter accusations between the organizations working in the community and those they work for. An awareness creation on the role of government in all these is also important if only to change the image the community members have of the government that serves them.

4.2.6 The bureaucracies in government should be reduced. Each ministry has its own standard mode of operation, which is different from the other and it makes their coordination difficult. The KFSSG is a step in the right direction because it is the coordinating body in all food security issues. But more than that it should set up a committee at every level to run the food security activities which in turn will be answerable to the KFSSG.
4.2.7 One Major finding was that NGOs are excluded from the policy formulation stage in the country. The government should create a public forum where NGOs and other stakeholders can contribute towards this process. This would offer NGOs an avenue to shape policy without necessarily straining their relationship with the GoK.

4.2.8 As a final recommendation, the GoK should develop mechanisms for collecting and documenting data with regard to where food insecurity exists. This would help in formulating timely strategies for both long-term and short-term food insecurity.
Appendix I

QUESTIONNAIRE NGOS AND FOOD SECURITY IN KENYA.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

DATE: ____________________________

1. Position of interviewee ____________________________

2. Department ____________________________

3. Are you aware of any NGOs that work in this area?

________________________________________

________________________________________

__________________________

4. Do you know if they are involved in any way in food security? ______________

a) If so how?

b) _________________________________________

________________________________________

5. Do you collaborate with the NGOs in any way?

________________________________________

A) If so how?

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________
6. Do you think the NGOs have helped the community in any way?

7. How
Appendix II

NGOS

DATE: _______________________________

1. Organizations name ________________________________

2. Position of Interviewee ______________________________

3. How long have you worked in this area? ________________

4. Do you have any baseline survey that was carried out prior to starting the project?

________________________________________

a) If so who carried it out?

________________________________________

b) Was it the only source of information leading your organization to beginning the project? ______________________

c) If not, which other information did you use to help you make a decision?

________________________________________

________________________________________

5. What are your planned activities?

____________________________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________________________

6. How many have been implemented?

________________________________________
a) If not why?

b) How did you identify the beneficiaries of the projects?


c) How do you collaborate with the beneficiaries of the project?


7. What are some of the factors that have facilitated or constrained achievement of your objectives?


8. Do you collaborate with the government in carrying out the projects?

a) If so how?

b) If not why?
9. Are you aware if the national policies on agriculture enhance or constrain achievement of food security in the area?

10. How would you rate the achievement of food security in this area since your organization's intervention?

[ ] Very Good  [ ] Good  [ ] Average  [ ] Below Average
# CUMULATIVE TABLE OF NGO DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of NGO</th>
<th>No. of Staff</th>
<th>Qualifications</th>
<th>Cumulative years of experience</th>
<th>Objectives of the Project</th>
<th>Enabling Resource(s)</th>
<th>Rating of Resource</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Level college</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>university</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography

A Hungry world: The Challenge to Agriculture Published by University of California.


Borton J. (1988), The 1984/5 Drought Relief Programme in Kenya; A provisional Review Relief and Development Institute, Fernindad Place

Braun J. V. ET all (1992): “Employment fo r Poverty Reduction and Food Security”, IFPRI,


Brown H, Bonner J. and Weir J., “To Feed this World”


Chazan N. and Shaw M.T. "Coping with Africa's Food Crisis" Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder & London.


Clark J., Loughran L., Bekele D. (2000), Report on the Enabling Environment for the Ethiopian NGO Sector, Publication through USAID,

Clay E., Shaw J. (1987), (eds), Poverty Development and Food, Mc Millan

Common Wealth Secretariat (1981), Third Meeting of Common Wealth Ministers of Agriculture Food and Rural Development, Dacca, Bangladesh, Feb

Cromwell E. and Brown D. (1991), NGOs as a Bridging Organization; a complex Role, impact no 14,

Cromwell E. & Wiggins S. with Wentzel S. (1993), Sowing Beyond the State, NGOs and Seed Supply in Developing Countries, Overseas Development Institute,


Cromwell E. & Wiggins S. with Wentzel S., (1993), Sowing Beyond the State, NGOs and Seed Supply in Developing Countries, Overseas Development Institute

Daily Nation 12 June 2000

Daily Nation 17 June 2000

Daily Nation 27 February, 01

East African Standard, 30 September 1997

Downing T.E, Gitu K.W. Kamau C.M. 1989) - Coping With Draught In Kenya, National & Social Strategies, Lynne Reinner Publishers, Boulder and London,


Eicher K. C. (1982), Facing Up to Africa's Food Crisis, Copy right by the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.,

Emmanuel A., Unequal Exchange,(1972), Unequal Exchange, New York


FAO Study, African Agriculture, The next 25 years

120
1994, The Special Programme for Food Security, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

1997, Reforming FAO, The Challenge of World Food Security, FAO of the UN, Rome,

2000, FAO of The United Nation, The State of Food and Agriculture, Rome,


Fowler A., The role of NGOs in changing state society relationships: Perspectives from Eastern and Southern Africa; Development policy review Vol 9


Hardin C.M. (1969) "Over coming World Hunger" Assessment of present food situation and dimensions and Causes of Hunger and Malnutrition in the World, Published by the UN


Internet Sources:

http://www.unicef.org/emer/UNICEFdrought

www.indiangos.co/issue/agriculture.htm


The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Food Security, 2001

Non Governmental Organizations and Civil Society, NGO Law, 1997


Jones D. (1976) "Food & Interdependence" the effects of Food and Agricultural Policies of Developed Countries on the Food Problems of the Developing Countries, Overseas Development Institute, London


Kenya Times 16 November 1996

Khodehk, Kiiru, Tshirely, Ochieng and Landan(Unpublished),(2001), TAMPA Project, Rural Household Survey, Tegemeo Institute of Agricultural Policy and Development

Lipton, M. Whey the Poor People Stay Poor, Urban Bias in world Development, Cambridge, M. A. Harvard University


Miljan T., Laszio E., Kurtzman (1980), FAO of the UN, Food and Agriculture a Global Perspective, Discussion in the Committee of the Whole of the United Nations (eds), *A volume in the New International Order (NEIO)*, Published for UNITAR and the Center for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World,(CEESTEM), Pergman Press, New York, Oxford, Toronto, Sydney, Frankfurt, Paris,

Mooseman H. (1964)"Agricultural Sciences for Developing Countries"

Ngethe N. and Wasunna O., From Sessional Paper NO. 10 to Structural Adjustment: Towards Indigenising the Policy Debate, Institute of Policy Analysis and Research


Overseas Development Institute (1984), Africa's Food Crisis, Briefing document No. 1, London Overseas Development institute, May


123


---1986, Sessional Paper No. 1 as Economic Management for Renewed Growth, Government Printer Nairobi


---1993, Sessional Paper No. 1 National Food Policy, Government Printer Nairobi

---1993, Sessional Paper No. 2., on National Food Policy, Government Printer Nairobi


Rockefeller Foundation (1986), "Strategy for the Conquest of Hunger"


Samir A. Unequal Development (1976), New York


Walter R. (1972), How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Dar es Salaam


124


World Bank (1986), “Poverty and Hunger”


World Bank (1986) “Poverty and Hunger Issues and Options for Food Security in Developing Countries” The World Bank Washington D.C. USA