



Graduate School of Development Studies

**Have Aid Agencies legitimized their existence
through Food Aid? The case of Turkana District
in Northern Kenya**

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Dedication

This research paper is dedicated to Alice Mwangi, Mum thank you for believing in me, the support, encouragement and for the incessant prayers. To the Turkana community hope for a day when hunger will be a thing of past.

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List of Acronyms

ALRMP	Arid Lands Resource Management Project
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Land
CDF	Community Development Fund
DFID	Department for International Development (UK Aid)
DSG	District Steering Group
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FFA	Food For Assets
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LATF	Local Authority Transfer Fund
MSDNKAL	Ministry of Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PEFA	Political Economy of Food Aid
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

Abstract

There has been hue and cry over the need to increase food aid by the advocates of aid, especially to Sub-Saharan Africa and more specifically the Horn of African, which is currently (2011) experiencing its worst drought in over 60 years.

Most aid agencies in Northern Kenya have been in operation for at least 50 years yet the people in these regions have been food insecure. This is made evident by the number of people who are annually in need of food aid. This notwithstanding the fact that, scores of people continue to succumb to hunger, malnutrition and starvation, while the region is dotted with food aid agencies. The research is an effort to bring to the fore the food insecurity challenges that the people living these regions face inspite numerous interventions by food aid agencies. This is achieved by assessing the reasons that justify the presence of aid agencies in the region, and how their continued existence affects the community's livelihoods. The research findings indicate that food aid as a form of intervention has failed to achieve its said benefits and instead pushed communities further away from achieving any form of food security. In order for communities to achieve food security the underlying structural problems need to be addressed by government institutions.

Keywords

Keywords: Food aid, aid agencies, Political Economy of Food Aid, food security, livelihoods, empowerment, agency

]

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

'....if all the food aid in the world were distributed evenly among recipients it would only provide 50Kg of grain per person a year' (FAO 2006:4).

Food aid has been one of the leading components of development assistance for the last 60 years. Since its inception through the Marshall plan of 1945 where aid was extended under the European Recovery Programme (Cathie 1997:7); the European countries were able to halt the provision. This was despite having been provided with food aid on a one time basis. However developing countries on the hand have continued to receive food for the last 50 years, making it one of the oldest forms of foreign aid and one of the most controversial sources (FAO 2006:3). Critics of food aid suggest that, food aid provision creates dependency on the part of recipients while at the same time has the potential of making recipient countries dependent on foreign resources (Cathie 1997:12). Therefore neglecting the need to have sound domestic policies especially in food security, as once noted by Professor T.W. Shultz¹ in 1960 that food aid also has the capacity to depress food prices (*ibid.*)

Food security has emerged as an area of intervention by Food Aid agencies such as WFP and other leading food aid agencies, which suggest that food aid provides food security especially in low-income economies. At the same time supporters of food aid believe that it is adequate in addressing chronic hunger by improving food security especially in emergency situations (FAO 2006:4). Nonetheless it is estimated that about 925 million (FAO 2010²) people are dire need of food aid and the numbers have been on the rise since the inception of food aid. However in addressing the soaring numbers of those in need of food, the question of the role of food aid agencies is brought forth.

The research is an attempt of making known the complexities that surround food aid, this is analyzed through in depth interviews with the recipients of food aid and the providers of food aid both government and food aid agencies. The study looks at food aid in reference to the provision of food security and whether this has been achieved, while bringing out the challenges the people face in securing food.

¹1979 Nobel Prize winner in Economic Science

² www.worldhunger.org (Accessed on 22/08/2011)

1.2 Problem statement

In the last 60 years Africa has continued to receive large amounts³ of aid with yearly increases yet it has not been able to wean itself off aid as Europe did with the Marshall plan. Development aid has in the last 50 years progressed due to that fact that countries in the south have continued to be dependent on aid and have not been able to shake of the shackles of dependency. This could be attributed to harsh World Bank and IMF conditionalities; where countries that receive aid have to spend it on specific good goods and services from the donor countries, this could also include staff working in the particular project (Moyo 2009:38).

Moyo also indicates that close to \$20 billion is paid annually by the African countries in form of debt repayment loans to development aid. Unlike grants, aid comes in the form of loans which costs the recipients countries money, where the interest is three or more times the amount that was borrowed (ibid:16). However loans which are given to African nations keep governments on a circular motion of negotiation and rescheduling of meetings which takes up most of their time. It is believed that most of the aid recipients just follow the conditionalities which have been prescribed to them rather than ensuring that objectives of aid have been achieved.

The effectiveness of aid in terms of reducing poverty has not been taken positively by its critics who see it as having failed and harmful to the people being prescribed to. With Africa getting the largest share of food aid, it still remains the only continent which has not been able to feed its people in the last 40 years (Rupiaya 2010:83). In Rupiaya (2010:85) Lappa and Collins claim that the US food aid policy⁴ aim was not meant to feed the poor but was created when the developed world was in a period of surplus and in order to dispose of the surplus there had to be a market that would absorb it. It was in 1952 when the US passed legislation on Public Law no. 480 which allowed the US to establish agriculture based markets outside its territories. This in turn ensured that the developed countries had an already established market for their surpluses.

Over the years food aid has been cited as one of the detractors of economic progress in developing countries, this sentiment are echoed by Maxwell, Singer (1979:228) who states that the provision of food aid does not reflect the needs of the recipient country but rather the economic, political and military interests of donor countries. However there are those who support food aid and claim that if properly managed can improve the food security of a country and consequently economic growth (ibid.:227). Another consequence

³ It has increased from \$5billion - \$15billion (Moyo 2009:25)

⁴ The US has been the largest donor of food aid since the 1950s, in 1985 the then Secretary of State stated that “ Our foreign assistance programs are vital to the achievement of our foreign policy goals” cited from

<http://www.globalissues.org/article/11/myth-more-us-aid-will-help-the-hungry>
(Accessed on 16/05/11)

of food aid is the Moral hazard where communities' behaviour could be altered or changed due to the presence of food aid; Thielke (2006) notes that food aid has destabilized individuals living in the Northern Kenya, as they spend most of their time in delivery food points waiting for food while abandoning their survival methods. Thielke also indicates constraints such as high population for both communities and livestock may be thought to be a major contributor to the competition for scarce resources hence the reliance on food aid.

Kenya has been a recipient of food aid for more than 50 years, and is said to be one of the food insecure countries in the horn of Africa, where approximately 2.4 million people are food insecure and in need of constant food interventions (USAID 2011). Food aid as a source of foreign aid has been termed as fungible; in Jones (2005:168) argues that the fungible nature of aid allows for the earmarked funds for specific projects to be diverted indirectly or directly to other sectors. Both Moyo (2009:57) and Newby (2010:9) allude to the fact that aid fungibility has the potential of freeing funds which are meant for a specific undertaking which are likely to be used for an activity which may not benefit a country citizens. This is due to the fact that aid comes in the provision of public goods, such as infrastructure, transport, health care and food. These public goods are inherently supposed to be provided for by the recipient governments of food aid.

This occurrence can be contrasted with Kenya, where food aid agencies have taken the lead role in the provision of food aid, hence disengaging government from undertaking its mandate in service provision. Food aid agencies presence has influenced the marginalization of the ASAL by both the present and past regimes, due to their continued existence. This is made visible by the extent at which the ASAL has lagged behind in economic, social and political development. An illustration of this is from the fact that Turkana district has the largest number of people who are below the poverty line, as indicated by the Institute of Economic affairs the number stands 95% which is one of the highest in the country, while the age dependency ratio⁵ is at 89.4 (Kisero 2011:B). In school enrolment the district stands at 39.3% while the Nation stands at 70.5%, the literacy levels in the district are 16% while the nationwide levels stand at 71% (UNDP 2010). The Human development Index (HDI) and Gross domestic Product (GDP) which are at 0.3331 and 0.2243 while the Nation stands at 0.4447 and 0.5608 respectively (ibid.:).

In support of food aid, there has been no strong evidence to suggest that countries that have relied on food aid have been able to achieve food security or have increased their economic growth through food aid. On the contrary countries which have heavily relied on food aid for the said economic gains over the years have become dependent on food aid. Some today could be

⁵ Dependency Ratio, is the age population that is not in the labour force, usually it includes those in the ages of under 15 and above 64, while those who are productive are between the ages of 15-64. As the ratio increase there is an increased burden on those who are productive www.worldbank.org (Accessed on 25/08/2011)

termed as failed states (Somalia) as a result of the influx of food aid. Studies show that countries such Ethiopia which is the largest recipient of food aid in the horn of Africa, where in the midst of diverting its budgetary allocation to cater for military expansion had received a total of 504,204⁶ tonnes of food aid in 2006. This is done as the government continues to pledge for more food aid allocations and debt cancellation. A similarly occurrence can be said of Somalia, which moved being a recipient of food aid to a failed state. Maren (1997:167-170) indicates that countries like Somalia collapsed due to food aid which destroyed their systems. The author in an interview with a Somali Public Servant stated that;

“Traditional farmers were forced out of business by low prices and were either driven off their land or forced to sell it cheaply. In essence, the west surplus grains were subsidizing the production of bananas and other crops that did not compete with western agricultural interest. Somalis elites were making millions of dollars at both ends of the system. All this was made possible by food aid and as more farmers were forced off their land, food aid became more necessary.” (Maren 1997:170).

Despite the findings above developing countries continue to receive enormous amounts of food aid from donor countries on the premise that it will enhance food security. Development strategists however suggest that Africa should adopt policies that will enable it to engage in the provision of food by supporting its farmers (FAO 2006).

It is from above points that we can infer a subtle relationship between food aid and food security, where the presence of food aid may directly or indirectly cause food insecurity. With the aim of finding out whether aid agencies in Turkana district have legitimized their existence through the provision of food aid, the study aimed at finding out how communities who were the recipients of food aid coped with its provision, and whether food aid provided had addressed the issue of food security, at the same time understand the interventions carried out by the aid agencies and the government.

1.3 Relevance and Justification

Over the last five decades there have been a growing number of people dependent on food aid. In Kenya 2.4 million people annually face starvation, this is inspite of food aid interventions by aid agencies and government institutions. With food aid as a form of intervention, it underestimates the underlying structural problems that emanate from famine related causes. This paper seeks to critically analyse the role of aid agencies in Northern Kenya and specifically look at whether they have legitimized their existence through food aid. The paper will look at the intersectionality of the government, aid agencies and communities through the lens of the Political economy of food aid. The

⁶ Cited from <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/WorldStats/ADI-ag-rural-cereal-food-aid-shipments.html> (Accessed 05/04/2011)

paper will contribute to the ongoing debates of food security and build on literature in the Political economy of food aid at the micro level.

1.4 Research Objectives and Questions

The paper aims at finding out why people living in Northern Kenya (Turkana District) continue to receive food aid year after year yet their situation does not seem to change. This is inspite interventions from government, where two ministries have been created and the presence of numerous food aid agencies in the region, for the last five decades.

1. What legitimizes food aid agencies to continue working in the Turkana district despite poor results?

Sub-questions:

- i. How has food aid contributed to food security?
- ii. To what extent has government marginalization, legitimized the presence of food aid agencies
- iii. Do aid agencies have exit strategies and if so what are they?

1.5 Methodology

The research is a qualitative case study which makes an extensive use of primary data. With a view point of finding out how Aid agencies legitimize their existence in Northern Kenya, The researcher had the opportunity to speak to the recipients of food aid in Turkana district and got first hand information on the intricacies that surrounded the provision of food aid. The reason that led to the selection of the region was because the district had received food aid for almost five decades and hosted the largest number of aid agencies working on humanitarian aid, also the County of Turkana Central was said to be more secure as opposed to the northern and the southern parts of the district.

1.5.1 Area of Research

The research was carried out in the County of Turkana Central in Turkana District, Rift Valley Province. Turkana Central hosts the Municipal Council of the district (Lodwar). The main ethnic community in the region is the Turkana tribe, due to year's marginalization, the area has received little or no attention beyond the basic infrastructure which over the years has been dilapidated.

The Turkana community is mainly a pastoralist community, where 70% of the population keeps livestock as their main form of livelihood. While the rest

of the population take up fishing⁷ and agro pastoralism activities and are mainly found along the river banks of seasonal rivers. Apart from what they get as food from their daily economic activities they also consume indigenous/wild fruits which are mostly consumed during the dry spells. Most people equate livestock with a ‘mobile bank’ which is seen as a savings account (Diocese of Lodwar 2011). Cattle and in general livestock keeping in the Turkana’s ‘eyes’ is not meant for sale. It is but a symbol of wealth, status and serves as a way of paying bride price which is important among the Turkana and which forms and establishes long lasting bonds within the communities (Mburu 2000).

When faced with severe droughts, pastoralists lose up to 70% of their livestock which leaves them vulnerable to the effects of drought. During this period those who are mostly affected are children under five, lactating women, pregnant women and the old. However the pastoralist livelihood has been at risk due to frequent attacks from neighbouring communities. This is due to high insecurities along the district borders where competition for the little available resources, puts to risk their livelihoods. Inspite of this Turkana’s generally live in close knit families where men are responsible for looking after the livestock and guarding the families from attacks in times of cattle rustling, while the women are in charge of looking after the household.

1.5.2 Sampling Method

The case study was purposively carried out on the basis of food aid agencies working in Turkana district, where the county of Turkana Central served as a representative of the ASAL. The food aid agencies were identified on the basis of food provision in the region. However the recipients of the food aid were selected on the basis of their proximity to the town. This was necessitated by the fact that going further interior into the region was unsafe. The study targeted two groups those beneficiaries who were receiving food aid with no conditionalities, meaning that they did not have to work to get the food and conditional, meaning they had to work to get food under Food for Assets (FFA) programme. During the research the researcher did not anticipate of such an outcome in food aid distribution, hence decided to separate the two findings in order to assimilate the advantage, that they were able to enhance their food security through food for assets as opposed to unconditional food aid.

The research was carried out in the Division of Kalokol, Nadapal, Katapakori and Kapua. The researcher wanted to get more insights from the different regions where communities were undertaking different forms of livelihoods. The following villages were interviewed; the village of Kalokol 2 homestead, Kalokol is a division that is near Lake Turkana hence residents

⁷ Was introduce in response to the famine of 1960 in order to broaden the headers livelihoods <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/9012> (Accessed on 30/08/2011)

from this area occasionally took-up fishing activities. In Nadapal 6 homesteads were interviewed, 3 were receiving food for assets (conditional food aid) while the other 3 the food aid was unconditional and took up charcoal burning activities. In Kapua only 1 homestead was interviewed, as the researcher was finishing the first interview there was a community meeting which had been called by UNICEF, and which required the presences of all the community members in that village. In Katapakori 3 homesteads were interviewed where communities did not have any form of livelihoods.

1.5.3 Source of data and methods

Semi-structured interviews⁸ were used as the main research technique where an in-depth research was carried with organizations providing food aid and health care in the region WFP, World Vision, Oxfam, Child Fund, Red Cross, UNICEF and Merlin International. While two government Ministries were interviewed, the Ministry of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands and the Ministry of Special Programmes (Appendices). The interviews conducted lasted for forty five minutes to one hour, the interviews were voice recorded for those who gave consent while a few had some reservation in the recording hence were not recorded, however notes were taken for all the interviews.

All the interviews took place at the organizations offices both in Turkana and Nairobi. Interviews that took place in Nairobi were conducted since there was either no representative in Turkana or the person who was in charge was not available at the time. It was also aimed at forming a base of triangulating the information that I had received earlier in Turkana. It was interesting to note that all the respondents from the communities were female, however there was one man who was handicapped and worked as clerk for the irrigation schemes (food for assets) while the wife worked in the farm and represented the household in the food for assets programme. The rest of the respondents were women, this could have been attributed to the gender division of work where women look after the household while men graze livestock in the fields.

1.5.4 Limitations

This research encountered some limitations; first the study was limited in the identification of communities that were receiving food aid. This was because the study focused only on those communities that were living near the district main town due to insecurity in the region. Hence the research was not able to capture those who were further inland and who were most likely to be affected by the physical shocks.

Secondly the research was carried out at a time when the President had declared the drought a national disaster which brought to a lot of media

⁸ Questions asked to food aid agencies, government and the community can be found in Appendices

attention to the situation this made it difficult to have interviews with food aid agencies working in the area. As a result, the researcher was viewed with a lot of suspicion since some thought she had been sent to secretly investigate what they were doing about the drought situation. This was evident when interviewing an official from an international organisation, when after settling in for the interview he responded on a negative affirmation to the questions and decided to end the interview.

Thirdly, to have had an interview with the government officials the researcher was required to have a research permit which the researcher was not aware of at the time of starting the research. This subsequently delayed the time that had been scheduled for the interviews.

Lastly, language was a barrier, where the researcher had to translate the questions from English to Swahili to the translator who would then translate in the Turkana language. There might have been some distortion in meaning as the translator was translating in to the local language.

1.7 Structure of the Chapters

The research paper is organized in to 5 main chapters; the first chapter gives an overview of the research topic while capturing the research methods applied by the researcher, the second chapter gives a background on ASAL and Turkana district, chapter three provides a conceptual framework that is aimed at analysing the key findings in the fourth chapter, while chapter four gives an analysis of key findings, lastly chapter five gives a conclusion of the research findings and policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: Northern Kenya

This chapter gives a background over view of Northern Kenya with an in-depth coverage of Turkana district. The chapter illustrates the physical attributes and the challenges faced by the region. It also focuses on the political marginalization and the interventions made by aid agencies and government. This will guide and give an understanding of how politics in the region have shaped the region economically, socially and politically.

2.1 Background

2.1.1 Physical Attributes

The Northern part of Kenya is an area characterized by Arid Lands which are inhabited by the pastoralist communities whose nomadic culture is marked by frequent movement in search of pasture and water for their livestock. The ASAL covers a total of 80% of the total land surface with an inhabitant of 20% of the total population and has an annual rainfall of 150-350mm compared to the highlands which receive a minimum amount of 1050-790 annually. 70% of the national livestock population comes from ASAL while it supports 90% of wild game that is vital to the tourism sector which is the largest foreign income earner (ASAL 2005:1).

The ASAL is also endowed with rich natural resources, it has the largest desert lake in the world covering 6,405 sq km⁹ and home to the world largest population of crocodiles which is found in Turkana district. The region is said to contain some deposits of minerals such as gold and gemstones. While at the same time it is endowed with ample sunshine year round which can be harnessed for solar power and strong winds which are suitable for wind power energy. The ASAL contains of 24 million hectares of land opportune for livestock production, the region is also the source to 80% of the country's livestock which has been equated to be worth Sh. 173.4 billion. While 9.2 million hectares of land is appropriate for crops under irrigation (MSDNKAL 2008:2).

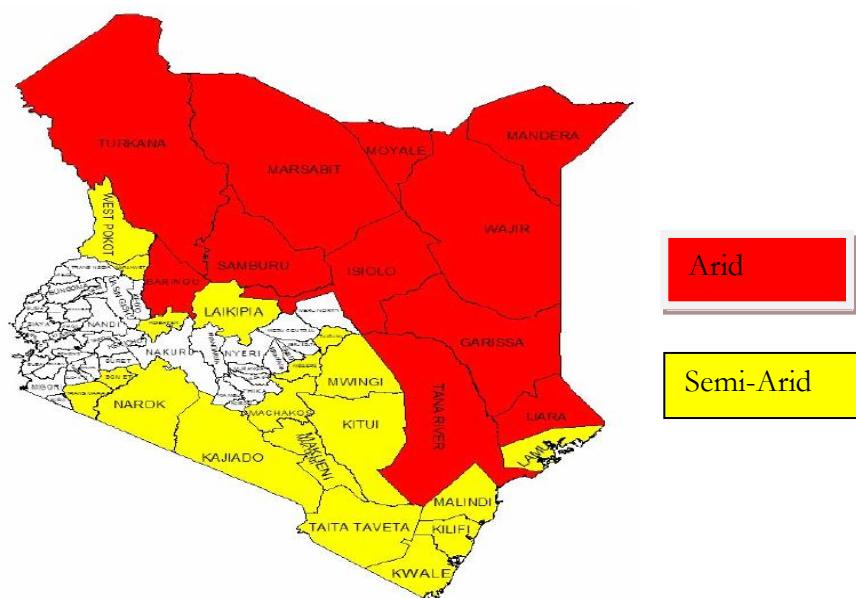
2.1.2 Challenges

Insecurity has remained one of ASAL biggest challenges that the area faces due to its geographic position with countries that have that have been in conflict or are still in conflict. The competition over scarce resources is a major contributing factor to past and present forms of insecurities. Nonetheless the proliferation of small arms from neighbouring countries has undermined the social-economic development of the region since it is through the sale of small arms that communities become armed and consequently fuel conflict.

⁹ www.tourism.go.ke (Accessed on 25/08/2011)

Through the state intervention with the collaboration of the UNHCR, refugee camps were opened in a bid to contain the influx of people who were escaping from their war torn countries and fleeing into the country. The refugee camps were first opened in the ASAL in 1992. The region is said to host one of the biggest refugee camps in the world (Dadaab camp) which is found on the north east of ASAL. The other refugee camp is found in Turkana district in Kakuma division, the two have at least 400,000 and 200,000 refugees respectively.

Map 1: **Showing the Arid and Semi Arid Lands of Kenya (ASAL)**

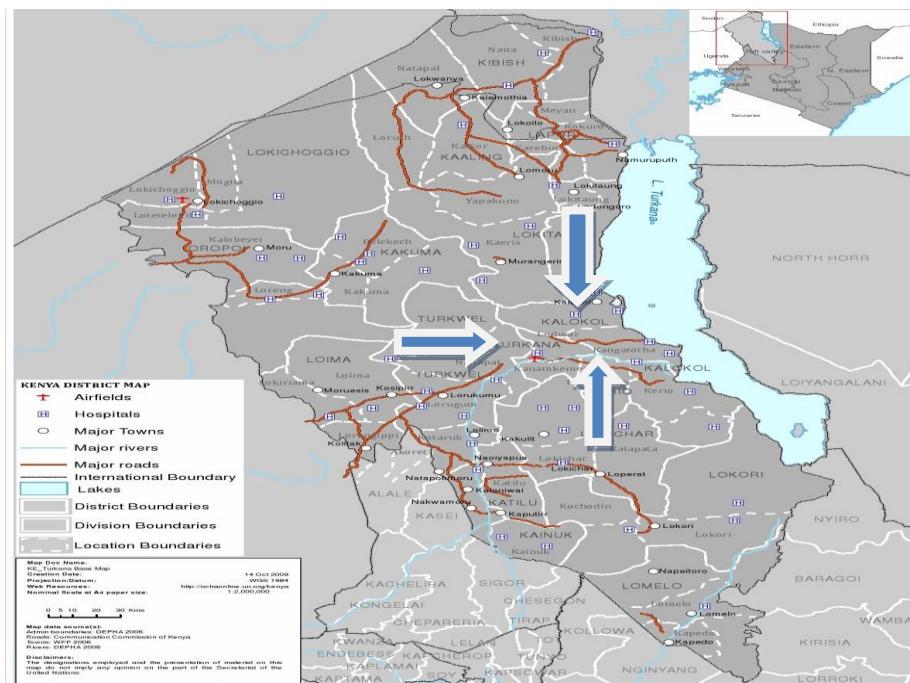


Source: <http://www.aridland.go.ke/inside.php?articleid=474> (Accessed on 12/05/11)

2.2 Turkana District

The map below shows Turkana district which is in the North West part of country, where the research was carried out.

Map 2: Turkana District



Source: www.flickr.com (Accessed on 22/08/2011)

Turkana district is the largest district in Kenya it is situated in the North West part of Kenya and forms part of ASAL. It has a population of 855 000¹⁰ according to the National census of 2009 and covers a total area of 77,000 sq Km. Turkana is divided into 3 constituencies which are Turkana North, Turkana Central and Turkana South. The district shares international borders with South Sudan and Ethiopia in its northern part and Uganda in the North West. The district has two Local Authorities, the Municipal Council of Lodwar and the County Council of Turkana. Lodwar town serves as a business centre where communities and organizations working from the interior regions come to buy small supplies for their personal use. The town also boasts of an air

¹⁰ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics www.knbs.or.ke (Accessed on 25/08/2011)

strip which is frequented by senior personnel from aid agencies working in Nairobi, Lodwar or Lokichoggio and occasionally members of parliament from the area.

The first people to have ventured in to the Turkana were Europeans who come as ivory hunters, traders and explorers in search for merchandise for trade in the 1880s (Rutten 1989:49). The invasion by the explores was not well received by the Turkana people since they looted the Turkana's herds which was and has been their most prized possessions.

In 1902 the district was declared an Administrative district by the British who wanted to exercise control of the region after declaring both Kenya and Uganda republics (Mburu 2000:4). This was done by introducing taxes which were to be paid by each homestead in form of livestock (Rutten 1989:50). In order for the Turkana to have had a good relationship with the British, they need to be disarmed; most communities living in this region have always carried out cross border raids on each other which demanded them to be armed at all times. However Rutten (1989:50) suggest that the enmity between the Turkana and their neighbours the Pokot was due to the fact that, the Pokots were given Administration posts by the colonial government, which was in a bid to control them. Grazing of livestock was restricted to only a few areas and consequently they were disarmed while their neighbours were still armed. (ibid.:). Mburu (2000:6) indicates that most of the Turkana moved further to the rugged and mountainous terrain where they were out of reach of the colonialist and the Pokot. Nevertheless the region was declared one of the 'closed districts'¹¹ where one needed a valid pass to enter and exit the region (ibid.:). According Hogg (1986:322) large numbers of pastoralists during the 1960s and 1970s were rendered destitute by the Sahel drought in the 60's when large numbers of animals were lost and the pastoralist were forced to seek help in relief camps for food aid. The Turkana savannah started degrading, this was because their herds had increased and were restricted to small areas hence reducing their main source of livelihood, and as a result they could not graze their animals in neighbouring districts due to insecurity and for the fact that they were not heavily armed.

2.2.1 Political Marginalization

One of the most interesting feature of the pastoral communities in Africa, generally is the evident exclusion from political representation in National development agendas, the reason is thought to be their low representation of members from these regions in the political arena (Ogachi 2011:1). In Kenya however, politics are largely influenced by regional and ethical representation, where the pastoral community falls short of the crucial political weight needed

¹¹ Closed districts, these were districts that were particularly locked out from the rest of the country from participating in any political, economic or social activity due political purposes

to put a strong representation (ibid.:). Some suggest that they fail in political representation since they lack the significant swing votes necessary in any election (Ruto, Ongwenyi, and Mugo 2009:13). These events can be attributed to the general low levels of education in the region. Ogachi (2011:1) alludes that the reason could be as a result of how education was introduced to the region by the colonialist¹², which still reflects the current developmental realities, where communities have been excluded. After independence in 1963 the learned elites took over key political positions and have since been influencing the political climate in the country.

An area that has suffered due to lack of political representation is the Land policy of the ASAL, the policy on communal land does not have a strong backing as to who should use the communal. Such communal land has been subjected to the expansion of game parks and refugee camps (Roth, Fratkin 2005). However in Ogachi (2011:4) Hesse and Odhiambo (2006) indicate that most of the ASAL is annexed from the pastoral communities on the premise that the land 'holds nothing' or 'empty'.

2.2.2 Food Aid Agencies

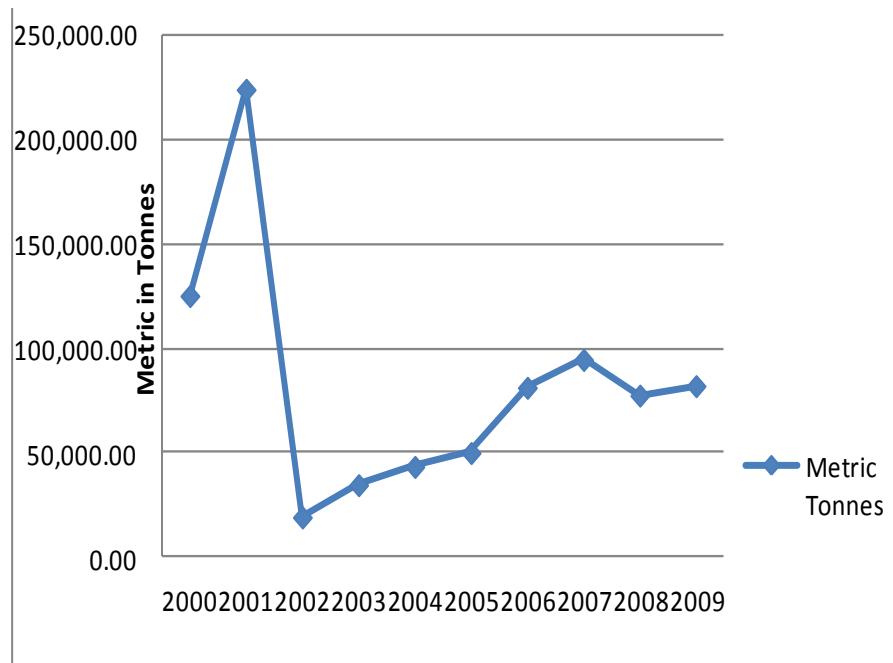
Food aid Agencies, are synonymous with Turkana district, there are around four aid agencies that are specialized in food aid distribution. The lead agency in food distribution is WFP¹³, which has contracted out its services to organisation such as World Vision, Oxfam and Child Fund. There are also other institutions such as the church which have contributed to food aid provision such as the Diocese of Lodwar, one of the longest serving organization which has been in the region for the last 50years (1961) and runs over 300 food distribution centers (Diocese of Lodwar 2010). World Vision has also been in the region since the onset of the Sahel drought of 1975 and claims to have come much earlier in 1965 for religious activities¹⁴.

¹² The colonial government favored the more arable and fertile lands as opposed to the dry arid land; the lands in which they settled were characterized with economic growth and development.

¹³ WFP has been working in ASAL since 2005

¹⁴ http://www.worldvision.org/content.nsf/learn/world-vision-kenya?Open&lpos=1ft_txt_Kenya (Accessed on 28/08/2011)

Figure1. 1
Total amount of food received by WFP-Kenya from the US



Source <http://www.wfp.org> Accessed 25/08/2011

WFP as an UN agency receives its support through its member states contributions, the US is the leading contributor to WFP providing at least 64% in the year 2000-2001 which is ten times more than the second largest donor the European Commission (Barret&Maxwell 2005:15). From the above table above we see an increase of food aid in 2000-2001, this could be explained by the fact that there was an increase in aid agencies that were working in the area of food distribution which enabled WFP to channel out its food aid. In 2002 there was a remarkable fall in the provision of food aid supplied by the US to WFP this could be attribute to the terrorists attack that occurred in the US in September 2001, where subsequent food aid was diverted to counter terrorism in countries believed to having links to terror groups. However the supplies have steadily increased in the subsequent years.

Oxfam has worked in the region for the last 10 years, their presence in the region was prompted by the climatic shocks that Turkana had experienced. Its main emphasis, apart from food aid, is on the empowerment of the local people. It is envisioned that after being empowered they can hold their representatives in parliament accountable on issues pertinent to the region, it aims at giving communities a platform where they can voice their concerns. UNICEF and Merlin international are organizations which work in Turkana in the area of health, but still get their food rations from WFP, they provide food supplements which are fortified with various vitamins, and are mainly distributed when there are severe cases of malnutrition in children under 5, pregnant women and lactating mothers.

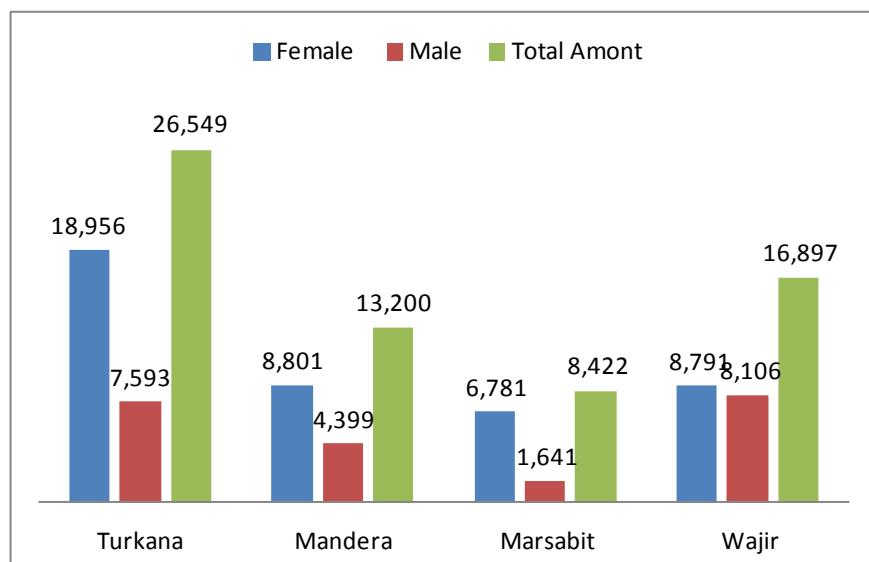
Child Fund is another organization working in the area of food aid but its main focus is on Food for Assets (FFA). It started working in the area, in the late 70's under the church leadership, where it facilitated the sponsorship of children to school. In the participation for food for assets, communities in an area are identified mainly those living along sources of water and who are willing to take part in farming activities in their communal land. In this project one person per household is identified who can work for 15 days in a month. The work entails tilling the landing, planting, weeding and harvesting the crops. Meanwhile as they work, they are provided for with food aid while waiting for their harvest, the food grown is only for subsistence use.

2.2.3 Government Representation

Inspite of the interventions by food aid agencies, government has been present in the region. Through decentralization policies Central Government is represented by Local Authorities which were formed in the early 1950s. The Local Authority Act CAP 265 1963, of the Kenyan Laws mandates all Local Authorities to provide local service delivery, local governance and local development through the Act which commenced in 1963. In ASAL there are 4 Municipal councils, 7 County councils and 2 Town councils. Meanwhile the ASAL is represented by the Ministry of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands which was formed under Agenda 4 of the 2007 post-election National Accord (MSDNKAL: 2010:5). The accord was formed on the premise of recognizing regional inequality and the potential that existed the regions which had been marginalized (*ibid.*:). The Ministry was set to work in three policy areas; a) to close the developmental gap between Northern Kenya and the rest of the country, b) promoting the institutional mobility and institutional arrangements essential to productive pastoralism, c) to ensure food security across the arid and semi arid lands¹⁵. The Ministry also in collaboration with DFID (United Kingdom Aid) launched out a Hunger Safety Net programme in 2008, with the aim of giving cash transfers to beneficiaries in the ASAL. The programme has targeted four districts in the ASAL, namely Turkana, Mandera, Marsabit and Wajir. Currently the beneficiaries get Sh. 2,000 (€15) after 2 months which is aimed at reducing food aid dependency by allowing beneficiaries to choose from a range of products with the aim of protecting their assets. However the project is still in its pilot stage, with a proposed completion of 2012. The project targets both men and women but only one person represents a household.

¹⁵ Draft National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands

Figure 1.2
Hunger Safetynet Beneficiaries per district and gender



Source: <http://www.hsnp.or.ke> (Accessed on 21/09/2011)

The table above shows data analysis as of 25 February 2011, where four districts were selected as beneficiaries for the Hunger Safetynet programme. From the table Turkana district has more beneficiaries than the rest of the districts. This could be an indication of high levels of poverty where communities have no sustainable livelihoods hence making them vulnerable to climatic shocks. The number of women beneficiaries in Turkana is much higher than the other regions. One of the main reasons to the disparity is that most of the households are run by women, while the men are out grazing livestock and looking for pasture which at times takes them across borders. Another reason could be due to high insecurity where most of the victims of cattle raids happen to be men. That notwithstanding an issue of absentee fathers and polygamy was observed by the Hunger and Safety Net programme as a contributing factor to the high number of female headed households.

The other ministry that is working in this region is the Ministry of Special Programmes which was formed in 2004 and was aimed at, a) to coordinate the formulation and implantation of policies and institutional framework for Disaster Management, b) Coordinate the mobilization of resources for disaster management, c) coordinate all stakeholders in disaster risk reduction and management and the monitoring and evaluation of the disaster management

programme¹⁶. The ministry is aimed at mitigating short term emergencies where drought is one of them. Through the District Steering Committee¹⁷, relief aid at the district level is coordinated with the government and food aid agencies which are under the ministry.

2.3 Conclusion

The chapter has focused on the background giving an overview of ASAL and highlighting its natural resources which have not yet been tapped into. However inspite of its potential the region has been held back by high insecurity levels such as the influx of refugees in the region. This has been a major drawback to its potential as most of the natural resources are competed for by the large population. The background on Trukana colonial history gives us an introduction to the origins of marginalization, which indicates that the region is still shaped by politics of marginalization. Lastly the chapter has looked at the interventions by various aid agencies and government institutions, and the activities that they each carry out.

¹⁶

http://www.sprogrammes.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=61&Itemid=101 (Accessed on 2/09/2011)

¹⁷ District Steering Committee is a key institution in Drought management and forms part of the technical advisory body to the Kenya Food Security Group at the District level.

CHAPTER 3: Conceptual Framework

This chapter focuses on the concepts that will engage the analysis and findings in order to understand intersectionality of aid agencies, government and communities through Political Economy of Food Aid (PEFA). Under PEFA the framework will look at food security as a right to food, livelihoods approach, agency and empowerment.

3.1 Political Economy of Food Aid

Political economy is said to be shaped by actors in power who are said to exert power and influence and consequently maintaining their own interests (Keohane 1984:22), this definition could be used in explaining PEFA, since it is dependent on the latent rules which are aimed at regulating the property and power within nations through agriculture production.

One of the major influences of PEFA is the US food aid policy which has been a permanent feature in the development of international aid, the role played by the US food aid policy is fundamental since the US is the largest contributor of food aid. The food policies have evolved into three phases. The first phase was the surplus disposal phase which began from 1954-1966 where the US justified its food aid policy by incorporating measures which were aimed at restricting controls of imports while subsidizing their imports (Cathie 1997:8). However the policy ended when Europe and Japan protested the disposal of surplus since it contravened with their agriculture policies of reconstruction (Friedmann 1993:38). Nevertheless the second phase was characterized by the surplus utilisation policy which considered a constructive use of the surplus as donations to poor countries from 1966-1971. The phase subsequently ended when the policy was found to be a drawback and harmful to the recipient countries since more food had been produced than the policy could dispose (Cathie 1982:7). The third phase was the residual phase where the role of the US was reduced and much of its activity was transferred to UN agencies such as WFP.

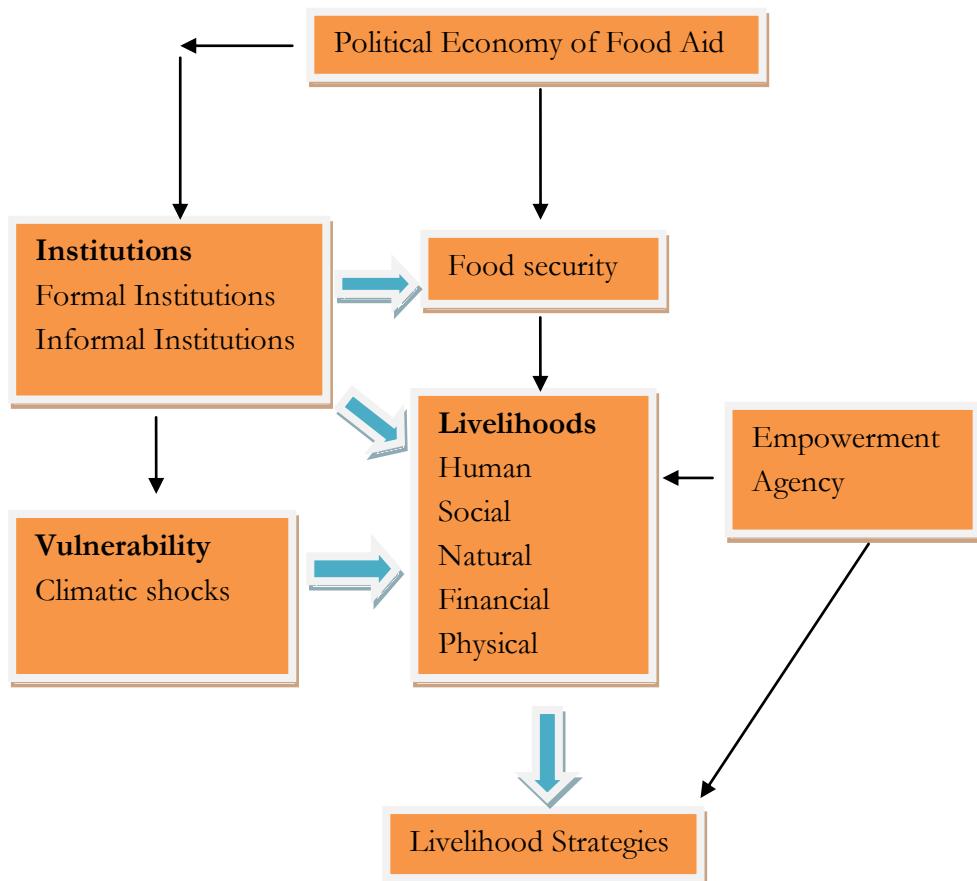
The reduction of the role of the US in the distribution of food was not indicative of policy change, but illustrated a change in the distribution channel of food aid. This made food aid appear legitimate by using of UN aid agencies such as WFP. Over the years the developed countries have had much influence in food aid policies. This is attributed to the fact that food aid reflects those commodities which are in surplus in donor countries with a strong influence from the political power of interests groups (Barrett & Maxwell 2005:32). This translates to the increased dependency on overseas producers to food aid, in light with the above developments critics of food aid seem to believe that it has resulted to the need to push for increased aid channels such humanitarian aid, which comes in to serving their own interests (*ibid*).

Producers of foods such as soya, wheat, rice, corn and non fat dry milk powder, initiate campaigns with branded names such as emergency food, fortified food for malnourished children, health projects aligned to a nutrition

component of food which are an inducement to education, food for assets and infrastructure development (ibid:122). The objective of having an array of uses of food aid is to make short and long term opportunities for farmers by diversifying the products and through the acceptances of such products by the aid agencies (ibid:). As suggested by Cathie (1982:2) that food aid objective has not been in the alleviation of hunger but has been used as an avenue of disposing off food surplus.

PEFA is a wide concept which embraces a number of approaches, in order to answer the research question the concept will focus on three key areas, a) Aid agencies and the political class, b) Food distribution and c) Organisational incentives, they are intended to demonstrate at the macro level the latent issue that restrain food security. The three areas have been identified as crucial in the analysis of the main research question.

Figure 1.3
Analytical Frame work on Political Economy of Food Aid



Source: By Author

The above framework has been developed further from the FAO (2010:10) livelihood approach framework.

The key reason of having PEFA as an introductory part to the concepts, is because PEFA has a direct relationship to institutions that shape food security. Institutions are vital in supporting and securing livelihood strategies which can overcome vulnerabilities, on the other hand livelihoods are further enhanced if they are empowered and have agency.

3.2 Food Security as a Right to food

Food security as concept relates to the ability of individuals to access food, this stems from the fact that, for an individual to have access to food they must have certain livelihoods that promote food security. A country is said to be food secure when its citizens have the economic and physical access to adequate food and are protected from hunger and starvation (Andersen 2009:5). The world food summit of 1996 defined food security as “when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life” (WHO¹⁸). This means that individuals who do not have access to sufficient and safe nutritious food are food insecure; where food insecurity is said to emanate from a prolonged period of food insufficiency resulting from a household’s inability to access sufficient food (Kangethe 2004:22).

The International Convent on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) is more explicit on food, not only is it viewed as a human right, but State parties need to recognize the right of everyone to adequate food and should put urgent measures in ensuring that individuals are protected from hunger and malnutrition¹⁹. The right to food is seen as a fundamental aspect which allows individuals to enjoy other rights which are vital to their survival. The right to food lays emphasis on states where they are seen as fundamental in ensuring food security. While food security leans towards policy implementation, while food as a right leans towards the legal rights of an individual. Mechlem (2004:648) states that, while the right to food is based on the notion of valuing human dignity, individual’s rights take centre stage when policy enables them to hold government accountable to seek justice when the rights are violated.

It can then be ascertained that it is through the right to food that food security can be achieved, where States take precedence in ensuring that its citizens are food secure. The importance of linking food security to food right in the research is to show that government input in the contribution of food security is imperative to an individual’s right.

¹⁸ <http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story028/en/> (Accessed 13/05/11)

¹⁹ The Right to adequate food (Article.11) of 05/12/1999, General Comments. Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 20th Session, Geneva.

<http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/0/3d02758c707031d58025677f003b73b9>
(Accessed on 17/10/2011)

3.3 Livelihoods Approach

In Chambers and Conway (1991:6) the term livelihood come to replace the word employment since the dominant thinking of economist was urban based, hence there was a need to replace employment with the word livelihood in order to represent the individuals living in the rural communities. This is because they did not have any form of formal employment yet they depended on their assets or available resources for their livelihoods.

‘A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provides sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long-term’. (ibid:1991:9)

3.3.1 Livelihoods Assets

They are factors that enable us to understand how different opportunities to livelihoods can limit or compound how a livelihood may relate with one another. In order to trace the impacts of food aid, it is important to be able to understand how households manage their bundle of capital assets which are aimed at enhancing their livelihoods (Serrat 2008:1).

The capital assets include a) *physical capital*, refers to the inclusion of the basic infrastructure which allow individuals to be productive, such as secure shelter, roads, water supply and sanitation, b) *natural capital*, it includes the available natural resources, c) *human capital*, it is enhanced by other assets which enable the individual to have skills, knowledge, health, nutrition, education, and capacity to work that enables an individual to pursue their livelihoods, d) *financial capital*, resources that enable people to achieve their livelihoods through, savings, wages and credit facilities, e) *social capital*, this are resources that people draw from the family and community networks through trust and mutual support which facilitates networks and connections such as neighbourhoods, kinship and patronage (Scones 2009:8). With the availability of the five assets an individual can be said to be protected from vulnerability which in our case individuals could be protected from climatic shocks.

3.3.2 Vulnerability

Vulnerability can be defined as the insecurity of households, communities or individuals. For a household to access adequate livelihoods through their assets, they have to be protected from vulnerabilities, where their assets could be affected by various factors which members of a household may have no control (Serrat 2008:3). This may include shocks such as famine, disease and earthquakes, while at the same time this may be influenced by changes in population, environment and the effects of markets and trade. The vulnerability approach guides us to the research question on government

marginalization, where failure of government to facilitate for the livelihood assets has provided an impetus of vulnerable livelihoods.

3.3.3 Livelihood Strategies

The main goal of livelihood strategies is to achieve a livelihood outcome, livelihoods which are positive may aim to increase an individual's income as well as reduce the rate of impact of being vulnerable, which in return can improve food security. Livelihood strategies comprises of assets which can be accessed by individuals, however the vulnerability context is put into consideration. Nonetheless the livelihood strategies can be supported or hindered by policies or institutions which may lead to a negative outcome which can be termed as inadequate (ibid:3). The strategies take into account the livelihood assets at the household level, which could be influenced by policies, institutions and the vulnerability of the environment in which they can be found. The strategies which have been identified could lead to either positive or negative outcomes depending on the livelihood assets.

3.3.4 Institutions

Institutions form the processes that affect laws such norms, customs, rule of the game, gender, class and language; they allow individuals to identify areas of restriction and opportunities to their livelihoods (Scoones 2009:2). The institution composition shapes the structure and behaviour of how individuals in a community are governed. This gives them the power to influence the choices that household make about their assets hence polices are dependent on institutions. According to North 'political institutions can be a form of constraint that human beings devise to shape human interaction' where they can work through (formal) rules made by individuals and (informal) which form codes of behaviour (Bratton 2007:96). Hodgson (2006:2) suggests that institutions are dependent on individual's actions, where institutions can constrain or shape behaviour, however the constraints are argued to open up possibilities which may enable choices that would otherwise not exist. Attention should however be paid in interpreting informal rules since the institutional outcomes are bound to shape the formal institutions.

Helmke and Levitsky (2004:727) suggest that formal institutions are those rules which are created and applied outside the official channels of communication while the informal institutions comprise norms and rules which are unwritten and socially shared, they can also be referred as the breakaway behaviour of written rules. They enable individuals to make better choices, by enabling individuals to transform one type of asset into another.

However this can be jeopardized if institutions that are supposed to strengthen and sustain livelihoods are not present or weak. Hesse, Odhiambo (2006:7) and Devereux (2008:31) suggest the presence of northern NGOs or the constant intervention by foreign donors normally divert or compromises the attention of these regions from institutions that are supposed to provide services from addressing issues regarding institutional weakness and accountability. This is important since government presence would be seen as

an integral factor for the sustenance of the pastoralist livelihoods. As noted by Helmke & Levitsky (2004:729) informal institutions tend to be functional in nature since their existence is aimed at filling in gaps by, addressing situations that have not been addressed previously addressed by formal institutions. The research will look more at three types of informal institutions since they are the most dominant in the study, this comprises of the relationship shared between communities and politicians, communities and fellow community members and aid agencies and politicians.

3.4 Agency

In Alkire (2005:218) Sen terms human agency as the people's ability to act on behalf of the goals that are most important to them which he argues acts as a guide to positive social change. Berner (1998:4) describes agency as the capacity of individuals to make choices on which actions to be taken. For agency to occur participants are required to engage actively in opportunities that are aimed at shaping their destiny, it is however suggested that participants should not be passive recipients of external interventions (Alkire 2005:219). Sen eludes agency freedom as when individuals become free in pursuit of their values and goals they deem as important (ibid.:).

Kabeer (1999:438) terms agency as where individuals define their goals and act on them. She equates it with an observable action where humans through motivation, purpose show their sense of agency. However it is suggested that agency can take form of negotiation and bargaining, deception and manipulation (ibid.:). However both Kabeer (1999) and Berner (1998) point that agency can be exercised by both individuals as well as groups, where collective agency has more influential at the macro level than individual influence at the same level (ibid.:).

This concept is important to the study because it is linked with the concept on empowerment, since it is through empowerment that individuals are able to exercise their agency and at the same time enable us understand the role of agency in the communities.

3.5 Empowerment

Empowerment is discussed as a concept with reference to food aid agencies, which use the term as an exit strategy approach. The term is also referred to by the World Bank, which has also been involved in various projects in the region and lays great emphasis on the term, where it indicates there is a need for an empowered community that will manage its resources and development effectively (World Bank 2002:2).

The core fundamental attribute of empowerment to an individual is that it promotes and creates individual independence, collective awareness for personal growth and development (Braimoh, Osiki, and Makoe 2010). This further propels the individual to exercise personal choice that enhances the individual growth and personal well being in the community (ibid.:). The World Bank (2002:2-3) cites empowerment as 'the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with influence, control

and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives' it further states that there is the need to empower the poor by removing institutional obstacles that may hinder them from taking the right decision in order to improve their general well being. One of the discourses in empowerment, authors equate it with good governance where government accountability is seen as vital, this is said to be achieved when governments become answerable to their people through policies and actions taken on issues that affect them. On the other hand individuals have an opportunity to question and demand government, to do what it is mandated, an approach which Oxfam indicates as an exit strategy. However, it is believed that without empowerment poor people cannot be able to articulate their issues since they do not have a platform where they can negotiate and make known their problems due to unequal power relations with state institutions, traders and civil society, this hinders their potentials and the capability to rise above their current situations (*ibid.*). It is their inability to rise above poverty and powerlessness that makes them more dependent on others for their day to day livelihoods.

In Hur (2006) Becker et al. (2004) argue that development of empowerment of an individual develops when capabilities that enable them to overcome their obstacles through self determination are made possible; which can be said to be achieved when individuals have confidence in themselves. However the achievement of empowerment is not constrained to the individual but it can be made effective when shared out. The findings and analysis will lay emphasis on the definition by World Bank.

3.6 Conclusion

The above discussion has allowed us to discuss the conceptual framework that will allow us to address the research questions. The overall conceptual framework PEFA has a direct link to institutions that influence food security, in addition institutions also protect livelihood strategies from vulnerabilities where livelihoods are improved through individuals empowerment and agency.

CHAPTER 4: Findings and Analysis

This chapter explores the researcher's key findings on how communities, food aid agencies and government link in the provision of food aid. The findings demonstrate how communities' lives have been shaped by food aid over the years. This chapter is meant to engage the findings with the research concepts in order to answer the research questions, which are; a) whether food aid has been able to achieve food security in the region, b) what extent has government marginalization contributed to the legitimization of food aid agencies, c) whether aid agencies have any exit strategies. In order to have a better understanding on the findings PEFA looks at three key headings which include; aid agencies and the political class, geo political strategy which are intended to demonstrate at the macro level the latent issue that restrain food security.

4.1 Political Economy of Food Aid

The role of Political economy is important in understanding how the economic and political process in a society is shaped by those in power and influence, while those benefiting from the relationship tend to maintain and support it.

4.1.1 Aid Agencies and the Political class

Overseas Development Assistance and the IFIs lay much emphasis on formal institutions as opposed to the informal institutions. Good governance is seen as the driver to the achievement in making institutions right. Hudock, Menocal & Denney (2011:4) point out that informal institutions link the citizens to their leaders who are in positions and in power, through the trust that they have for their leaders. The Turkana communities demonstrate a lot of reverence to local leaders more so the political class and the elite in the region. Politicians have a lot of influence on decisions which are made in the region and especially on issues in line with development. This includes getting to know who is bringing in development and why.

The political class is also responsible for 'approving' aid agencies which work in the region, where aid agencies are required to be in good relations with the politicians. As noted by the district officer;

Politicians normally have a lot of influence on aid agencies working in the region since they command a lot of respect from local communities, so if they tell the communities not to accept donations from a certain organisation the communities are bound to do just that. So in ensuring that they (aid agencies) are in business they have to maintain a cordial relationship with the politicians (District officer, Turkana 14/07/2011).

This was confirmed through an interview with a district officer, who revealed the close relationship exhibited by the political class and aid agencies stems from the fact that most politicians had started off their political careers while working for the food aid agencies. It also emerged that the previous

autocratic regime which had been in power from 1978-2002, was keen on the activities that the agencies were carrying out and saw aid agencies as a breeding ground for moulding would be politicians, aid agencies were looked with suspicion and were constantly monitored by the regime. As noted by Helmke & Levitsky (2004:731) noted that in pursuit of goals that may not be acceptable informal institutions are created, this is evident as the organisation groom their own in order to continue benefiting from the relationship. Politicians on the other hand have various reasons that motivate them to back various aid agencies, one of the prime reasons is seen when they lobby for an agency to secure a position as the 'lead agency'. As a lead agency, one is entitled for more financial and human resources. This was confirmed by the district officer in the region who stated that;

During the District Steering group meetings where issues regarding food security and distribution are discussed most of these organisation are normally at logger heads with each other, since all want to carry out the activities separately and none wants to be told what to do or be lead by the other, they all want to be lead agencies (District officer, Turkana 14/07/2011).

With more resources it allows an agency to have more control of the region due to the increase in financial resources, food aid supply, while the human resources allow for the employment of relatives, friends allied to the politicians.

4.1.2 Geo Political Strategy

Where there are asymmetries in the distribution of resources such as wealth, power and knowledge, the elite tend to block reforms or development policies which favour the poor or marginalized (Hudock, Menocal & Denney (2011:7). This is done to ensure that the power structures are maintained, for fear of the elite's resources being transferred to the poor. Policy documents aimed at transforming the region lay awaiting implementation, while members of parliament from the region do not seem to be perturbed by the ever frequent crisis that befalls the region yet they have the capacity of ensuring that legislations in favour of the region are passed. This is made evident by the fact that the crisis in the region is seen as an opportunity by some members of parliament.

Most of the food aid that comes from other countries comes through the port of Mombasa which is at the costal part of the country. For the food to get to ASAL the issue of transporting the food has to be put into consideration. The reason being, the vast distance that has to be covered and also for the fact that food is transported in large quantities, hence the issue of transportation of food aid as a form of business is conceived. Transportation of food aid is a coveted enterprise where only the few well connected are able to get tenders to transport the food to its various food destination. Largely due to politics in the transportation area it is made visible when politicians press for more openings in the food aid transport business.

As noted in the Daily Nation newspaper (31/07/2011) ‘

‘The Minister for special programmes noted that politicians had been pushing to have relief food by WFP given to them for distribution, while at the same time the politicians were looking for opportunities to make money in transportation besides having the organizations give their relatives jobs’.

Helmke & Levitsky (2004:726) claim that incentives can constrain or enabled the behaviour of political actors, from the above discussion we see the actions of politicians have been motivated by the food transport industry, which further illustrates the complexities of food aid.

4.1.3 Organizational incentives

Foreign aid agencies offer lucrative salaries and are seen as one of the best employers in terms of the remuneration/allowances, however most jobs in such organisations are a reserve for citizens from the donor country. This is inspite of suitable candidates being available in the country where the agency is operating, yet there is a general preserve for foreigners. The preserve is more common for the managerial positions and middle level positions, with majority of the local getting employment at the lower level positions, inspite of the availability of qualified candidates. Hancock (1989:22-25) notes that most foreign workers are often inexperienced and less qualified for the posts that they hold, and those who take up these jobs do so since they have failed to secure jobs that are in tandem with their qualifications in their home country, have retired or want to try out life in a new environment. With most developing countries being considered as ‘hardship posting’, it thus entitles foreign staff working in these regions a higher remuneration than their colleagues who are at the same job level in the developed countries (ibid.:).

With various institutions working in the area of development, huge financial donations are made in an effort to alleviate hunger and poverty to food aid agencies working in the district. However what is contributed fails to match slated development projects, as an official in the district stated that;

The organisations in these region have not been true to the people since they get a lot of assistance from international institutions but the amount of money given does not translate to any tangible activity, what you will see is just four wheel drives running around but when you look keenly there is nothing that you can put a finger to (District officer, Turkana 14/07/2011).

This debate illustrates what steers aid agencies, as indicated earlier in chapter three that PEFA is shaped by actors in power who exert power and influence and subsequently maintain their own interest (Keohane 1984:22). The three areas have looked at PEFA on a macro level and will enable us to answer the three sub questions at a micro level.

4.2 Food security: A rhetoric of Food Aid Agencies

The aim of this title is to answer the first sub question whether food aid has contributed to food security. Since the creation of food aid agencies there has been a growing debate on supporters of aid and what motivates the donors of

food aid, those in favour of food aid indicate that it has been effective (Awokuse 2010). However after speaking to the communities that were receiving food aid it seemed that what they were getting was very little as compared to what the food aid agencies purported to be giving; the aid agencies rationale is that they provide 75% while the communities gets 25%.

From the interview with an official at the WFP, It was confirmed that the programme offered 75% of the food basket²⁰ while the rest (25%) was to be met by the communities. The food ration provided lasts for a minimum of 2 days to 1 week depending on the amount provided. For the rest of the remaining days till the next food ration is provided (which ranges from 2-3 months) the communities have to find means and ways of surviving. This is evident from one of the recipient;

Since the food ration is not enough we eat these wild fruits and skip meals (when the food rations are available), meaning we eat once a day or stay with no food at all (8th homestead, Kapua village 14/07/2011).

In contrast with the World Food Summit of 1996, where the concept of food security was defined as; when all communities are envisaged to live with no fear of hunger or starvation (Andersen 2009:5), however the findings reveal that after receiving the food they live knowing that their only sustenance after the food is over will be the wild fruits which are not adequate since they are not readily available. Through the communities' informal institutions of sharing, pastoral communities have a culture of sharing since they live a communal life, however with the targeting method of food allocation, only those individuals who meet a certain criteria are provided with food aid, this leaves those who do not qualify out with no food. Nevertheless the communities share what they have to overcome the disparities of food allocation. The findings above are consistent with Helmke & Levitsky (2004:728) where informal in institutions behaviour regularity is necessary for the sustenance of a relationship. This is further reinforced when the communities opt to register fewer numbers of children per homestead in order to allow other homesteads to at least have a ration of food aid.

When we receive the food we have to share it with those who do not have anything to eat, at the same time families which have been targeted submit inaccurate (less) numbers of children to the person in charge of the targeting process so that other homesteads can at least get some food. (8th homestead, Kapua village 14/07/2011).

It is not good to light a fire (Cook) when your neighbour has nothing to Cook²¹ (13th homestead, Kalokol village 15/07/2011).

Barrett (2001:335) states that the logic of food aid as food security is meant to address food availability shortfalls which may cause individuals

²⁰ The food basket: food ration provided by food agencies which contains cereals (maize) 2Kg-10Kg, Pulses (beans) 1Kg-2Kg, cooking oil 1 liter per household.

²¹ Sivizuri kuakisha moto kama jirani yako hana kitu cha kupika (Swahili translation)

undernourishment leading to food deficiencies, hence it should only address short falls. In the issue of food provision the food aid agencies indicated that most of the food come from other countries outside the country, for example US, Uganda and Malawi, however in order substantiate if the imported food had disenfranchised local farmers, an official at WFP indicated that the local suppliers had not been reliable, prompting the need to rely on foreign suppliers. They also indicated that the country was food deficit, as one of the reasons as to why they got the food from other countries. A spot check by the local media during the period of July-August (2011) indicated that neighbouring districts had excess food which was going to waste at the height of the drought. The Standard newspaper of 29/07/2011 highlighted how farmers helplessly watched as their crops went to waste while, one of the farmers lamented;

‘It is saddening that we are now forced to feed the cabbages to our cows since we cannot find a market’. ‘We have enough food in our farms but the government ignores but instead runs to international organizations for food aid’ (The Standard newspaper 29/07/2011).

Inspite of the displacement of farmers, donor countries continue to push for their branded food surplus in the form of campaigns such as school feeding programmes have been initiated under the auspice of providing nutritional food for school children (Barrett & Maxwell 2005:32). The WFP has such a programme where children at the school going age are encouraged to go to school, where at least they have one meal a day. However, on the contrary the food aid has conditions, where each student has to bring some fire wood and water in order to be allowed to attend classes. The reasons given behind this policy is that since there is no water or firewood in the school the communities should contribute to the up keep of the children by sending the children to school with water and firewood. This condition has deprive many children from attending school as they are not in a position to provide water and firewood especially when there are severe droughts. In a dry area like Turkana where women have to walk for distances as far as 10km in search of drinking water, it then becomes a challenge for households to have extra water for such a purpose. The above discussion negates the reasons of the existence of the programme, but through the context of PEFA it clearly shows that the interest of the donors comes first.

4.3.1 Why work for food?

This sub title is a continuation of the title food security a rhetoric of aid agencies which is aimed at further demonstrating the inadequacy of food aid and the subsequent initiatives of aid agencies. In order to distinguish those who were working to get food under the programme, Food for Assets (FFA) and those who did not have to work to get the food, the author come up with the two terms conditional and unconditional where in the former meant one had to work to get food, while the latter one did not have to work for food. One of the reason that drew the duality was because the FFA was advocated as a success story which was to be replicated to other parts of the region, this notwithstanding the fact that the areas where it had been termed a success were irrigated using seasonal rivers, which meant that during the dry periods

the rivers would not have sufficient water for irrigation rendering the FFA little viability to other regions.

Figure 1.5: Crashing wild fruits Figure 1.6: Wild fruits



Source: By Author (field work)



Source: By Author (field work)

Figure 1.7: Eating wild fruits



Source: By Author (field work)

From photo above we see an old woman sited beside her field of FFA where she is expected to harvest her crops after they have matured. Inspite of her being under the FFA programme she is seen eating wild fruits which the communities resort to eating after food aid has run out. This shows that the communities which are under FFA still face the same challenges of securing food as those who receive food with no conditionalities. Livelihood strategies are aimed at reducing the impact of vulnerability (Serrat 2008:3); in this context FFA acts as a livelihood strategy to food security where communities are supposed to be cushioned from climatic vulnerabilities.

Nevertheless as I was informed that the food that was grown was only for subsistence, meaning that they could not sell their crops after harvesting, this could be said to be contradiction of Scoones (1998:9) idea on the diversification of livelihoods, where he suggests that individuals protect their livelihoods from vulnerability if they diversify their livelihoods(*ibid.*). In the case of FFA this could be done by selling some surplus food which could enhance the financial assets of an individual. The findings further reveal insufficiency of food aid interventions since those who are under the FFA are perceived to be in a much better position than those with no conditionalities.

4.3 Government marginalization

This section is aimed at addressing the second sub question which focuses on; on the extent government marginalization has legitimized aid agencies continued presence in the region. McPeak, Little &Doss (2012:3) notes that pastoralist only become visible to governments and donors when there are extreme cases such as droughts, climate shocks and conflict. Where in such instances the focus is much on immediate and visible effects of drought which paints a picture necessitating the need for short term measures other than long term measures (ibid.:) The ASAL National Vision and Strategy paper (2005:3) gives an outline of projects that were initiated by the government and donor driven, but failed to achieve any meaningful outcome. However the paper indicates that there has been an absence of a clear implementation framework and political goodwill. Ogachi (2011:4) argues that the reason as to why ASAL policies have failed, can be linked towards the modernization of the pastoral communities through technical interventions (intervention which happens only when things are out of hand) which as a result has brought about detachment from the pastoral resources for non-pastoral purposes. Due to lack of clear policies and the general noncommittal attitude by the politicians the communities see themselves as neglected and do not trust government. Such sentiments are echoed in the following interview.

We want assistance from NGOs, Churches they normally come and save us when there is drought, we do not trust the government, in all our lives we have been getting assistance from the NGOs and Churches (13th homestead Kalokol 15/07/2011).

The sentiments expressed above both show displeasure of government by the pastoral communities who have been neglected by government while the food aid agencies have taken the lead in the provision of basic services. The presence of aid agencies in the region correlates with government detachment from the region since most of the activities are carried out by the aid agencies. Inspite of some members of the community preferring to have aid agencies continue to provide them with the basic services, some felt that there was a gap in what had been provided by the aid agencies and stated that if the government was to step in it would enable them to build their livelihoods by providing them with jobs.

If government can come and give us jobs where we can work, for example we can build water reservoirs, water pans then we can be able to provide for ourselves instead of relying on these food hand outs. What we want is to work for our food (10th homestead Katapakori village, 14/07/07/2011).

We want to get food from our own sweat²² (11th homestead at Katapakori village, 14/07/2011).

²² Tuna taka kupata chakula kwa jasho yetu (Swahili Transaltion)

Alkire (2005:218) suggests that agency is demonstrated when individuals are able to act on most important goals which are bound to bring positive change. From the above findings it evident that the Turkana's agency is alive, this is because of having clearly defined their objectives in meeting their goals. This is supported by the fact that they are still determined to find ways of sustaining their livelihoods inspite of government marginalization by carrying out small scale activities. From the interviews it emerged that 6 homesteads had the opportunity of carrying out some form of livelihood strategies which were aimed at protecting them from the vulnerabilities. Some carried out activities such as charcoal selling by burning the small shrubs that grew around and others made baskets from the trees that grew the wild fruits, besides taking up manual activities. However the livelihoods taken upon by the communities were found to be prone to vulnerabilities, as Serrat (2008:4) suggests that livelihoods assets could be affected by factors which members of a household may have little or no control over. The communities' livelihoods were made vulnerable by the fact that middle men were taking advantage of the goods that they were selling by buying their commodities at low prices and the proceeds were not enough to protect their livelihoods

I sell 1 bag of charcoal at Sh.150 (€1.30), while putting into consideration that 2Kg of maize is selling at Sh.140 and when we take the charcoal to the market the middle men buy the charcoal at low prices (Sh.100-Sh.130) and even one is not guaranteed whether the charcoal will sell. (6th homestead Nadapal village, 13/07/2011).

From the above findings its clear that the communities are determined to secure their livelihoods but however this can only be achieved if they are able to access livelihood assets which are mainly facilitated by the government through the provision of services such as infrastructure (physical capital), education and health (human capital), credit facilities (financial capital). This notwithstanding has not been the case as an official in government indicated that there had been laxity in government operations especially in addressing issues that were affecting the region for a long a time. He indicated that the issue of funding had been a problem, since few resources were allocated to the Ministries that were concerned in the areas. However this may not be the case, as reported in one of the newspaper where the Minister of Roads noted that money meant for development, only got to be used during the end of the financial year and stated that;

'It is saddening that monies allocated to develop roads in different local authorities across the country remain locked up in bank accounts....while executives run around trying to spend money before the end of the financial year'. The Standard (05/08/2011).

The above findings give a clear example of what could be happening to other monies which are located for various development activities in the ASAL region. As the money remained locked up in various bank accounts and is only released during the closing of the financial year where it allows the executives to make up hazards plans which they latter justify for the late release of the money.

While responding to crises it should be noted, the under provision of basic public services, chronic poverty and general political marginalization leave the residents more prone to climatic shocks (McPeak, Little & Doss 2012:3). In the event where drought has occurred in the past and is likely to happen again attention by government is anticipated to shift and the region is left to the aid agencies (ibid.). With the emergence of drought in Turkana the state responded with first a fact finding mission where the minister of special programmes toured the region to ascertain that indeed what had been reported was true. This was followed by massive disbursement of monies to various line ministries working in the region. As noted by Sainath (1996:258), when a disaster happens a few people in government show up at the scene and calls for funds to deal with drought are arranged. For example the Ministry of special programmes indicated that relief food had been increased from 1,000 bags of maize to 4,000 bags of maize per district in the month August 2011 (Otieno 2011:19). The number of districts which were in need of food at the time was 20, while each was given a total of 400 bags. If we divided the 1 million people living in Turkana to the 400 bags while considering that 1 bag contains 90Kgs then, each person would get less than half a kilogram. That notwithstanding the maize was later reported to be highly contaminated with aflatoxin (ibid.). From the analysis by Hesse, Odhiambo (2006:7), who postulate that the presences of constant intervention by foreign donors, compromises the attention of governments from addressing its major issues. This is made clear from the discussion above where attention from government is hurriedly made after a crisis.

The Ministry of Special Programmes operates by providing emergency relief food (short term) at the same time it works with the District Steering Group (DSG) which involves government and nongovernment players in food security, where in their discussions short and long term measures are tabled as areas of intervention. From the interview it was necessary to know which long term measures had been implemented in the region, It was noted that long term measures were mainly recommendations made by them (Min. Of Special Programmes) to line ministries in areas of intervention for example they did recommend the building of water pans²³, which is a mandate of the ministry of irrigation and that they had no influence in ensuring that the issue was taken up or not. In an effort to know how the ministry was working in order to ensure food security, the official noted that;

For the region to be food secure, food security has to be looked into three components namely *availability*, which means that food is available in the region, *accessibility*, people have the purchasing power and *utilization* which is a function of preference, where some communities may prefer one commodity over another. (Project Coordinator Min. Of Special Programmes 03/08/2011)

²³ A water pan is a shallow well dug in order to catch rain water which can be used during the dry seasons.

In line with the above findings Serrat (2008:2) confirms that capital assets²⁴ are important since they constrain (when not available) or enhance (when available). With the region deeply deprived from the capital assets, the official at the ministry noted that the capital assets may not be secured, since in reference to *availability* the region was not producing any significant form of food production, while it relied heavily on other parts of the country for food supply. The over reliance was hampered by the fact that getting food to Turkana was difficult due to the poor road network. With reference to *accessibility* the officer pointed out that communities living in the region due to the fact that they were living beyond the poverty levels had no means of purchasing food, even if it were made available to the district inspite of the poor infrastructure they still could not afford it. The problem of accessibility is further compounded by the fact that they heavily rely on neighbouring districts for food supply where the cost of transporting the food makes it very expensive. It was also confirmed that most of the pastoralist communities had some kind of preference, which implied the *utilization* of certain types of food would be difficult. This meant in the event of communities being supplied with food aid such as maize some would prefer rice to maize which may not be available at the time of distribution.

In relation to the ministry of Northern Kenya and other arid lands a list of core functions had been listed which indicated the activities mandated to the Ministry, where the functions stated were significant to the development of ASAL. It was important to know what they were doing since there was a mismatch to what was stated and what had been encountered in the research. However on further enquiry it was confirmed that the functions which had been listed as core functions were being carried out by other line ministries, for example the first function mentioned Infrastructure Development, which entails the development of roads though it is the sole responsibility of the Ministry of Roads. The reason given as to why the ministry of Roads was responsible for infrastructure was because funds to the development of roads were channelled to the ministry (Roads), and that the ministry of Northern Kenya had no power to influence how the funds were utilised. Inspite of the Ministry (Northern Kenya) not having clear cut policy on what it intended to do, the official remarked that one of the reason that undermined the impact of the ministry, was because their budgetary allocations were limited and only covered recurrent expenditures such as wages and maintenance. This demonstrates an area where organisational incentives are significant in shaping institutions. This is because the ministry inception, come about when the main political parties had to share power after the 2007 disputed election, this opened opportunities for those allied to the two parties to employment opportunities, a key pointer to the lack of influence in the development of ASAL.

²⁴ Capital assets comprise of human, social, natural, physical and financial capital

With no clear laid down policies on drought relief, which could cushion the impact of external shocks the communities are thus left vulnerable to climatic shocks and external shocks such as insecurity. External shocks are likely to destroy assets if no strong coping mechanisms are put in place. In the event of shocks such as floods, drought and insecurity assets are more likely to be destroyed which may compel communities to abandon their homes and consequently their livelihoods (DFID 1999:3). Turkana district is said to be one of the most insecure places in Kenya. With the region experiencing at least weekly raids from cattle rustlers from neighbouring Pokot, Ugandans and Ethiopians (Bii 2011:H). An official in the ministry indicated that;

Insecurity has brought about food shortages since no development projects can be properly carried out if there is insecurity, there is fear of being shot and when communities are attacked they mostly leave the area (Projects Official, Min of Northern Kenya, 11/08/2011)

Such is the case that is frequently experienced in Turkana where communities have to abandon their homes when invaded by cattle rustlers. This forces them to abandon their livelihoods as they seek refuge in neighbouring villages and towns. In Serrat (2008:3) livelihoods are supported if they are protected from vulnerabilities such as insecurity; during cattle raids schools are abandoned and the livelihoods which have been built are abandoned in the wake of attacks.

4.4 Exit strategies for aid agencies

This section looks at the last sub question, which focuses on whether aid agencies have exit strategies. From the PEFA concept organisational incentives are functional in the existence of an organisation because it is through the organisational incentives that allow individuals to stay in employment and consequently the benefits that accrue from those who fund the organisation. The three food aid agencies working in Turkana indicated how they were to exit the region. WFP and Child Fund indicated that they would exit the area through a livelihoods approach where they aimed at securing the communities assets through the Food For Assets (FFA) programme. While Oxfam indicated that it would exit through community empowerment.

WFP and Child Fund suggested FFA as an exit strategy, as discussed in 4.3.1 under the heading why work, the concept FFA reveals an organisational incentive, where donor agencies come up with catchy phrases which in turn enable them to stay in the region. As (Barrett & Maxwell 2005:33) claim that donors push for increased channels of humanitarian and other modes of food intervention, in the case of FFA donors push for the sale of seeds and distribution of food aid this ensures that the donors interests are met.

Political actors are likely to react to formal and informal incentives where in certain occasions the informal incentives exceed the formal ones Helmke & Levitsky (2004:726); where members of parliament control monies which are meant for development most often than not there is a tendency for patronage and clientelism. The Child Fund programme indicated that one of the ways in which their exit strategies could be approached was if the Constituency

Development Fund (CDF)²⁵ and Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF)²⁶ was properly managed by those in charge since a good amount of money was disbursed to the local authorities on an annual basis with the aim of reducing poverty and enhancing individuals lives, but there was no visible impact on what the money allocated was doing. The approach suggested by Child fund presented a conditional form of exit strategy, where their exit was determinant to the management of public funds.

Another exit strategy was proposed by Oxfam where it indicated that their exit strategy would be by way of ensuring that communities were empowered through civic education, World Bank (2002:3) cites empowerment as the expansion of assets and the capabilities of the poor, to be able to negotiate and influence and at the same time hold accountable institutions that affect their lives. With the unequal power relations exhibited by the communities and state institutions it would be a challenge for the communities to play the role of putting to task those who should be accountable. In addition most policy documents on empowerment, the discourse is on empowering the communities by making relevant institutions responsive to their needs (*ibid.*); nevertheless the documents do not indicate how they intend to have the key institutions responsive to the needs of the communities, since institutions are key in enabling citizens to hold leaders accountable.

The Ministry of Northern Kenya in collaboration with UK aid (DFID) initiated a programme with the aim of giving communities credit facilities. This is enabled by giving them an opportunity to purchase food locally while at the same time having a choice of buying from a range of items as opposed to the restriction of food aid. Although not mentioned explicitly as an exit strategy by the government official, it presents its self as an exit strategy for areas that have been reliant on food aid. However caution should be taken since it creates an opportunity where it could be said to still play the same role as the food aid agencies. This is because the some communities then become dependent on this form of intervention. FAO (2006:4) suggest that agency declines when interventions aimed at meeting the needs of its recipients decrease their ability in meeting their needs, this is seen when a community or individuals are constantly intervened by outside agency. With the decline in agency due to constant intervention Thielke (2006) observes that through constant intervention communities are likely to wait in anticipation of food from outside agency. Kabeer (1999:438) states that agency can take a negative form if actors override the agency of others. The agency of individuals and communities is

²⁵ Established through the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) Act of 2003 as a public funded kitty. The fund aims at targeting development projects at the grassroots level and as part of government devolved funds to alleviate poverty. www.cdf.go.ke (Accessed on 13/010/2011).

²⁶The Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF) was established through an Act of parliament and come to effect in 1999, where 5% of the National income tax is aimed at supplementing the local Government revenues to enhance service delivery. Kenya Reform Programme Report (2007).

manifested if they have the power within to act on behalf through motivation and purposes (ibid.:). A key indicator of the communities having lost their agency was from the perspective of individuals who were not natives of the region. Who indicated that majority of the Turkana community had over time developed a culture where they would just sit down and do nothing. This was confirmed by the district official who indicated that there was a need to have communities change their cultural ways, since they were resistant to change. He noted that;

People need to be coerced to work in order to get relief food since there are activities that can be carried out, even if its building a road or a dam, it would be beneficial for them, this is because when it rains, a lot of water is lost which can be collected if the dams were available. This can sustain livelihoods until the next rains come, this is because the region is endowed with rich soils and only lacks water. (District Officer 14/07/2011)

Communities in the region in the anticipation of food aid normally wait at designated food delivery points on a daily basis. They come early in the morning and spend the whole day waiting for food. This is done to ensure that in the event that the food is made available, there is someone already in the queue to receive it. In reference to Alkire (2005:219) agency occurs when communities engage actively in opportunities that are aimed at shaping their destiny and they should not be passive recipients of external interventions; from the discussion above we see that the communities have failed to take up activities that can positively influence their livelihoods. This was further confirmed when questioned about the kind of assistance they wanted to improve their livelihoods, they indicated need for the outside agency the '*other*' to assist. This was indicated by one interviewee;

We want the government to give us jobs ...we also want to be supported by the NGOs (3rd Homestead, Nadapal village 12/07/2011)

On further enquiry if the food that they were receiving was reduced what would happen her and her family she stated that;

Yes we can survive, but if it fails and have nothing left, we will continue eating wild fruits or just die (10th Homestead Katapakori village 14/07/2011)

From the above findings it can be pointed that the area of contention lies with the fact that communities have been cultured²⁷ by the aid agencies, such that they can only work if they are to get something in exchange (food) or some form of compensation. However this presents a strategy in which aid agencies have legitimized themselves in order to stay in the region and carry out activities in their favour. This is because, it would be expected that since the communities know the areas of need, then they would be well placed in focusing on the issues. For example in addressing the issue of water scarcity

²⁷ Cultured, meaning the length of time that the communities have interacted with the aid agencies.

through collective agency, communities can team up and build water pans which are shallow water wells, hence abate the water problem. As Kabeer (1999) points out that collective agency can have more influence than individual agency, this could be an area that could be beneficial in the agency of the Turkana's as a way of securing their livelihoods.

4.5 Conclusion

From the findings, it has emerged that PEFA has shaped the relationship between the aid agencies and the political class in the area, where the status quo has been maintained by taking a geo political strategy on food aid through the transport industry. Organisational incentives have played a role in the existence of the aid agencies since it is through the organisation that their interests are met, hence continued existence. From the findings the issue on food security through food aid, inadequately addresses the problem of food scarcity as communities continue to be food insecure inspite food aid interventions such as food for assets. Government marginalization has influenced the existence of aid agencies since they provide most of the services which government has failed to provide. Exit strategies pointed to a conditional approach by aid agencies where they indicated that for them to exit a condition had to be met, for example proper management of CDF money was seen as a way in which one agency would exit the region, however the question would be what if the conditions stipulated by the aid agencies were not met, would it mean they would continue staying in the region?

CHAPTER 5: Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

This paper looked at the political economy of food aid, how various actors in power shape the social and economic trends in the region. This was achieved by looking at intersectionality of communities, aid agencies and government. This chapter draws its conclusions on the analysis from the data and key findings in relation to the research questions

5.1 Conclusions

In order to answer the main question, what has legitimized food aid agencies to continue working in Turkana despite poor results, from the analysis, marginalization has emerged as the dominant reason for the existence of aid agencies. Marginalization stems from government failure to provide the basic services such as health, infrastructure and education. Notably aid agencies indicate that it is through marginalization that they have stepped, in to provide for the basic services.

Food aid as a form of food security has clearly not achieved its much acclaimed goal, this is because communities are said to get 75% of the food rations and fend for themselves 25%. From the findings this has not been the case, since what is claimed to be 75% only last for less than a week while the 25% last for at least 2 months. With food for assets (FFA) as a form of intervention, the study has revealed that those who participate in the FFA programme and those who do not participate, both face the same challenges of securing their livelihoods. As suggested by Chambers & Conway (1991:2) that a livelihood can be said to be sustainable if it can cope with and recover from vulnerabilities. However, this is not the case for those who participate in FFA programme because what they grow is only for subsistence use. The idea of identifying communities in order to grown their own food (FFA) negates the underlying structural problems, due to the fact that farming in the region is more on a small scale hence cannot sufficiently be an avenue to food security. Inspite of this a region or country cannot be said to be food insecure just because it does not produce its own food. This is because regions in different parts of the country do not produce what they consume but instead have livelihoods which allow them to have access to products and goods necessary to the sustenance of life. Nevertheless the influx of food aid has disenfranchised local farmers, where rots farms while aid agencies and government continue to purchase food from foreign countries, this begs the question what role does food aid play, if communities will be dying of hunger in one region while another has plenty of food?

Government marginalization has seen the legitimacy of aid agencies flourish where the aid agencies seem to be much preferred than the government by the communities. However government marginalization has been fuelled by two main actors that is the political class in the region and food aid agencies, this in turns calls for a critical look on the political economy of

food aid in Turkana. A pointer from the findings indicate that both the political class and aid agencies have symbiotically benefited from the Turkana food aid distribution where the two actors are in relationship of 'I rub your back and you rub mine' which is evident from contracts solely given to politicians who see aid agencies as acting in the good faith of people. A reason from the above findings stems from the fact that some aid agencies act as a vehicle to political careers, this further shows the complexity of PEFA due to organisational incentives. The livelihoods of the Turkana have been further marginalized by constant attacks from neighbouring communities. Their inability to cope with vulnerabilities also indicates the absences of livelihood assets whose main provider is the government. The emergence of the Ministry of Northern Kenya which is allied to the region, illustrate the reason for its inception, which was to satisfy politicians by share power with their proponents in government, as it has failed to initiate any developmental activities in the region.

The exit strategy specified by Oxfam on empowerment, presents an ambitious and broad term where communities are empowered in order to hold those in power accountable. Due to the unequal power relations presented by the two groups, it creates an opportunity of allowing the aid agency to continue staying in the region since the communities are unlikely to be empowered, because key institutions need to be put in place to allow communities to take action. With reference to PEFA organisational incentives are one of the key motivators that allowed aid agencies to come up with programmes that have ensured their continued existence such as the FFA and the school feeding programme. This illustrates that the aid agencies do not have a clear link on how they intend to exit the region if at all they do intend to.

In further development of literature certain concepts need to be addressed, first the concept on empowerment is more focused on the outcome as opposed to the process, it fails to incorporate, who participates, criteria of participation and who benefits. Secondly, PEFA the main concept also needs to be further developed. The literature tends to be on a general term and only gives a chronology of how the political economy of food aid evolved since the Marshall plan. This is inspite the fact that, the chronology is broadly covered by literature on food aid. There is also the need to focus on specific case studies which would be valuable in understanding the term.

The study has revealed that pastoralist livelihood strategies are inherently adaptive to the vulnerable climatic conditions, since over the years they have been marginalized, have had high food insecurity and severe weather conditions, yet in all this they have managed to somehow survived

5.2 Policy Recommendations

The policy recommendations are based on the gaps that have been established by the research. The policy document is addressed to government institutions working in ASAL. The policy recommendations are categorized in to three main areas, that is; a) addressing marginalization, b) food security as a right, e) exit strategy

The role of government in the provision of basic services is paramount in the development of a region. It is through government that other players in the private sector and other development fields are able to make an impact in the development of a region. The lack of basic infrastructure such as roads, health and education has made potential investors to the region shy away due to the potentially high costs of investment and viability. This calls for long term measures which need to be specially addressed by government as opposed to aid agencies whose presence is more likely to be influenced by their tenure in the region, or through PEFA where the interests of a few would be the main reason for the establishment of the organisation.

In order to address the issue of food security the underlying structural problems have to first be identified, this is because the cause of famine and consequently drought have been poorly understood where the mode of intervention has been more on direct food donation. Through the convention on the Right to adequate food, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) article 11 indicates that states have a mandate to ensure that their citizens have the right to adequate food. The state would then be obliged to look to areas such as; a) *accessibility* where communities need sustainable livelihoods (purchasing power) which can cushion them from vulnerabilities, b) *availability* where food is available in the region, however this does not necessarily mean that they should grow their own food but have structures which allow availability of food. These underlying structures need to be identified and implemented by government in order to have food security as a right to food.

The issue of exiting as a strategy needs to be incorporated by government as an approach of assessing aid agencies based on what they are mandated to do and what they are doing. This approach will allow government to participate more in areas that they were previously absent.

In conclusion addressing marginalization as a policy is important since it is through government that communities will have sustainable livelihoods which in turn will have a trickledown effect on food security, hence reducing the assistance of aid agencies.

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Appendices

Annex: 1 Profile of the research participants

Communities receiving food in the County of Turkana Central

Homestead	Area	Type of Food aid	Gender	Persons per homestead	Age	Date
1	Nadapal	Conditional (food for assets)	Female	15	67 (not sure)	12/07/2011
2	Nadapal	Conditional (food for assets)	Male	4	25	12/07/2011
3	Nadapal	Conditional (food for assets)	Female	7	37	12/07/2011
4	Nadapal	Unconditional	Female	9	43	13/07/2011
5	Nadapal	Unconditional	Female	5	60 (not sure)	13/07/2011
6	Nadapal	Unconditional	Female	7	27	13/07/2011
8	Kapua	Unconditional	Female	6	28	14/07/2011
9	Katapakori	Unconditional	Female	10	32 (not sure)	14/07/2011
10	Katapakori	Unconditional	Female	6	25	14/07/2011
11	Katapakori	Unconditional	Female	3	35 (not sure)	14/07/2011
12	Kalokol	Unconditional	Female	7	38 (not sure)	15/07/2011
13	Kalokol	Unconditional	Female	3	50 (not sure)	15/07/2011

Aid Agencies

No.	Name	Type of food aid	In Charge	Dates
1	WFP	Unconditional	Program Officer	13/07/2011
2	World Vision	Unconditional	Program Officer	27/07/2011
3	Oxfam	Unconditional	Program Officer	15/07/2011
4	Red Cross	Emergency	Personal Assistant	14/07/2011
5	ChildFund	Conditional	Program Manager	13/07/2011
6	Merlin	Food supplements	Project Coordinator	10/08/2011
7	UNICEF	Food supplements	Field Coordinator	05/07/2011

Government Representation

No.	Name	Type of Assistance	In Charge	Date
1	Ministry of Special Programmes	Emergency	Project Coordinator	03/08/2011
2	Ministry of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands	Working with line Ministries	Projects Officer	11/08/2011
3	District Administration office	Representative of DSG	District Officer	14/07/2011

Annex: 2 Interview Questions

A. QUESTIONS FOR FOOD AID AGENCIES

1. For how long have you been working in Northern Kenya?
2. What kind of food aid do you provide and how much of it do you provide?
How do you identify/criteria beneficiaries of food aid?
3. Is the food provided on a weekly or a monthly basis?
How do you supply it?
4. Is the food provided by your agency the only source of food supply that the people have?
5. Do you think the food provided by your agency is sufficient? If not why?
6. In your opinion do you think food provision has altered their means of fending for themselves? Are you working in partnership with the government? Which ministries/departments in the government (or local authorities?) are you working with? If yes why?
7. Do you think that the relationship between you and the government is complementary in terms of service delivery? How is the government policy for service delivery in this area? Provision of basic infrastructure such as roads, health, schools, water, hospital
8. Has the government relied on you as food agencies for services delivery? (and is this a good or bad thing in terms of accountability towards the people etc?)
9. Do you only provide food assistance only or are there other ways in which you assist the people in northern Kenya?
10. Do you have a legal framework for food provision under which you operate?
11. Where do you get the food that you supply in Northern Kenya? If not in Kenya where?
12. Do you think that the food that is bought from outside the country disenfranchises the local producers?
13. If the food aid agencies were not present in northern Kenya do you think that the people in Northern Kenya would survive?
14. Do you have an exit strategy? Do you see yourselves moving away from Northern Kenya and going to other parts of the world?
15. What are the institutional policies/criteria that would guide you into the exit strategy?

B. QUESTIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES

1. How long have you been working in the Ministry of Arid Lands/Local authority?
2. What is the government's policy towards addressing the issue of food security?
3. Has the policy been effective?
4. Is the government carrying any policy reviews and evaluations?
5. Are you working in partnership with any food agencies? Which food agencies are you working with? If yes why?
6. Do you think that the government should be receiving food assistance from food aid agencies?
7. Do you have a strategy for reducing food aid?
8. Do you think that the relationship between the government and aid agencies is complementary in terms of service delivery?
9. How is the government policy for service delivery in this area? Provision of basic infrastructure such as roads, health, schools, water, hospital
10. Has the government relied on food agencies for services delivery
11. What resources do you think could enable the government to mitigate the situation in northern Kenya?

C. QUESTIONS TO THE COMMUNITY

1. How long have you been living in this area?
2. Have you moved to this place from another place? If yes why did you move?
3. How many people live in this homestead?
4. Do you have any source of livelihoods? Yes what?
5. Is the source of livelihood sufficient? If no why?
6. Do you get any food aid? If yes from whom?
7. What is the criteria of receiving food aid?
8. For how long have you been receiving food aid?
9. How sufficient has food aid been?
10. Does it complement your other food sources or it's the only source of food?
11. Has your diet changed since you started receiving food aid? If yes how?
12. Do you think you can survive without food aid? If no why?
13. Do you think that food aid should continue? If yes for how long?
14. Is there another form of assistance that you think that can be beneficial apart from food?
15. What do you think can be done to enable you to be self sufficient, not to be reliant on aid?
16. What is the relationship between you and the local authorities?
17. Do you have access to education, health, and roads?