SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF FOOD AID AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN TURKANA COUNTY, KENYA

BY

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DECLARATION

Declaration by Candidate

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my Mother Alamach Ikoku Abuongor. The efforts of Jecinta Tioko, my dear wife are not ignored. She played a big role while I was busy with academics.

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ABSTRACT

Food aid has become a major mechanism for stabilizing domestic supplies in food-insecure countries and targeting food supply to alleviate hunger and food insecurity. Food donations account for approximately one-tenth of all food transfers to developing countries. Various governmental and private organizations have participated in distribution of food aid to communities. However, few studies document how food aid has influenced the recipients understanding of food aid and how this understanding influences social relationships at the household level. This study is therefore aimed to investigate households' understanding of food aid and contextual factors that influence the meaning of food aid and how this affects social relationships at the household level among residents of Turkana County. This study adopted a case study design which was guided by social construction theory. The potential study participants were identified from households that were beneficiaries of food aid and sampled using snowballing technique to saturation at 45 households. Participants' data was collected using in-depth and key-informant interviews as well as focus group discussions. The recorded information was then transcribed and analyzed thematically. This study reports that food aid is understood differently in various contexts such as a savior, promoter of self-interest, political vehicle, demeaning, agent of mobility and as a source of worry and uncertainty. Furthermore, the participants had varying perception on food insecurity as an agent of conflict used in the erosion of culture, for corrupt and business dealings, an agent of dictatorship but also a source of livelihood diversification. It can be concluded that food insecurity and resultant food aid is a major source of household conflict in Turkana County as it not only destabilizes the social balance in the community but is also a tool for community manipulation. The study recommends enhanced community participation by humanitarian organizations, strengthened auditing initiatives on humanitarian organizations, diversification of income sources among residents of Turkana County as well as the creation of more sustainable livelihood coping strategies by both governmental and humanitarian organizations on food insecurity coping strategies. As a policy implication, the findings of this study demonstrate that there is need for legal, legislative and societal reforms on communal understanding of food aid and adoption of existing coping strategies. The theoretical implication of these study findings is that social construction theories are useful in the understanding of food insecurity as a social problem. Socially constructed meanings influence human behavior creating the need to deconstruct the meanings that societies bestow on food aid as an initial stage in mitigating food insecurity.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ASALs   Arid and Semi-Arid Lands

CBS   Central Bureau of Statistics

CSA   Community Supported Agriculture

DFID   Department for International Development

FAO   Food Aid Organization

FFW   Food for Work

GOK   Government of Kenya

HDDS   Household Dietary Diversity Score

HFCA   Household Food Consumption Approach

HH   Household

IFAD   International Fund for Agricultural Development

IFRC   International Federation of Red Cross and Red Cross Crescent Societies

IPCC   Inter-governmental Panel for Climate Change

IRN   Invoice Reference Number

OXFAM GB   Oxford Famine Great Britain

UNDP   United Nation Development Program

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF   United Nations International Children Education Fund

WFP   World Food Programme

WHO   World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

On 28th January 2013, the Standard newspaper; one of the two major circulating daily newspapers in Kenya, reported that several families in Turkana County had resorted to consuming dog meat as famine continued to ravage the County (Standard Group, 2013). This was considered gross and an indicator of utmost desperation as the Turkana community considers the eating of dog meat profane. This raised the question on the cascade of events that made residents of Turkana County to consider eating tabooed meat for survival. This was despite the roll-out of drought and famine programs in the county in form of food aid by non-state agencies. Secondly, this calamity raised the question of what had happened to the community coping strategies that had been instituted during previous episodes of droughts and famine. Why were there still images of malnourished residents of Turkana County all over the media despite an active presence of multiple non-state agencies dealing with food insecurity in the County? What has been the effect of food insecurity on social relationships at household level?

Previous government policy papers have reported that arid and semi-arid lands are home to the poorest and most marginalized people in the World (GOK, 2004). These regions occupy more than 80% of Kenya's land mass and host approximately 10 million people (GoK, 2007) whose main source of livelihood is pastoralism (GOK, 2003). These nomadic pastoralist communities account for 25% of Kenya's population who mainly rear cattle, camels, goats, sheep and donkeys which are suited for the environment. This is a blessing in disguise as more than half of Kenya's livestock populations are found in these ASALs which double up as the major meat

producing region in the country. Because of this, animal husbandry accounts for more than 90% of employment and family income for the residents of the region (Barrett and Luseno 2004; GoK, 2003). Because of climate change and stress on the land attributed to the current farming systems, there has been an increased focus on food security programs and disaster risk mitigation measures to reduce household vulnerability (IPCC 2014; IFRC 2014).

World Food Summit (1996) indicates that definite food insecurity is a situation where a household's members do not have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (Aiga & Dhur, 2006). However, this definition does not factor in disparity in the subjective definition of food insecurity in various sociocultural and economic settings. Other authors (Oino, 2018) argue that food insecurity does not only denote lack of food but also includes what people define as food contextually. Because of this, the World Food Programme defines most countries within Sub-Saharan Africa as food insecure, a situation that is compounded by high poverty level making the residents unable to afford their minimum calorie intake requirements for a healthy and active life (CSA, 2014). The problem is compounded in ASAL regions by high levels of poverty and climate change that affects their sources of livelihood. Consequently, most governments and non-state agencies have been involved in various intervention programs to mitigate the impact of food insecurity. One of the common interventions is the provision of food aid to vulnerable groups (FAO, 2008; Kareithi, 2014).

Food aid is the provision of food as a famine intervention to vulnerable communities by philanthropic institutions such as international non-governmental organizations, governments and churches. The reason for providing food aid is to protect the most

vulnerable communities from adverse impacts of food insecurity (Radelet, 2006; Pankaj, 2005; UNDP, 2005). The World Bank estimates that food aid accounts for approximately 10% of total food transfers to developing countries. This has become a major mechanism for stabilizing domestic supplies in food-insecure countries and targeting food supply as a measure of alleviating hunger. Various organizations separately or in conjunction with government agencies have participated in distribution of food aid to the affected communities. Globally, the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) is the leading organisation in the sourcing and distribution of food aid depending on the disaster and poverty index. This is also the case in Kenya as FAO ensures that all food donations trickle down to the targeted communities.

In the distribution of food, the food aid can be generally distributed to the deserving vulnerable populations or FAO deploys various commodification strategies to ensure a reduction in food insecurity. These include food for work (FFW) and monetization. Food for work is often used when emergency interventions were mounted rapidly, prior to the escalation of the crisis as it is not an appropriate intervention for people who are already malnourished or lack the necessary energy to undertake physical labor. There could also be strategic monetization strategies adopted by allowing recipients to sell their food aid to the local markets. Monetization can be used as a means of controlling the rise in the cost of food following acute shortages. Naturally, by increasing supply of food in the market, there is a subsequent reduction in the price of the food product. This is common in urbanized settings where the residents do not grow their food but depend on the local market for their purchases (Maxwell, et al., 2008).

Because of the endemic food insecurity in most arid and semi-arid areas of Kenya, food aid has been institutionalized. This not only creates over-dependence of the target community to food aid but also affect their traditional coping strategies to food insecurity. This is because the specific households develop a sense that they are not able to meet immediate food needs without external assistance (Lentz *et al*, 2005). This in turn may affect their behavior and social relationships (Lentz *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore, although food aid was supposed to mitigate emergency food security situations, over time it has turned into an international enterprise whereby international exporters of food and food-products dump their surplus production to food distributors such as FAO and World Food Program. This makes them reluctant to help come up with a sustainable strategy in addressing food insecurity across developing countries. For instance, although WFP was created to save lives, it is now in the business of food aid and has been criticized for depressing local food production supply chains and markets. This undermines the strategies and programs in developing counties to become food resilient and further perpetuates vulnerability to food aid (Kamau, 2019). According to Rupiya (2004:83), the African continent is the only region in the world that has not been able to feed itself since the mid-1970s hence a disposal of surplus of food from the developed Countries to them (Makenete et al (1998:252). The WFP, a program that started in 1961, and other agencies came up with the idea of food aid as a solution to world hunger (Shaw 2001:2). Shah (2003:1), for instance, regards food aid as a means for wealthy nations to dump surplus production for free (or nearly free) on poorer nations. He believes food aid is not sent for the benefit of the poor but for that of the US and European countries as principal beneficiaries of the food aid operation. Giroux (2001:277) agrees with Shah

and adds that under the pretense of a humanitarian gesture of food aid distribution, the US and Europe found an opportunity to rid themselves of their unwanted surpluses.

At the national level, food aid is used to support livelihoods with the aim of assisting assets with the aim of recovery. However, food aid has not been provided on the scale and for the duration needed for the livelihood support. The triggers of food insecurity especially in ASALs have never been adequately addressed by donors of food aid and most importantly, food aid alone cannot achieve sustainable livelihoods or even livelihood recovery. As a consequence, food aid alone acts as a catalyst for further marginalization of recipients in terms of food security (The Sphere Project, 2004). Political elites and government bureaucrats politicize food aid as a means of legitimizing and consolidating power. This has been reported among political leaders insecure of their popularity and legitimacy who often compensate their insecurity by controlling the means of survival and access to food. This indicates that food aid is used as a commodity that is tradable to perpetuate self-gain to institutions and actors involved through commodification of the process of food insecurity interventions.

From the previous description, it is clear that food insecurity is commodified through the provision of food aid by both national and international actors. This is in turn marginalizes the local receipts of food aid thus worsening their vulnerability (Kareithi, 2000). However little has been studied on how this food insecurity has influenced the recipients understanding of what food aid is and how this understanding influences social relationships at household level.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Many studies have reported direct and indirect impacts of droughts and floods on food security (Awange et al., 2007; Kotir, 2011; Week and Wizor 2020). However, it is worth noting that the agriculture and food sector absorbs about 22 percent of the total damage and losses caused by natural hazards such as floods (FAO, 2015b). These hazards have led to food insecurity which has pushed people to depend on food aid. Food insecurity is a major cause of morbidity, social conflict and it also affects the self-esteem of the affected individuals living in arid and semi-arid areas of Kenya such as Turkana County. The governments of Kenya as well as other non-Governmental and multinational organizations continue to focus on food aid as a solution to food insecurity. Food aid has unfortunately been used to perpetuate self-interest by the actors. This focus on self-interest has driven actors to undermine the resilience strategies of recipient communities and has led to social behaviour change by the food aid recipients. Although studies have been published to describe self-interest among various actors in the sourcing and distribution of food aid (Kareithi, 2014), these studies have not explored the influence of food aid at the household level to social relationships. This study therefore describes the community and household level understanding food aid, as well as the contextual factors that influence the social meaning of food aid and how this affects social relationships at the household level.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

1.2.1 Broad objective

To assess household understanding of food aid and how it affects social relationship at the household level.

1.2.2 Specific objectives

1. To investigate how households understand food aid and contextual factors.

2. To analyse how the meaning of food aid inform social relationships at the household-level among residents of Turkana.

1.3 Research Questions

1. How do households understand food aid?

2. How do meanings of food aid influence household social relationships?

1.4 Justification of the Study

Food insecurity is an issue of concern in ASAL areas hence resorting to food aid as the only option. Investigating how households understand food aid is a factor that cannot be ignored since the organizations and government all perceive it as a normal way of supporting the needy in the society. By using a social constructionist approach to frame this study, there is an understanding that different households have different ways of understanding food aid contextually. By recognizing this, this study not only contributes how social meanings of food informs social relationships at household level but also deals with how such relationships affect how people interact with such programs in Kenyan development goals on food insecurity agenda 4.

The findings of this study will help in understanding food aid, its social meaning and how it affects the social relationships at the household level. It will also help in getting an insight on the role of international, national and local level involvement in food aid. The top-down approach on the supply of food aid will help in exploring approaches suitable in development discourses. This study will offer opportunities in coming up with policy recommendations on how to adjust on the existing legislations

and unravel existing contexts which influence food aid and its social meaning and its impact to the households' perceptions.

The study has significance in policy and theoretical implications both at the national and international level. On Policy front, it demonstrates that reforms are required in societal and legal processes to ensure that policies on food aid and food insecurity interventions should be undertaken. The study makes contributions on how food aid is regarded as an entitlement and at the same time socially constructed by the recipients to give a different meaning that influences their social relationships. This therefore shows that there is a need to deconstruct the social meaning given to food aid so that it can be received well without it being branded as a beneficiary to the actors.

This study also is significant since it establishes different ways on how households understand food aid and how the meaning has benefitted them to cope with eventualities which require their actions and sending a message to the actors. The findings and recommendations are important to the policy makers who are involved in food aid since it gives them a perception from the beneficiaries so that they can change the approach and focus on sustainable projects that cannot be branded as a way of perpetuating self-gain. It helps in integrating agenda 4 and Vision 2030 on how food insecurity can be achieved through understanding the recipients' perception of food aid and how the beneficiaries are targeted.

The study is important for future scholars because it is an eye opener on social relationships and how food aid has influenced the dynamics of culture and over-reliance on food aid and ignoring coping strategies. This deconstruction of food aid influences future engagement and consideration of the household traditional ways and

how they can be used as a model to be adopted in the implementation of programs that are focused to the community to avoid conflicts.

1.5 Operational Definition of Terms

A livelihood refers to a means of making a living. It encompasses peoples' capabilities, assets, income and activities required to secure the necessities of life.

Livelihood strategies: This includes how people combine their income generating activities by the household to generate a living through adaptation and dealing with social relationships at the household level.

Food security is a measure of availability of food and an individual's ability to access it.

Food aid: help in the form of basic items of food in kind given to a country or region suffering from food shortage. It's a way of disposing surpluses when food prices are low and to prepare markets for future donor country exports.

Humanitarian agencies are organizations involved in provision of food and other aids to the beneficiaries in need.

Social construction assumes that people construct (i.e., create, make, invent) their understandings of the world and the meanings they give to encounters with others, or various products they or others create

Household refers to a house and its occupants regarded as a unit.

1.6 Assumptions of the Study

The study was conducted with the following assumption;

1. That the household respondents understand what food insecurity and food aid is

3. That the information given by the respondents is true and

4. That household respondents will give honest answers.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study establishes the social construction of food aid and its influence on social relationships in Turkana County. The coverage of this study was within Turkwel ward of Turkana County. The study consisted of household respondents who were sampled through snow balling. The FGD and key informants interviews were conducted in the study to provide information required in the study. The focus of the study was social construction of food aid and how households understand food aid and its role on social relationships. This was achieved through the research objectives. The study was carried out between April and July of 2016 involving household respondents and NGOs and Government key informants.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature based on the three objectives of the study. It focused on areas which helped in answering the themes for the study. The literature is on drought cycle in Turkana County, food security and Humanitarian organization's role in food insecurity Globally Africa Kenya. The chapter has the following sub sections; definition of food security, Household food security, humanitarian organizations and influence on livelihood coping strategies, humanitarian organizations and food distribution, perception of Humanitarian organizations, theoretical for the study.

2.1 Drought Cycle in Turkana County

The Drought Cycle Management model acts as a guide to development agencies supporting pastoral communities and communities themselves in planning for and responding to droughts. By putting the drought cycle as the central reference point, it ensures appropriate interventions are implemented before, during and after droughts. This ultimately reduces the risks and consequences of drought which leads to food insecurity among the pastoralists.

There are four stages of drought and the interventions recommended at every stage to manage the drought at every cycle among the Turkana pastoralists (Oxfam GB, 2006). The four stages are; normal, alert/alarm, emergency and recovery. They are important in explaining what and when the interventions on food insecurity are important hence requiring an understanding and the nature of intervention required at different stages of the drought cycle in Turkana County.

Table 2.1: Drought cycle in Turkana

1. Normal	*3. Emergency*
• Community development • Contingency planning • Capacity building • Infrastructural development	• Animal health interventions • Human health interventions • Emergency water supply systems • Supplementary feeding of vulnerable
2. Alert/alarm	*4. Recovery*
• Strategic stock piling of cereals and grains • Rehabilitation of the critical boreholes • Livestock marketing • Animal health • Supplementary feeding • Livestock	• Restocking • Rehabilitation of dams • Capacity building • Infrastructure development • Food water • Natural resource management

Source: Ebei and Oba (2007)

2.2 Households Understanding of Food Insecurity and Emergence of Food Aid

The world food summit definition of food security provided during the world food summit in 1996 was: "Food security at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels is achieved when all people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safer and nutritious food to meet dietary needs and food preference of an active and healthy life" (World Food Summit 1996). From this definition, food insecurity could be considered to be the absence of one or more of the conditions. Food insecurity could either be chronic or transitory. Transitory food insecurity falls somewhere in between the two types (FAO, 2008).

Food security is when a person is able to obtain a sufficient amount of healthy food on a day-to-day basis. People who do not consume enough food each day suffer from food insecurity, which is when a person is unable to obtain a sufficient amount of healthy food on a day-to-day basis. As a result of food insecurity, people suffer from chronic hunger and poor nutrition, and are, therefore, less likely to have healthy and productive lives. The uneven distribution of food is a major problem for the entire human population because it threatens food security. It is widely agreed upon that the main cause of food insecurity is poverty. Poverty makes it very difficult for people to grow their own food and also to buy enough food. Currently, it is estimated that over 1.5 billion people live on less than $1 a day, and are, therefore, unable to buy enough food to keep them healthy. Due to the low-income levels in many areas, it is also not possible for people to grow their own food because they do not have money to invest in agriculture (FAO, 2008).

The second leading cause of food insecurity is the growth of the human population. The human population has been growing steadily, and the amount of food needed to feed the population has also increased. Overall, the human population is expected to increase by about 2 billion people by 2050, and this will put a serious strain on the availability of food. Although currently enough food is produced to feed every human on Earth, as populations grow, the amount of people suffering from food insecurity will increase (FAO, 2008).

The increase in the human population will be particularly difficult in poor countries where people already struggle to obtain food and will have more trouble as the population increases. Additionally, the growing population can also influence food insecurity by limiting the amount of food available for consumption. As the human

population increases, there is a higher demand for alternative fuel sources, such as biofuels. In recent years, this demand has led to large amounts of corn being used to create biofuels, thus reducing the amount of corn available to feed people (World Food Summit, 1996).

However, the timing of chronic and transitory food insecurity classification has not been made explicit. Food security in Europe is the equivalent of food safety (the regulation and control of food supply chains) in the United States. Nutritional insecurity is sometimes used interchangeably with food insecurity however its definition is a little broader. Undernourishment is used by FAO to mean "a state" when caloric intake is below dietary energy requirement. Under nutrition is a result of undernourishment, poor absorption and poor biological use of nutrients consumed (FAO, 2008).

Hunger is the uneasy or painful sensation caused by lack of food. It is a recurrent and involuntary lack of access to food (American Institute of Nutrition, 1990). Food insufficiency on the other hand is an inadequate amount of food intake due to lack of money or resources. It is sometimes used as a synonym of hunger. Hidden hunger is the micronutrient deficiency from which about two billion people suffer worldwide. The Kenyan constitution, article 238 (1) provides that one of the principles of national security is the protection of all the citizens of Kenya, their rights, freedoms, property, peace, stability, prosperity and other national interests. Some of the rights of all Kenyans that are protected include the right to be free from hunger, to have adequate food of acceptable quality and uninterrupted supply of clean and safe water in adequate quantities at all times (Kenya Constitution, 2010).

All household members are assumed jointly to maximize some household level welfare function. As long as the household remains intact, it may be treated to act as a single individual. This is because all resources are pooled and reallocated according to a common rule. The implications of this concept on food security are: Household members share a common preference in resource allocation, household income and resources are pooled and allocated to maximize collective welfare, households with similar endowments respond similarly but independently to price, income and other exogenous changes.

The limitations of these concepts are: It inadequately accounts for heterogeneous preferences of different household members, the constraints faced by different decision makers and actors within the household in guiding resource allocation and the contribution they make to individual and household food security (Kabeer, 1991; Thomas, 1991). The assumption that households are discrete entities is seriously a variance with reality at least in the most agrarian context.

Diversity of food and income sources (cash and kind, farm and non-farm) is considered to be one of the main buffers households can develop against risks in the agrarian environment. Shocks associated with food insecurity include: work shocks, output shocks, food shocks, asset shocks and healthcare (chronic disease) shocks.

National food and nutrition security policy (2011) defines Food and nutrition security as a situation where all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. This policy paper goes on to explain the number of people suffering from chronic food insecurity and poor nutrition, and the number that require emergency food assistance at any given time. This policy paper too fails to

explain the commodification of food insecurity and livelihood coping strategies in Kenya therefore this study.

FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO (2018) in the State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World projected that the decade-long decline in the prevalence of undernourishment in the world had reached an end, and was possibly in reverse. This was largely attributed to persistent instability in conflict ridden regions, adverse climate events that have hit many regions of the world and economic slowdowns that had affected more peaceful settings and worsened the food security situation. Now, new evidence confirms that lower levels of per capita food consumption in some countries, and increased inequality in the ability to access food in the populations of other countries, have contributed to what is projected to be a further increase in the percentage of people in the world having insufficient dietary energy consumption. FAO too goes on to estimate the share of undernourished people in the world population. This study too does not explain the commodification of food insecurity and livelihood coping strategies in Kenya or elsewhere in the world hence this study.

Aylward (2013) in the study Food for People, Not for Profit provides a brief history of the transformation of food system over the last century and outlines the process of complete commodification of the world's food resources. In addition, the study discusses how free market ideology has come to legitimate and reinforce the corporate hold over our food resources. Over the last century, the complete commodification of food has shifted food production away from small farmers to an industry of giant vertically integrated corporations. The study goes on to demonstrate how the food system has become completely commodified so as to establish a basis of understanding the roots of injustice within the current completely food system. This

study too describes food insecurity and food aid and impact on social relationships. Therefore, this study sought to understand the aspect of food insecurity from the Turkana County Perspective.

Despite growing attention in the world media and expanding aid efforts by many organizations, the world household food insecurity continues to worsen as many communities struggle with daily hunger and starvation (Project Concern International, 2009). A myriad of factors has been responsible for the continuing world food insecurity. One factor is the rise in prices of the world staple foods (wheat, rice and corn). It is established that inflation of wheat is 120% and rice is 75% (ibid). Another factor is poverty. An estimated 100 million people have fallen into poverty in the last two years - for instance in 2007, Afghanistan households were spending 75% of their income on food (World Bank, 2008). Dependence on food imports also influences the global food insecurity. A case in point is Haiti where over 80% of staple rice is imported. The result of it is that over half of the country's population is under-nourished and 24% of children suffer chronic malnutrition. (Icheria, 2008)

Fresh food exports, for instance the export of horticulture produce from Ghana to Europe for monetary gains has resulted in the country importing a significant proportion of its staple food such as rice, ultimately leaving the country exposed to the spiraling world food prices. Moreover, the climate change due to global warming has influenced world household food insecurity. El-ninos and La- ninas hamper good crop production in Latin America and the Sub-Saharan Africa. Droughts caused by La-ninas have caused household food insecurity especially in Ethiopia where 7 million people are classified as food insecure and a further 10 million classified as prone to drought, (ibid). Other factors that contribute to household food insecurity in

the world include: Shift to more non-agricultural technology, politics, environmental degradation, insecurity and high population growth (Icheria, 2008).

Several consequences of global household food insecurity have manifested themselves. Demand for food aid is a serious consequence of the food insecurity. Each year, 10% of Burundi's population requires food aid, (FAO, 2008). Another consequence is poor health status exemplified in Benin, whereby almost a quarter of children below 5 years are underweight, (ibid). There are also increased malnutrition rates globally whereby in 2004, the global malnutrition was 15%, (WHO, 2004). World household food insecurity has also increased poverty levels among the global population and there was also serious global hunger index of 15.1% in 2010 (Icheria, 2008, Grebmer, 2010).

2.2.1 Food insecurity and food aid in Africa

Various countries in Africa have experienced the devastating effects of household food insecurity. For instance, Cameroon in West Africa, Egypt in Northern Africa, Ethiopia in the Eastern Africa and South Africa in the extreme Southern Africa. The World Food Programme (WFP) describes Cameroon as a food insecure country, and has further demonstrated that food intake in households is lower now than in the early 1980s. The result of this is that 19% of young children in the country are underweight and child mortality rate is rising rather than falling (Icheria, 2008, Oneworld.net (US), 2009).

Egypt produces half of its demand for wheat. In spite of the average food production, the country is exposed to the escalating food prices due to its wheat imports. It is classified as the number one importer of the produce in the world. The country also has a high population growth rate of 2% per annum. Moreover, the desert terrain of

the Sahara limits crop production. A report by the World Bank indicates that the baladi bread subsidy costs Egyptian government almost $ 3.5 million per annum (Icheria, 2008, Oneworld.net (US), 2009).

Ethiopia experiences serious household food insecurity. Over 7 million people out of Ethiopia's population of 76.9 million people are classified as food insecure; and a further 10 million people are identified as prone to drought. High population growth rate in the country increases the food insecurity further (Chu, 2009). Although South Africa produces bumper harvests especially in the 2007/08 season, it has been affected by high food prices in the declining world economy. High food prices are causing hardship particularly among the poorest family households who spend a huge proportion of their income on food (Oneworld.net (US), 2009).

2.2.2 Food insecurity and food aid in Kenya

Household food insecurity in Kenya is caused by inadequate farming area**.** It is only 18% of Kenya's territory which is suitable for farming. Another cause is poverty. The 2007/08 United Nations Human Development Report noted that almost 24% of Kenyans are living on less than one dollar a day, therefore not food sustaining (CBS, 2001). Droughts in ASAL areas of Kenya have brought about a decline in crop and livestock production among households in these regions. Moreover, floods cause displacement of people making them vulnerable to household food insecurity. It is estimated that the 2006 floods affected 700,000 people in the country; most of them cut off from food aid due to impassable roads (ibid). The 2008 post- election violence disrupted the March/April agricultural production. The World Food Programme reported that 50% of farmers were not sufficiently prepared for farming due to the post- election turmoil. In addition, erratic rainfall exacerbates household food

insecurity in the country. Poor rains in 1996 prompted the GOK to declare a state of national disaster on January the 28th (Icheria, 2008, IRIN Humanitarian Report, 1997).

The GOK has assisted farmers in crop production by providing farm input subsidy, by granting a 10% price reduction for seeds. The Citizen News reported that the government has also imported fertilizer thus bringing down the cost from an all-time high of Ksh5, 500 to Ksh2, 500 per 50 kilogram (kg) bag. Successive years of drought up to 2006 compelled the WFP to provide relief support to over 3 million people in the country. The GOK in collaboration with the WFP is also feeding 1 million people under the Emergency Intervention Programme, while another 1 million are receiving direct government aid (Icheria, 2008).

Disappointingly in Kenya and other African countries like Ethiopia, food security has generally been taken to be synonymous with maize insecurity by policy makers and other segments of society. This is because maize is not only the main staple food but also the most common crop grown by rural poor households for food (Nyoro et al., 1999). According to FAO Stat (2009), the average person in Kenya consumes 2155 kilocalories of food per day. Of this, 1183 kilocalories (55%) are in the form of the main staples: maize, wheat, beans, potatoes, plantains, and rice. Over the last 40 years, caloric intake per person appears to have been roughly constant over time in Kenya, dipping in the early 1990s but rising gradually since then. Maize is clearly the main staple food in Kenya, accounting for 65% of total staple food caloric intake and 36% of total food caloric intake (FAO Stat, 2009).

The average person consumes 88 kgs of maize products per year. Wheat is the second most important staple food nationally, accounting for 17% of staple food consumption

in Kenya. However, recent urban consumption surveys indicate that wheat products have overtaken maize in terms of expenditures in urban areas, and the share of rice in urban food consumption is also rising (Muyanga et al, 2005).

Kyalo (2003) defines Food insecurity as the severe shortage of food and is defined as the reverse situation of food security. He goes on to explain famine as severe shortage of food, generally affecting a widespread area and large numbers of people. In this study, the terms food insecurity, hunger, and famine are used interchangeably to reflect severe shortage of food caused by one or more factors. He goes on to say that Food insecure individuals are said to be afflicted with hunger and that the Kenya government uses strategies which are also used by various external stakeholders involved in the fight against hunger. These external strategies in his study are referred to as "Top-down" strategies or "Strategies from above". "Bottom-up" strategies or "strategies from below", or "internal strategies". This study fails to indicate how food has been commodified in Kenya therefore the necessity of this study

According to Juhar (2012) food insecurity in Ethiopia is a serious problem facing humanity. Households face recurrent food shortages most of which threaten their livelihoods and impact negatively on their Welfare. Empirical findings on this study have shown that access to sufficient food is unstable he suggests that whether a household or individual is food secure at any point in time is best thought of in a dynamic sense. this study goes on to analyze the vulnerability in groups of households that are more likely to be food insecure and to remain food insecure in the near future and to identify the influencing factors of vulnerability to food insecurity but too does not define food insecurity and also explain the commodification of food insecurity and livelihood coping strategies therefore this study.

Icheria (2008) in her study Food insecurity is a major development problem that is caused by myriad of factors in the global, regional, national and local spheres of human life has explain the several efforts that have been put in place to alleviate food insecurity globally, nationally and even locally. She goes on to explain that despite these efforts, the situation continues to prevail and sometimes even increase in the contemporary human society. According to her study, it is therefore imperative that food insecurity gets addressed appropriately and that small scale farmers play a vital role in food production especially through subsistent farming. This study too fails to establish that the households are major casualties of food insecurity despite their efforts in food production. This study despite establishing the coping strategies among small scale farmers in Tharaka Central Division of Tharaka South District in Kenya, it fails to define food insecurity and does not explain the commodification aspect of food insecurity and livelihood coping strategies in Turkana County therefore this study.

Kareithi (2014) conducted a study on the food security situation in Turkana district now Turkana County and analyzed the external interventions and drought and famine management strategies. He identified some of the community's coping strategies which included nomadic migration of people and their herds, storage of food and fodder, diversification of economic activities, seeking relief from Donors like Government of Kenya. Kareithi (2014) also recommended proactive management of drought and famine, taking advantage of good years to reduce severity of famine impact during bad years. This, he noted, should be the core of development planning. Since then, policies have been. This study was done before the devolved governance and the population then was low as compared to now. The study despite the findings did not have a justification on the commodification of food insecurity and livelihood

coping strategies in Turkana County therefore this study.

When households face starvation, traditional methods of adaptation are adopted to reduce eventualities like death of livestock and severe hunger. Different adaptation mechanisms are adopted by the households so that they can survive. The adaptations can either be external or internal.

Adger (2007) states that adaptation and coping practices are therefore necessary to reduce vulnerability to drought stresses as well as to prepare for possible future extreme climate events. Adaptation therefore involves adjustments in reducing the vulnerability of households to climatic variability and change. This study does not explain which coping strategies are adopted and it does not explain the strategies in Turkana which is the reason for the study.

Blaikie (1994) defined coping as the manner in which people act within existing resources and ranges of expectation in a given context to achieve various ends. Therefore, adaptation involves longer-term shifts in livelihood strategies, while coping involves temporary adjustment in response to change or to mitigate shocks and stress on livelihoods.

2.2.3 Food aid and strategies to reduce food insecurity at the household level

Food aid is understood by different actors contextually depending on the impacts of food insecurity experience in different areas. To understand food aid, different strategies are used so that food security is achieved. This gives the meaning of how food aid is conceptualized

2.2.3.1 Estimating levels/status of food insecurity

There are various approaches of estimating levels of household food insecurity. However, there is no single approach that is universally accepted as the standard measure of the levels (Aiga & Dhur, 2006). Global household food insecurity levels can be described by high food prices, high levels of malnutrition, high levels of maternal mortality, high levels of vulnerability and high levels of poverty (UN Food Security Taskforce, 2008). Vulnerability, for those concerned with food insecurity, is the probability of an acute decline in food access or consumption due to hazards in the physical or social environment. Typical hazards include weather disturbances, such as drought, or man-made disturbances, such as civil war or extreme price fluctuations (Rose, 2008).

One of the main problems with measuring household food insecurity is the absence of a single indicator that could capture the definition of 'food-insecure households' hence, the results of household food insecurity measurement may vary according to who conducts each assessment (Aiga & Dhur, 2006). To contribute to efforts to standardize household food insecurity measurement, WFP (2006) has explored the use of an indicator that could adequately estimate the severity of household food insecurity by adopting Household program (Icheria, 2008). Household

Food Consumption Approach (HFCA) that uses a variety of indicators and approaches to describe multi-faceted dimensions of household food insecurity and the status of household food availability, access and utilization; and the indicators are household food consumption pattern indicators - dietary diversity, food frequency and food sources (Icheria, 2008).

HDDS of 24-hour recall involves 12 food groups and are classified thus: ≤3, 4 to 5 and ≥6 as lowest dietary diversity, medium dietary diversity and high dietary diversity, and are further referred to as poor, borderline and acceptable food security status respectively (Kennedy, Ballard, & Dop, 2011). HFCS thresholds of 7-day food frequency are classified thus: 0-21 as food poor, 21.5-35 as borderline and >35 as acceptable (IFPRI, 2008). However, for households that consume oil and sugar nearly daily, the thresholds for the three consumption groups are raised from 21 and 35 to 28 and 42 according to WFP (2007) to avoid serious underestimation of food insecurity status (Icheria,2008).

A research carried out in 2005 in Darfur by WFP's Humanitarian Practice Network estimated the proportion of food insecure households in two steps. In the first step, households were classified into three food consumption groups as acceptable, borderline and food poor according to the diversity of the diet and food consumption frequency. The other step was classification of households depending on the primary source of food, specifically whether from food aid, and the households were classified into three food security groups as food secure, vulnerable to becoming food insecure.

This classification aimed at estimating the sustainability of the then food consumption levels through the analysis of the primary source of food consumed (Aiga and Dhur, 2006).

A research carried out by Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance (FANTA) Project to identify scientifically validated, easier and more user-friendly approaches to measuring the access component of household food insecurity used Household Food Insecurity and Access Scale (HFIAS) approach by classifying households as food secure, mildly food insecure, moderately food insecure and severely food insecure.

The indicators of food insecurity were according to household dietary diversity score and months of inadequate household food provisioning (Swindale & Bilinsky, 2009).

2.2.3.2 Coping strategies

Coping strategies are how households adapt to the presence or threat of food shortages, and the person within the household who has primary responsibility for preparing and serving meals is asked a series of questions regarding how households are responding to food shortages (Maxwell, et al., 2008). The impact of household food insecurity can be minimized post its occurrence through coping strategies. Coping strategies are 'ex post' measures in that they seek to reduce the impact of a negative event once it has happened (Rose, 2008). Among coping strategies are relying on less preferred/inexpensive food; borrowing food, or relying on help from friends or relatives; gathering wild food, hunting or harvesting immature crops; consuming seed stock held for the next season; sending household members to eat elsewhere; limiting portion size at meal times; restricting adult consumption in favor of small children; reducing the number of meals eaten in a day; skipping entire days without eating and begging from neighbors or friends (Mjonono, Ngidi & Hendriks, 2009). Increased reliance on coping strategies is associated with lower food availability and the higher the weighted sums of coping strategies, the more a household is food insecure, (Maxwell, 2008).

Modest dietary adjustments (eating less-preferred foods or reducing portion size) are easily reversible strategies that do not jeopardize longer-term prospects; more extreme behaviors (sale of productive assets) suggest more serious long-term consequences and, many studies have noted that as food insecurity worsens, households are more likely to employ strategies that are less reversible, and therefore represent a more

severe form of coping and greater food insecurity (ibid). Farm family households in ASAL regions of Kenya are depending on undesirable coping strategies to reduce the impacts of their households' food insecurity, such as charcoal production which degrade the environment ultimately endangering future crop production (WFP, 2009).

Nearly a billion people across the world experience the effects of food insecurity. According to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 2009), food security means having, at all times, both physical and economic access to sufficient food to meet dietary needs for a productive and healthy life. Put more simply, families are able to *afford* and *obtain* enough nutritious food. A family is food secure when its members do not live-in hunger or fear of hunger. Both in the United States and in developing nations, food insecurity is often linked to poverty. Shifts in the global economy, including rises in global food and oil prices, can affect food security throughout the world, with especially severe effects in low-income countries (Icheria, 2008).

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines three main aspects of food security. The first is food availability, having a sufficient supply of food *available* on a consistent basis. This food can be either locally produced or imported from other places. In some cases, communities may be unable to produce their own food locally because of inappropriate agricultural technologies or practices; lack of natural resources or productive land; climate constraints; emergency situations like natural disasters; or health constraints, such as HIV/AIDS, that prevent people from engaging in labor. Communities may be unable to import food from other places because of issues like lack of foreign exchange, political unrest, or lack of transportation.

The second aspect of food security is food access, having sufficient resources to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet. Even when a sufficient supply of food exists to feed everyone, food may not always be *accessible* to everyone. People need to have sufficient incomes and resources in order to obtain food. There are a number of factors that can affect a person's economic access to food, including lack of job opportunities that can provide sufficient income, or lack of training or business knowledge for success with income generating activities (Icheria, 2008).

The final aspect of food security is known as food utilization, or consuming a nutritious diet. This means that people make appropriate use of food, based on knowledge of basic nutrition and care, and have access to water and sanitation for preparing food and maintaining proper hygiene. Nutrition education can be an important part of improving food utilization-making sure people are aware of the variety of foods their bodies need to maintain good health. In many parts of the world experiencing food insecurity, people may consume enough starchy staple foods like potatoes, rice, maize, and cassava, but insufficient quantities of protein, oils, dairy, fruits and vegetables that make up a balanced diet. Changing this may not only require nutrition education, but also increasing food availability through improved agricultural practices and resources.

Disease prevention and management, including proper sanitation and hygiene practices, are also important for proper food utilization. Undernourished human bodies are more susceptible to illnesses like diarrheal disease and pneumonia. But with proper nutrition, sanitation, and hygiene, many diseases-especially those caused by food and waterborne contaminants-are less likely to occur.

Food security is an issue both globally and at in the United States. According to recent data from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), approximately 14.7% of U.S. households experience low or very low food security. This equates to nearly 50 million people in the United States, including about 17 million children. In response to food insecurity, the U.S. government offers food assistance to low-income families through the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). This allows provides families with electronic benefits they can use like a debit card to purchase breads, cereals, fruits, vegetables, meat, and dairy products from approved stores. The federal government also funds school breakfast and lunch programs. Some community-based organizations, such as food banks, help address families' immediate food needs, while others work to address the root causes of food insecurity, improve local access to nutritious food, and provide community-based nutrition education.

Looking at food security globally, the number of people experiencing food insecurity in the United States and other developed nations makes up only about two percent of the global total. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) states that 925 million people in the world are undernourished. The largest percentage of undernourished people live in Asia and the Pacific Islands, followed by Sub-Saharan Africa. Fortunately, there *is* enough food in the world today for everyone to have the nourishment they need for a healthy and productive life. A key factor in addressing the world's food security challenges is improving the availability, access, and utilization of food across global communities.

Peace Corps Volunteers work with communities in many different capacities to address food security challenges. They support communities in developing irrigation systems to increase agricultural yields, in developing sustainable new food sources

through practices like fish farming, and in helping communities improve the processing and marketing of their food products. They also provide assistance with school garden projects, agricultural micro-enterprises, and nutrition education initiatives. Explore the stories on Paul D. Coverdell World Wise Schools programme Global Issues page to learn more about how Peace Corps Volunteers' work in education, agriculture, income generation, health and nutrition is helping communities increase their food security.

A family on the other hand consists of a household head and one or more people living in the same household who are related to the householder by birth, marriage or adoption. "The household is central to the development process. Not only is the household a production unit; but it is also a consumption, social and demographic unit" (Kenya: Ministry of Planning and Development).

In the South Africa census: "A household consists of a person or group of persons who occupy a common dwelling – or part of it- for at least four days a week and who provide themselves jointly with food and other essentials for living. They live together as a unit".

The preferred coping strategies during food insecurity include: Reduction in food intake to preserve essential assets, genetic, physiological and behavioral adaptations, distress migration and the formation of camps, reduction in energy expenditure and economic adaptation (substituting comfortable for energetic work by adults; reduced play and work by children)

2.2.3.3 Strategies for dealing with food insecurity in the In the USA

The U.S Global Food Security Strategy (2016) presents an integrated whole-of-government strategy and agency's specific implementation plans as required by the Global Food Security Act of 2016 (GFSA). This strategy reflects the unique skills, resources, and lessons learned from U.S. federal departments and agencies that contribute to global food security, as well as input from partners throughout the private sector, academic institutions, and civil society. The U.S. Government through this strategic plan has contributed to the achievement of global food security and the range of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), together with partners across the globe (GFSA, 2016).

The world is closer to ending global hunger, under nutrition, and extreme poverty, but significant challenges and opportunities remain, including urbanization, gender inequality, instability and conflict, the effects of a changing climate, and environmental degradation. Despite this assertion in global food security and nutrition over recent years, a projected 702 million people still live in extreme poverty, nearly 800 million people around the world are chronically undernourished and 159 million children under five are stunted (GFSA, 2016). Food security is not just an economic and humanitarian issue; it is also a matter of security, as growing concentrations of poverty and hunger leave countries and communities vulnerable to increased instability, conflict, and violence. The U.S. Government, in partnership with other governments, civil society, multilateral development institutions, research institutions, universities, and the private sector, will build on experience to date to address these challenges, take advantage of opportunities, and advance food security and improved nutrition by focusing efforts around the interrelated and interdependent objectives. The key strategies in strengthening the ability to achieve these objectives are;

i)   Targeting investments in countries and geographic areas where the US has greatest potential to sustainably improve food security and nutrition and strategically focusing on the resources on those approaches and interventions that evidence shows will reduce extreme poverty, hunger, and malnutrition at scale.

ii)   Implementing a comprehensive, multi-faceted whole-of-government approach rooted in lessons learned and evidence that reflects emerging trends.

iii) Leadership, recognizing that developing countries, above all others, must own and be empowered to lead and guide these efforts to drive progress.

iv)   Partnerships with a wide range of development actors and groups, which will improve the reach, effectiveness, efficiency, and sustainability of our efforts. This includes using foreign aid strategically to catalyze domestic resource mobilization and private sector-driven trade and economic development.

v)   Harnessing the power of science, technology, and innovation to dramatically improve food and agriculture system practices as well as increase local capacity to address these issues.

vi)   The sustainability of programs by reducing susceptibility to recurrent food crises and large international expenditures on humanitarian assistance and ensuring a sustainable food and agriculture system with adequate and appropriate finance available to key actors.

As emphasized by the integrated nature of the SDGs, reducing global poverty and hunger and achieving food security and nutrition require a broader set of results that come from aligning with and leveraging other U.S. strategies, investments, and

programs. Explicitly connecting to and supporting these work streams helps ensure that this strategy leverages investments and key stakeholder contributions across the U.S. Government to maximize results (U.S. Government Global Food Security Strategy, 2016)

Strategies in Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, changes in the prevalence of hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition, Food security continues to face many challenges despite impressive progress in the production of rice – the country's staple food – since the country gained independence in 1971. Chief among these challenges is population growth, climate change, scarce natural resources, vulnerability to price shocks, and persistent poverty and malnutrition. In spite of these challenges, the country met the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) target of reducing hunger in 2015 and is on track towards the targets of reducing poverty and reducing the number of children under five years who are underweight. Nevertheless, the prevalence of stunting among children under the age of five remains high and indicators of Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM) and Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM) in the country have increased above the World Health Organization's emergency thresholds. Overall, the drop in income poverty in Bangladesh does not seem to have resulted in commensurate nutritional outcomes (Cortijo, 2014).

Changes in commitments and capacities 2005 versus 2013: results from the FSCCP Over the last decade, there has been a substantial improvement in Bangladesh's commitment and capacity to improve food security and nutrition (FSN). The country's approach to FSN is balanced in terms of the importance it gives to short-term actions and to more development-oriented ones. In addition, the country now

relies mostly on domestic funds rather than on overseas aid for FSN actions. With regard to policies, programs and legal frameworks for FSN, considerable progress has been made thanks to the development of a set of policies, strategies and investment plans that use a balanced and comprehensive approach to improving FSN. In terms of human and financial resources allocated to FSN, several improvements have been observed since 2005, most notably in terms of the knowledge that national level government staff have about issues relating to FSN. There have also been improvements in terms of the funds allocated to FSN. Finally, new stakeholder coordination mechanisms – with a better representation of different stakeholders and sectors – have been put into place to match the expanded remit of the country's National Food Policy (NFP). On the whole, these mechanisms function well (Cortijo, 2014)

Strategies in Tanzania

In Tanzania, food insecurity is an issue of a major concern. This is particularly so in the central zone of Tanzania (Dodoma and Singida regions). This zone has the highest prevalence of transitory and chronic food insecurity incidences (FAO, 1998). Chamwino (Dodoma region) and Manyoni (Singida region) districts are among 65 districts in Tanzania, which are badly affected by food insecurity, resulting from prolonged drought, which is caused by climate change. Climate change phenomenon has affected the rain pattern in the two districts for the past ten years (Temu, 2011, Elmerinda, 2016).).

Households, all over Chamwino and Manyoni districts, are engaged in different and often multiple coping strategies (Liwenga, 2003). Coping strategies relate to the manner in which households secure livelihoods when affected by environmental

events. Therefore, households coping strategies in Chamwino and Manyoni districts attempt to minimize the intensity and duration of food insecurity crisis by maximizing limited resources. However, households vary in their capacity to mobilize and manage resources and thus ability to cope (Ericksen, 2000, Elmerinda, 2016).

Household ability to diversify livelihoods is critical to local welfare and may be particularly important in mitigating risk, uncertainty and contingencies (Mortimore 1989; Scoones, 1996; Ellis, 1998). Households engage in multiple activities and rely on diversified income portfolios for their livelihoods. Livelihood strategies are the combination of activities that people choose to undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals like food security. They include productive activities, investment strategies and reproductive choices. Livelihoods approaches try to understand the strategies pursued and the factors behind people's decisions to reinforce the positive aspects of these strategies and mitigate constraints. The choice of strategies is a dynamic process in which people combine activities to meet their changing needs. For example, in farming households, activities are not necessarily confined to agriculture, but often include non-farm activities in order to diversify income and meet household needs including food security (Elmerinda, 2016).

The adaptive strategies are the strategies in which a region or a sector responds to changes in their livelihood through either autonomous or planned adaptation (Senbeta, 2009). Adaptation studies have often emphasized measures to reduce sensitivity by for example, changing to forms of agriculture which are less climate sensitive thus reducing the need for coping (Siri et al., 2005). In fact, there are two kinds of responses to crisis mainly resulting from food insecurity; and these are adaptive strategies and coping strategies (Elmerinda, 2016).

Strategies in Kenya

Strategies by Internal Stakeholders and Communities resort to their own coping strategies in order to fight hunger. This according to scholars like Kareithi (2014) call itself help coping strategies. Community strategies are referred to as: "bottom-up strategies", "strategies from below or "internal strategies". The local community has a role to play by providing cooperation, participation, ownership, and cost- sharing, either in cash or kind. They should also be involved throughout the whole process of fighting hunger and achieving sustainable food security. Internally developed strategies are self-perpetuating and enjoy support and participation from the affected community members. The community has ownership and hence feels obliged to sustain them. In the most recent development blueprint for Kenya (Kenya Vision 2030:1, Kvalo 2003). Participation and consultation have been emphasized and the government involved "Kenyans from all parts of the country". The Vision is based on three pillars namely: The Economic. The Social, and the Political. Overall development means that all the three factors must improve. Social development is impossible to achieve without achieving food security. The point of departure for this study is based on the assumption that external strategies have failed to achieve sustainable food security and it is high time rural community strategies were given a chance: identified, given due recognition, supported, and disseminated to the wider food insecure communities in the country (Kvalo , 2003).

The strategies that the community and the government of Kenya has put in place for food security are; starting with the communities in Turkana County and the government of Kenya on its own internal coordination framework for food security and drought management include:

i) **Self-help organizations as coping strategies**

The tradition of community self-help groups is of long standing in Kenya. This is anchored in cultural tradition of mutual assistance among members of the community widespread in Kenyan societies. At independence the initiation of '*Harambee*' (pulling together) as a motto, for self-driven development brought about organized groups for collective local self-development. The self-help groups are voluntary and formed through the initiative of individuals, but administratively they are required to register with the Ministry of Culture and Social Services at a fee. Through the registration, the groups receive a formal certification in acknowledgement of their legitimacy, which can be used to open a bank account in the name of the group. Households in the study area were surveyed for their membership and participation in the self-help groups, and the characteristics of the groups they belonged to. The study showed that 36.4% of the households have at least a member in a self-help/women group. Some households have membership in more than one group. Thus, although urbanization erodes the cultural foundation for the formation of associations (Narayan 1999: 92), people still have some basis to come together as solidarity groups for their own well-being. (Kareithi, 2000).

ii) **The Kenya Food Security Meeting (KFSM):**

It includes all stakeholder organizations at the national level, which have interest in drought management and food security. These encompass Ministries. Donors. UN agencies and NGOs. "Membership of the KFSM is open to all relevant agencies and the GoK encourages participation of all partners" (Muhwang'a and Leparteleg, 2004:15-16, Kyalo, 2003).

iii) The Kenya Food Security' Steering Group (KFSSG):

It is a sub- group of KFSM and is composed of technical representatives from NGOs. UN agencies. Donors and GoK. It provides technical advisory services to all stakeholders on issues of drought management and food security. The KFSSG also meets monthly and has restricted membership (Kylo, 2003).

iv) The Inter-Ministerial Committee on Drought and Food Security (IMCDFS):

It is a GoK Committee formed in June 1999. Chaired by Office of the President. Members include Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Health. Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources. Ministry of Water Resources and the Arid Land Resources Management Project (ALRMP). It coordinates relevant GoK Ministry activities and acts as a two-way channel between the OP and the relevant Ministry in matters concerning food security and drought management. The committee meets as required (Kyalo, 2003).

v) Geographical Review Teams (GRTs):

These are small teams of technical personnel from the GoK. NGOs and UN agencies. These teams were formed in March 1999. While acting upon recommendations from the KFSSG. Currently, they meet on a monthly basis to access, make recommendations and plan response activities, which mainly consist of relief food distribution. This, again, perpetuates dependency (Kylo, 2003).

vi) The National Food Security Executive Committee (NFSEC):

Cabinet committee made up of Ministers concerned with food security. The President, who is the final authority on drought management and food security in Kenya, chairs it. It has been proposed that this committee be enlarged to deal with all disasters. The committee assists in decision making on when to declare food insecurity as national

disasters and authorize distribution of relief food to victims as well as making international appeals to donors (Kylo, 2003).

vii) The National Food Security Coordinating Committee (NFSCC):

Committee made up of Permanent Secretaries of key Ministries, chaired by the Head of the Public Service and meets as required (Kyalo, 2003).

viii) **Disaster Management Team / Office of the President (DM IVOP):**

A committee composed of Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP), Relief and Rehabilitation (R&R) and National Operation Centre (NOC). Its main tasks and responsibilities include: strategic planning and management of emergencies such as famines, floods and sudden onset disaster preparedness, information management and rapid reaction and the integration of relief operations with drought management, among other duties (Kylo, 2003).

ix) District Level Structures:

These include District Steering Groups (DSGs) which are a sub-committee of the District Development committee (DDC). The DSG may constitute standing technical working groups. It is evident that the necessary structures are in place but ironically the community continues to suffer food insecurity. An evaluation of the strategies is necessary to find out how existing structures within the external stakeholders and the community can be utilized for synergy to achieve sustainable food security (Kylo, 2003).

Initiatives to mitigate current food insecurity situation

The strategy for achieving food security has mainly been a combination of long-term action to enhance productive potential and incomes with programs and policies that respond to immediate needs of the poor and food insecure. Government supports

efforts to increase agricultural productivity by revamping the development and application of improved technologies and reviving extension services. Secondly, Government supports purchase and storage of Strategic Grain Reserve (SGR) as well as intervening in stabilizing the price of cereals by participating in the market through NCPB. While these strategies have been put in place to attain national food availability, deficits continue to recur especially in years of prolonged drought and floods. Furthermore, national food security has not guaranteed household food availability and accessibility. Transportation of the foodstuff 12 produced in one area to the food deficit areas continue to pose a major challenge due to poor infrastructure in some parts of the country. People in the food deficit areas lack purchasing power hence rely on famine relief. During the years of drought, the government imports grain and offer duty waiver for private sector as an incentive. Kenya has however, been generally self-sufficient in maize except a few years such 2004/2005, 2007/2008 and 2008/09 (MOA Reports). This is attributed to the disruption of farming activities as a result of post-election violence, soaring costs of farm inputs, high energy costs, unfavorable weather conditions and diminishing global food supply which has imparted negatively on national food security. The desirable situation is when the country has stable and long-term food security especially at national level. In view of the above scenario, the government has put in place immediate to short term and long-term measures to address food insecurity concerns. In an effort to address Food security in the country the Government has put in place short- and long-term strategies. These include policies and strategies that focus on production, food diversification, value addition, marketing and availability. In recent years the government has put in place key policy documents (strategies) that provide the needed thrust in the Agriculture and Rural Development (ARD) sector. These key documents

include the Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture (SRA) 2004 - 2014 and the Ministry's Strategic Plan (SP) 2006-2010 and now the vision 2030 strategy as successor to the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment creation. The Vision 2030 particularly recognizes that Agriculture will continue to play a crucial role towards the achievement of a sustained GDP growth rate of 10% annually. The Ministry will make its contribution through implementation of several flag ship projects identified. These include: Development of an Agricultural Land Master Plan, passage of a consolidated agricultural policy reform and legislation, implementation of a 3- tiered fertilizer cost reduction programme, emphasis on value addition to agricultural produce in order to increase incomes to farmers (Vision 2030, 2007). The following are some of the programmes that the Ministry of Agriculture is implementing with the aim of achieving a sustainable national food security:

Short term interventions

The Government has adopted continuation of policy of free maize marketing and is developing an effective well targeted subsidy scheme for the vulnerable. This scheme will be broadened to include the vulnerable groups in urban centers and those scattered in pockets in the high potential rural settings. Waiver of duty on imported maize by the private sector from 16th January 2009 to 30th June 2010. Strategic Grain Reserve (SGR) was raised from 4 million bags to 6 million bags and to 8 million bags by the end of 2010/2011 financial year. The SGR also included other foodstuffs like sorghum, millet, beans, powdered milk, hay for animal feed and change name to Strategic Food Reserve (SFR) – to broaden the types of food held under SFR.

Long Term Intervention Programmes

These intervention programmes include;

i.   *Njaa Marufuku* Kenya (NMK): This programme targets the poor people who have been depending on food relief. It gives grants to farmer groups and schools to produce their own food. The Government, in collaboration with FAO, has disbursed Ksh 327.6 million to assist 1,866 groups, 40 schools and 35 organizations to undertake food security projects (Kiome, 2009).

ii.   Water Harvesting for Crop Production: The objective of this is construction of water pans and micro-dams for crop production to address food security. The programme was started in 2007 and has disbursed over KES 200 million and constructed 145 water pans. In the financial year 2009/2010 the programme targets to build another 200 of such pans at a cost of KES 100 million. This programme is wholly funded by Government of Kenya (Kiome, 2009).

iii.   Boosting food production through irrigated agriculture projects. The emergency food production project is targeting to increase food production specifically maize and rice to enable the country to be food secure in the light of the continuing drought condition in the country. In the first phase, 8 schemes are being targeted for implementation and are distributed across the country. The following are brief reports for these identified Irrigation Schemes like Bura (Kiome, 2009).

iv.   Denying millions of people access to this basic resource. Food should therefore be seen as a common or public good. It could then be produced and distributed more effectively by a governance system combining market rules, public regulations and collective actions (Jose Luis 2014).

Food, air and water are the three essentials our human body requires to function. They are limited but renewable resources produced by nature but their public-private status varies. Air is still considered a global public good, yet it is already becoming commodified, through creative accounting based on the economic valuation of environmental processes (carbon trade schemes and pollution quotas are private entitlements to pollute). (Bohm & Moog (2012). Water is in the process of being rebranded from a public to a private good, a process that is highly contested in many cities (Finger and Allouche 2002). Food is however largely regarded as a purely private good, although wild foods could be considered as commons (Jose Luis 2014)

Nowadays, the value of food is no longer based on its many dimensions that bring us security and health – food as part of our cultural foundations, access to food as a human right, food as a sustainable natural resource or as essential fuel for the human body. These multiple dimensions have been superseded by its tradable features, confusing its value and price (Jose Luis 2014).

In the search for fairer and more sustainable and inclusive food systems, the solutions are connected to the existing system, in which food remains a tradable good. The private sector has been involved more than ever before, for example through a wide variety of partnerships with the public sector and civil society, in fighting the shortcomings of the current food system. However, there is an alternative that is rarely mentioned: seeing food as a global common good. In a fairer and more sustainable food system, the non-monetary dimensions of food would be revalued, and global and local food production and distribution systems would not be exclusively governed by the rules of supply and demand (Sandel, 2012).

Institutional arrangements based on collective actions would also be given consideration, appropriate legal entitlements, adequate funding and political support. Self-regulated collective actions for food – whether market-based, share-based, organic, local or fair trade-based – represent the third pillar of governance of the evolving food system. The state-market duopoly in food provision will need to accommodate this mounting force of citizens' action to reclaim food as a common not exclusively accessed by purchasing power. Food can be shared, given for free, guaranteed by the state, cultivated by many and traded on the market. But purchasing power should not exclusively determine our access to such an essential resource (Sandel, 2012).

Managing Dependency syndrome

Kareithi (2014) conducted a study on the food security situation in Turkana district now Turkana County and analyzed the external interventions and drought and famine management strategies. He identified some of the community's coping strategies which included nomadic migration of people and their herds, storage of food and fodder, diversification of economic activities, seeking relief from Donors like Government of Kenya.

Relatives and friends, placing some household animals under the care of other households, and splitting the family to put some members under the auspices of better-off households. However, when households were asked about their main sources of subsistence during the last famine, most of them (more than twice as many) looked up to government and donor agencies for support (28.2%) as compared to 11.5% who relied on friends and relatives. This reflects "dependency" as opposed to community self-reliance.

Kareithi (2014) recommended proactive management of drought and famine, taking advantage of good years to reduce severity of famine impact during bad years. This, he noted, should be the core of development planning. Since then, policies have been formulated and strategies implemented but food insecurity still persists in Turkana today, as in Kitui. West Pokot and in many other ASAL districts in Kenya.

Blanket distribution of relief food was discouraged and proper identification of the needy was emphasized. For this purpose. Kareithi (2014) suggested free relief food, food-for- work and subsidized food as the categories necessary for fair distribution. Free relief food was only for those who were too weak to engage in food-for-work projects or too poor to afford subsidized food.

Awuondo, (1987: 18) identified various "'non-pastoral pursuits'' as coping strategies among the Turkana. Some of these include trading with other people where they would barter cattle for sorghum, migration, pawning of women, fighting as paid mercenaries, and sale of female children. During the 1979 - 80 droughts the Turkana and the Kamba were among the worst hit victims. Droughts and famines are expensive in terms of crop failures, human and livestock deaths, as well as costs incurred in famine relief procurement and distribution. Social costs are highlighted as the most devastating (Awuondo, 1987:2).

With respect to man-made causes of famine, various factors that need to be urgently addressed were identified in the study which among others include review of Africa's food policies, academic studies to provide data for use in planning and restructuring of food production methods, improvement of storage facilities, strengthening of food distribution networks, as well as systematic studies on drought and famine with particular emphasis on pastoralism (Awuondo, 1987:2)

Famine relief is an indirect cause of famine persistence as it contributes to dependency syndrome. It causes more vulnerability. The evidence in the literature suggests that outright gift of food to the famished families was never an efficient mechanism for weathering the food crisis. The Project Approach to development has been found wanting by both Kareithi. 2000, Mutie 1993).

The general experiences of development projects in Turkana district now Turkana County show an overwhelming dependency on outsiders through donor funding. This dependence has led to discontinuities in long-term development programmes when donors decide to withdraw their support. Furthermore, this trend gives donors an upper hand to determine the local priority areas to develop, which may not be consistent with the national priorities for such regions. For example, all the livestock projects started in the mid - 1980s were abandoned in 1990 when NORAD. (The main donor), withdrew funding following Norway's criticisms of Kenya's human rights record". Physical infrastructure was also cited as a constraint as this limited access to the projects. It also affected interaction and linkages between the district and other regions of the country (Kareithi, 2000)**.**

Kenya National Policies and Food Security

After independence, the first two decades were of rapid economic growth of key sectors like agriculture, industry and services. The benefits did not. As envisaged, automatically trickle down to the people. This was the view that informed policy direction for years, and is one of the major reasons for the high increase in income inequality and poverty in Kenya (Wambugu and Kibua. 2004:1). Poverty is in essence lack of entitlement to food and poor people are more vulnerable to famine and food insecurity in general (Kareithi, 2000).

The nine National Development Plans (NDPs) from independence to-date all targeted achievement of rapid economic growth to raise the standard of living. This was to be achieved through sustainable socio-economic development which was to address self-sufficiency in food at household, community and national level, among others. Going by recent occurrences in the country with regard to food security, this is far from being achieved. No country has ever achieved the "developed" status without being able to feed its citizens. Kenya's economy is still dominantly reliant on agriculture and the importance of sustainable food security cannot be over-emphasized (Kareithi, 2000).

In the Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture (SRA 2004-2014. 2004:1). a recent policy being implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture, it is clearly stated that the famine problem still exists and is current: "The strategy envisages improved standard of living of Kenyans, and hopes to reduce substantially the number of people now suffering from hunger, famine or starvation, which is one of the goals of the Millennium Development Goals pledged to be achieved by the United Nations (UN) member countries, by the year 2015 (Kareithi. 2000).

Another important document that has been prepared to chart out the way forward in development for Kenya is: Kenya Vision 2030. This policy document is in agreement with ideas brought out in this study which point towards a food insecurity situation that is exacerbated by socially constructed reasons. The three key pillars are identified an economic, political and social. The Social strategy is based on "investing in the people of Kenya" where all citizens will enjoy "equitable social development in a clean and secure environment". Indeed, the importance of the community is more than emphasized. Further, it is accepted that some communities need, deserve, and are

entitled to "special provisions" since they were "previously marginalized" (Kenya Vision 2030:16). This is a big leap towards community development if implemented as envisaged (Kareithi. 2000).

2.3 Contextual Factors Influencing Social Meaning of Food Aid and Food Insecurity

Contemporary food crises can be attributed to failures in public action. Public action comes about when food crises are treated as an entitlement. This failure can be explained through the following ways;

2.3.1 Food crises as entitlement failures

Entitlement failures occur sequentially from production failure, to market failure, to commodity failure and ultimately to transfer failure. Weather shocks such as drought trigger not only harvest failure but also knock-on shocks to the local economy and society. Effective mitigation interventions could present production shocks from evolving into full blown famine. With the advancement of technological early warning signs to droughts and humanitarian response capabilities; there is therefore need for an explanation on slow response or lack of it at all by humanitarian organizations.

2.3.1.1 Failure of production based entitlement

Erratic rainfall affects crop production and by extension livelihood. Droughts undermine farm yields and national harvests thereby reducing household and national food availability; and the agricultural income derived from food sales. More diversified households and economies are less vulnerable to the direct impacts of drought, provided that the alternative source of income is not directly dependent on agriculture.

According to Dorward and Kid (2002); the presence of risk lowers productivity of rural economy by reducing returns on investment, distorting investment away from income-maximizing towards risk-reducing activities and discouraging investment altogether. This is because the low returns make the investors risk averse. Weather risk often leads to underinvestment and this predisposes the community to long-term agricultural stagnation and rural poverty in communities that are dependent on rainfed agriculture.

2.3.1.2 Failure of labour based entitlement

Inadequate food production by farmers results in other sources of entitlement to feed families and achieve self -sufficiency. This could include off-farm employment with the aim of generating income or getting food to cover part or all of the gaps between the households' crop production and the household's food needs. The impact of drought could be negative on the rural labour market since the weather shock undermines both agricultural production and the entire rural economy. The concept of derived destitution introduce by Sen (1981) explains how weather shocks (such as droughts and floods) reduce the demand for goods and services in the affected communities; threatening the livelihood of those whose income directly depends on agriculture.

Previous studies have shown that residents of Turkana County are not self-sufficient in the local food production and have limited non-agricultural based employment opportunities (FAO 2011). This makes them dependent on casual labour for cash or food to fill the production deficit. When the weather shocks bite more, casual labour opportunities to become scarce as the would-be employers are also looking for work

themselves leading to a surplus of labour. The alternative to derived destitution is to find income sources that are not correlated to agriculture and rainfall.

2.3.1.3 Failure of trade based entitlement

Those who are not able to produce enough food or raise income through employment are often forced on to the market to buy food; where their access to food is determined by the price of food and the value of the assets they exchange or sell for food. Droughts have a negative effect on the commodity markets.

Weather shocks that affect harvest cause food availability decline. A relatively small shortfall in food availability could cause a major increase in food pricing. Excessive supply of assets for food causes a decline in the value of the said assets. The rising grain (food) and falling asset prices is a trade scissor. This is often common among pastoralists as the livestock sold for food are worth only a fraction of their pre-crisis value since the weather shocks disrupt the demand and supply patterns on the local commodity market (Swift and Hamilton, 2001).

2.3.1.4 Failure of transfer based entitlement

According to previous coping strategies research, informal transfers – such as assistance from relatives or neighbors – is more reliable following idiosyncratic shocks (illness or death of family members) than following covariate shocks such as droughts that undermine food production and livelihoods in both the community and regional level. The more severe or protracted the food crisis is, the more the informal transfers are likely to contract –as the ability of the affected households to respond to requests for assistance is steadily eroded.

The reduction in the capacity of the community members to support their member during livelihood crisis could result from several factors such as: Social change –

where people become more individualistic than community oriented; High prevalence of chronic diseases such as HIV and AIDS which have raised the vulnerability levels and undermined the coping capacity within the community; Low level of urbanization limiting the rural-urban linkages that could otherwise remit income or food during times of crisis. These factors clearly indicate a reduction in informal transfers hence a decline in the insurance mechanism against livelihood shocks triggered by erratic weather.

2.3.2 Policy response to entitlement failures

Different policies have been enacted to respond to food insecurity issues. These policies are based on how food is treated and taken as entitlement. These policies can be based on:

2.3.2.1 Response to production based entitlement failure

The pre-emptive responses could include enhancing farmers' access to agricultural inputs (improved seeds, chemical fertilizers and tools) that could boost production and minimize loss following weather shocks. This could be done through the introduction of Starter Packs comprising of enough fertilizer and seeds to plant in the available land. Subsidizing food production has been previously found to be more cost-effective than subsidizing food consumption through food aid. In Malawi, Levi (2005) says that starter packs added 100-150 kilograms of maize to each farmer's harvest and up to 400,000 tons to the national harvest. This starter pack therefore substantially narrowed the food deficit (gap) from 500,000 to 100, 000 tons and further reducing import requirement and emergency appeals. Following the success of the starter pack program, it was scaled down to two thirds and rebranded as targeted inputs program (TIP) delivered to one million poor small holders (Chisinga, 2002).

It has however been argued that the starter pack of Malawi was more effective in reducing food prices - while increasing access to food – than on the actual food production Levy (2005).

2.3.2.2 Response to labour-based entitlement failure

Public works programs have often been used to provide alternative employment opportunities in the contexts of widespread poverty within labour markets (Devereux, 2007). This employment- based- safety- net serves the purpose of offer in the locals an alternative source of food (food for work) or income (cash for work) to smoothen consumption in the event the harvests have failed. These public work intervention programs are popular with policy makers as they target the very needy (since heavy labour-intensive work discourage the non-needy people from applying) and they also create useful assets while transferring food to the poor. A case in point is the Maharashatra's Employment guarantee scheme of rural India that extends the right to 100 days of employment at the local average agricultural wage. Due to its guaranteeing nature, it assures the local households a source of livelihood despite weather shocks such as droughts.

Employment based safety nets reduce the impact of future weather shocks through the soil and water conservation initiatives – such as terracing, earth dams and micro irrigation – that they target. In Ethiopia, despite the fact that these activities have been repeated for decades; there has been limited reduction in food insecurity due to poor quality workmanship and inadequate maintenance. The heavy work requirements have also been found to disqualify the vulnerable individuals (people with physical disability, older individuals and the chronically ill) from participating. Some employment-based activities such as the World Food Program in Malawi have been

found to have gender equity objectives. They often design the employment activities to either attract women workers or benefit the women directly. Instead of the labour-based interventions, other forms of emergency relief interventions could be adopted for the labour constrained and poor.

2.3.2.3 Response to trade-based entitlement failure

Policy makers could adopt open-market operations (buffer stock management) and pricing policy (food or legislated price subsidy). This could include buying grains after harvest when prices are low while the supplies are high; storing them for some time (6-8 months) until the prices start to rise and market supplies are dwindling then releasing them into the local market at cost to boost supplies and dampen prices.

2.3.2.4 Response to Transfer-based entitlement failure

External transfers become compelling when social support systems fail. Although humanitarian response to drought have often been associated with food aid based on the assumption that the household have lost their access to food and need consumption support; cash transfers have been rolled out as alternative intervention in emergency situations (Harvey, 2005; Creti & Jaspers, 2006).

i.   **Emergency Food aid**

Other than food aid saving lives during emergency situations, they have been found to address underlying vulnerabilities (Dercon & Krishnan, 2004; Quisumbing, 2003). According to Edirisinghe (1998), food aid leads to improvement in nutrition better than cash as more food is consumed for equivalent value of transfer; partly due to the fact that women control food in the household. The major limitation of food transfer is the transaction cost estimated to be more than half (53%) the cost of aid in the United States due to Shipping and handling costs (Barret and Maxwell, 2005). This

made Clay et al (1998) conclude that financial aid is more cost-effective than food aid. Food aid can thus be more preferable than cash where local markets function very poorly and the inelastic food supplies mean that cash injection could only inflate food prices and harm the poorest members of the society. Barret and Maxwell (2005) therefore conclude that: Food aid rarely induces dependency as the amounts transferred are usually small; There is mixed evidence of food crowding out other transfer techniques; When food aid is well targeted and timed, there is minimal negative price effect in the local market; Food aid can affect local production and labour markets, making the case for local sourcing wherever possible.

ii. Emergency cash transfer

Cash transfers are often preferred because they are cheaper to administer and they avoid the risks associated with commodity transfers (dependency and disincentives); they are less paternalistic (they enable individual choice); they contribute to pro-poor growth by being invested as well as consumed and can generate income and employment multiplier effects (Schubert, 2001). Cash transfers stimulate the market by boosting purchase in the contexts of demand failure leading to a positive effect in non-emergency situations as those witnessed by the Social Pensions in Southern Africa (Devereux, 2005). Creti and Jaspers (2006) have shown that cash for work is more cost-effective than food for work and food aid.

Many Non-Governmental Organizations such as Oxfam GB, Novib, Red Cross and Save the Children have begun adopting cash transfers in Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia during emergency situations. In the 2005/2006 financial year, Concern Worldwide and Oxfam GB implemented unconditional cash transfers in Malawi complementing humanitarian aid following drought and flooding that had reduced the national harvest

by 25%. When routine monitoring activities were conducted by Oxfam GB, it was found that 80-85% of the money distributed was spent on food (Oxfam, 2006).

Concern worldwide on the other hand provided a package of food plus cash (enough to buy the same food package); adjusted transfers to the household size and adjusted cash transfers monthly to reflect food price movement in the local market. This final adjustment different from the Oxfam GB model, ensured that the households maintained a constant entitlement to adequate food throughout the crisis period. This Concern Worldwide model produced substantial benefits to the vulnerable households (Devereux, 2006).

2.4 Role of Food Aid in Influencing Social Relationships

Humanitarian organizations have been accused of misusing entrusted power for private gain. 'In the context of humanitarian relief, this means thinking through where power lies, what would constitute misuse, how power has been entrusted and what "private" means' (Ewins et al. 2006). The risks of misusing entrusted power faced by humanitarian practitioners can vary considerably according to the nature of the assistance, whether it be relief, rehabilitation or reconstruction (Ewins et al., 2006).

One of the criteria often used by donors to evaluate the quality of an agency, and thereby determine if it will be funded, is its capacity to disburse funds quickly. This often leads to an acceptance of leakage, the bending of rules and the awarding of contracts without any competitive or transparent tendering. Some of these practices can be seen as corruption; others can be defined as wastage. Although wastage is not synonymous with corruption; Galtung states that: 'where waste is widespread, corruption is not far away … procedures that are complacent about waste and profiteering frequently entail corruption at various administrative levels (2005: 23).

In war-torn countries such as Afghanistan, the above-mentioned trends are present within the international aid that has been provided to the country since the fall of the Taliban. According to the World Bank director in Afghanistan, an estimated 35% to 40% of aid is being wasted (Duparcq, 2006). The spending imperative was especially evident in the run-up to the 2004 Afghan elections (GAO, 2005), and the need for the United States in particular to present Afghanistan as a success story, especially in view of the ongoing conflict in Iraq (Nawa, 2006). An example of this can be seen in the construction of the USAID-funded Kabul to Kandahar highway, a campaign promise by NGOs had to establish new offices and hire many new staff and the urgency with which these were required made it difficult to manage the corruption risks inherent in contracting and recruiting. Much of the post-war funding in Afghanistan has flowed through international NGOs, which have then subcontracted work to local organisations. This work is then sometimes sub-contracted again. This results in a long chain of upwards accountability that is hard to monitor and offers many opportunities for corruption. The pressure to spend and act quickly undermines rigor in selecting implementing partners. Many potential partner organisations are new, and were only created in 2001 in response to the demand for local aid organisations; the number of registered NGOs increased tenfold in only four years.

Defining and understanding what such entities are and how they should operate under the law has been very controversial. Many local country laws have no room for not-for-profit charitable organisations, and the local NGOs receiving funding contracts to do this work have been considered private companies no different from standard profit-making businesses, and differentiated from non-operational 'social' organisations (which are registered with the Ministry of Justice). Many are in fact private for- profit contractors doing business with aid actors, such as building

contractors. Others are businesses set up specifically to profit from aid contracts. Others are not-for-profit charities set up to implement aid work, more in keeping with the typical understanding of 'NGO'. Still others have been corrupt 'briefcase' NGOs set up specifically to defraud aid agencies and donors. Corruption, profiteering and profligate spending by NGOs have created a very negative perception of their work in Afghanistan, both locally and internationally.

2.4.1 Perception of food aid beneficiaries and influence on relationships

Perception is the process of acquiring, selecting, organising and interpreting sensory information (Fuchs Hein Ritz et al., 1994, p. 731). Perception is often used synonymously with view, belief or critical opinion. Perception is not 'objective reality' but the subjective interpretation of events, and allows for cultural and personal differences. Perceptions shape behaviour, such as the acceptance of humanitarian activities or principles and may lead unexpected—consequences. Perceptions matter because target populations and other local stakeholders are not just passive recipients; rather, they mediate and act. Their influence is key to understanding the legitimacy and effectiveness of aid.

Schloms (2003, p. 50) and Walkup (1997, p. 51) contend that humanitarian organisations actually seek to discourage beneficiary feedback. According to Schloms (2003, p. 50), 'in the first-place humanitarian organisations see their responsibility as accountability to the donors'. He further argues that 'accountability and transparency are undermined by the perception [in the eyes of the humanitarian agencies] of aid as a self- justifying cause' (Schloms, 2003, p. 51).

In addition to these tendencies to become donor and crisis driven, many other factors may help to explain the traditional lack of attention to local perceptions. Language

barrier, cultural differences, population movements, and difficult or dangerous access also hamper communication with local population groups. Within the organizations, fear of large overhead costs, an action- oriented attitude, short funding cycles, a desire to hide dirty laundry, and other pressures due to working in crises, conspire against the regular use of perception studies

Moreover, in the past many humanitarian organizations did not see themselves as actors that would be around for a long time. Today, the idea of coming in, saving lives and leaving shortly afterwards has become a fiction in most chronic crises—for example, refugee camps exist for decades and periods of high mortality rates recur in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa.

 Moreover, scholarly attention to the implementation and evaluation of humanitarian action has not kept pace with the rapid expansion of the number and roles of humanitarian organizations since the end of the Cold War in 1991. In general, most studies on humanitarian action focus on humanitarian policy and politics; implementation and interaction with the local populations have not been examined in equal measure. For example, Barnett (2005, p. 726) argues that 'most research directly related to humanitarian action is produced by specialized agencies. It is almost always directed at the policy community. Some social science research is related to humanitarian action, including the literature on humanitarian intervention, civil wars, democracy building, refugee studies, and peacekeeping. In a more general fashion, Weiss and Hoffman (2007) have recently called for a humanitarian equivalent of military science to study more systematically humanitarian action and to improve learning within and among humanitarian organisations. The study of local perceptions could be a cornerstone of a better understanding of the management and

impact of humanitarian action. Without such studies, humanitarian organisations will miss opportunities to see how their actions are interpreted and mediated at the local level, and concomitantly to improve their activities.

As a result, they often indicate a particular aspect or consequence of these perceptions without substantiating or detailing them. The prevalence of this type of study may give rise to the impression that perceptions are studied infrequently. However, the body of literature on evidence of local perceptions has grown in three phases:

First, perceptions of refugees received the lion's share of attention before the end of the Cold War, largely due to the growing number of refugee crises in the 1970s and 1980s;

Secondly, with the global political changes and disappointments on the ground in the 1990s and later, the whole international humanitarian system came under scrutiny; and

In addition to that, in recent years, the study of perceptions has diversified with attention now paid to a growing array of actors and topics partly because of the increasing availability of the evaluation studies on the internet.

One of the earliest and most comprehensive studies is Harrel Bond's (1986) classic Imposing Aid: Emergency Assistance to Refugees. It details the creation of dependency and lack of effectiveness of aid to Ugandan refugees in southern Sudan, and explicitly takes different local perceptions into account. Harrel Bond found that the local skill sets of the Ugandan refugees, potentially lucrative or valuable for livelihood schemes, were disregarded by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the outside programmes were foisted upon the Ugandans as

though they were homogeneous, unskilled peasants. A 1994 evaluation of humanitarian aid in Somalia (Operations Review Unit, 1994, pp. 98–99) notes that 'the lack of a common understanding between Somalis and the international community produced a mutually unintelligible dialogue. Very distinct perceptions and respective operational norms became the context for operating in the country'. The report discussed a 'clash of perceptions' in which the humanitarian organisations saw themselves as benefactors trying to help, whereas the Somalis perceived them as aggressively imposing themselves. The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)'s research programme on returns of refugees has taken a predominantly anthropological approach. Allen and Morsink (1994) found that relief organisations reacted more to donor demands than either humanitarian principles or detailed knowledge of the local circumstances. For example, Rogge (1994) argues that the views of refugees on humanitarian assistance and repatriation were poorly understood. Allen and Turton (1996, p. 2) state that 'the lack of knowledge and understanding became increasingly apparent during the 1980s'. Labels used by humanitarian organisations, such as 'refugee', 'emergency' and 'beneficiary', may actually say more about these bodies and their standard procedures than about the actual situation on the ground (Allen and Turton, 1996, pp. 4–9). In the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide of 1994, Pottier (1996a, p. 403), another anthropologist, remarked that the 'refugees' views . . . remain poorly understood'. Nevertheless, he derived his data from his work for the Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda (Study III team), which took refugee perceptions seriously. In his follow up articles, Pottier (1996a; 1996b) mentions shortcomings in the execution of refugee programmes, due to their failure to understand the diversity of refugee groups. He further noticed that UNHCR and international NGOs often failed to understand the

'dynamics of political life in the camps' and the political complexities in the Great Lakes region. Consequently, they failed to build on local community initiatives, provided culturally inappropriate food aid, complicated repatriation, and did not comprehend how and to what extent their activities were appreciated. Turner (1998, 2004), also an anthropologist, analyzed the role of rumors in the lives of Hutu refugees who fled Burundi to camps in Tanzania. He found that 'living in uncertainty, having their symbolic order crumble due to violence and flight, they attempted to create some sort of order through rumors, and . . . many of these rumors circle around global issues' (Turner, 2004, p. 237). Examples include the supposed role of the US in influencing the political situation of the Great Lakes. It goes without saying that a mutually reinforcing relationship between perceptions and rumors can exist in order to make sense of life in times of upheaval. Among recent publications, Bakewell (2000) evaluated how Angolan refugees in Zambia had self-settled so that it became 'practically impossible to distinguish between refugees and hosts over time'. He warned that 'neglecting the life and world of local people will make it impossible to understand the process by which external interventions are mediated at the local level to give particular outcomes, and valuable lessons which could help alleviate suffering will be lost' (Bakewell, 2000, p. 103). Sperl (2002) examined the experiences of Malian refugees from Algerian and Mauritanian camps of repatriation and rebuilding. The more (community based) initiatives they could engage in, the more positive they felt about the assistance they received. Furthermore, Rutta et al. (2005) studied Burundian and Rwandan refugees' perceptions of healthcare quality in camps in Tanzania and noted the importance refugees attached to issues that indirectly affected health, such as 'security (for instance, repatriation, general camp security, rape) and

lack of non-food items (for example, plastic sheeting, clothes, blankets and cooking utensils)' (Rutta et al., 2005, p. 305).

The whole humanitarian system was questioned after the disappointments in Yugoslavia (1991–99), Somalia (1993) and Rwanda (1994), another concern grew within humanitarian circles: 'There is a perception that the agenda has shifted from a debate regarding how to reform the humanitarian system, to the question of whether it is worthy of reform at all' (Macrae, 1998, p. 24). Put differently, this type of perception did not only pertain to local views of field operations, but also focused on the whole humanitarian enterprise. Initially, concern grew within humanitarian organisations about donor governments that promoted aid for their own political purposes or criticized the lack of effectiveness of aid in order to cut back on funding. Later, concerns continued to rise when military contingents dominated or sidelined humanitarian organisations (such as in Kosovo), and when humanitarian arguments were used to justify war (Slim, 2003). With large-scale aid programmes in Afghanistan and Iraq, this concern transformed further into a debate on whether Western humanitarianism was still being perceived as universal or as a form of Western imposition (Donini, Minear and Walker, 2004). Increasingly, attention shifted to the political interests behind (non) action and the perceptions thereof. In particular, a controversial debate arose on the roles and perceptions of Western NGOs active in predominantly Islamic countries. Are Western humanitarian organisations seen as ''missionaries and spies" (Osman, 2006). If so, then not only humanitarian principles, access and effectiveness are at stake, but also staff security (Slim, 2004). The Feinstein International Center combined attention to issues affecting the whole humanitarian system with the study of local perceptions through interviews and focus groups. Its first study centred on mapping the security environment, which

incorporated the different views of local communities, staff members of peace support operations and assistance agencies (Donini et al., 2005). The second focused on the challenges of universality, terrorism, coherence and security (Donini 2007; Donini et al., 2006, 2008). It was based on extensive in country case studies. For instance, Mowjee (2007) wrote a case study on the DRC, which mainly became an evaluation of the integrated nature of the United Nations Organization Mission in DR Congo (MONUC). However, the study was stronger in explaining humanitarian organizations' perceptions of MONUC than those held by local Congolese.

Diversified perceptions scientific interest in local perceptions has grown and diversified rapidly in recent years. Harragin and Chol (1998) carried out an anthropological evaluation of food aid to (subgroups of) one ethnic group: The Dinka in southern Sudan. They noted that aid agencies define vulnerability according to socioeconomic criteria, whereas the Dinka do this in terms of kinship, in particular the absence of a large immediate family. Contrary to the aid organisation's intentions, most Dinka quickly redistributed the aid they received within their extended families. Harragin and Chol (1998, p. 26) also noted that aid workers 'are seen by some as using the plight of the people in Sudan to raise money to keep them in a job'. The Henry Dunant Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (2003) conducted research on the views of paramilitary forces in Colombia and Islamic opposition movements in Central Asia. Other scholars also honed in on fresh topics: Savage et al. (2007), for example, studied perceptions of corruption in humanitarian assistance in Liberia. In the meantime, Richards (2005) continued the anthropological tradition of detailed fieldwork, but the authors in his edited volume focus not only on refugees, but also on other groups in conflicts, such as militia members, demobilized youth, public officials and agriculturalists. Attention to local perceptions in natural disasters also grew. The

Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC)'s evaluation of the 2001 earthquake in the Indian state of Gujarat used several qualitative participatory data collection methods to assess the perceptions of affected communities. In its final report, it innovatively applied the principles of the 1994 Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Disaster Relief as evaluation benchmarks (Humanitarian Initiatives, Disaster Mitigation Institute and Mango, UK, 2001). The Fritz Institute has also published the results of surveys after, for example, the Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004, the Pakistani earthquake of 2005 and Hurricane Katrina of 2005. Its reports invariably stress that local voices are insufficiently heard that aid should concentrate more on strengthening local capacities, and that frequently various needs remain unmet. Finally, information on perceptions can be found in the parallel literature on local participation. Although participatory methods evolved primarily in development studies, participation has received increasing attention in humanitarian action (see the Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action (ALNAP)'s Global Study on Consultation and Participation of Disaster-affected Populations and various studies by the Feinstein International Center10) and standards (such as through the Code of Conduct and the Sphere Standards11). It is tempting to see participation of local population groups as a way to contribute to more positive perceptions. After all, 'local populations are unlikely to feel a personal attachment to a solution externally imposed unless actively consulted or involved in the intervention strategy' (Gizelis and Kosek, 2005, p. 363). Nevertheless, if participation is construed narrowly as (joint) activities with the beneficiaries, it may obstruct attention to perceptions of other stakeholders, such as local government officials and civil society representatives, which can also deeply influence these activities. Moreover,

participation has also been used as a rhetorical management device and a guise for acquiring free labour (de Waal, 1997, pp. 55–56, 143; Uvin, 1998, pp. 130–140), which can color local perceptions very negatively. But if participatory approaches succeed in including the perspectives of both target groups and other stakeholders, they may provide important insights into local perceptions. Still, participation is just one factor among many (for instance, local gender norms or the economic situation) that can influence perceptions

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This section discusses the theoretical framework and the theories that aided the research. The theory that aided the study the social construction theory.

2.5.1 Social constructionism theory

Social constructivism is a social learning theory developed by a Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky. It posits that individuals are active participants in the creation of knowledge (Scheiber and Valle, 2013). Social constructionism provides the basis for investigating the coupling of food aid and social interaction. The theory of social constructionism derives from the idea that things that exist within the social world are constructed to be there. If an ideal or a perspective exists, it has been brought into existence through communication. Social constructionism believes that "objects exist only after they enter communicative space" (Keaton & Bodie, 2011, p.192).

There is no denying that communication can change the existing meaning of an object, or how it is perceived within society. Social constructionism is especially useful in qualitative research studies because it seeks to understand an object, event, or action holistically. It is a constantly changing theory that adapts to relevance within society or situations. Social constructionism is effective in the current Eating

Identities and food aid study by focusing on the social process of prescribing meaning to food choices and eating behaviors, similar to the way in which individuals cultivate ideals and opinions.

Social constructionism focuses on the idea that every object is made up of a social composition and the ideas that define that object within a social context (Keaton & Bodie, 2011). When describing food, this accounts for the multiple factors that go into the development of an individual's "taste." The process of selecting and consuming foods encompasses psychological, social, economic, cultural, and biological factors, all of which play a role in the cultivation of identity surrounding the consumption of food (Bisogni, Connors, Devine, & Sobal, 2002).

Social constructionist thinking posts that the social process is the defining factor in enabling something to exist and have meaning (Keaton & Bodie, 2011). An individual's food identity cannot be complete without influence from social groups. The psychosocial characteristics of food choice become an integral part of how a person describes themselves or their friends. This can be seen in the use of simple phrases such as "I'm a meat and potatoes person," or the choices individuals make to become vegetarian. Communication plays an essential role in framing and expressing food preferences for an individual and for a group. However, in this study the reality is different as the communities are poor and only take what they are provided for by the organizations.

Food symbolism alludes to "foods which are used in religious communities or traditions to symbolize an aspect of the faith, or to commemorate a festival or hero of that faith group. Such foods are also closely associated with a particular date or season.

In Vietnam people eat pho for breakfast. Pho is a rice noodle soup with vegetables, broth, herbs and beef or chicken. This is healthy because it contains 3 food groups- grain, protein and vegetables. Another popular food that Vietnamese people eat is salty cakes with minced pork and dried shrimp. This is not as healthy as pho because it contains added salts.

The Origins of Pho is from Northern Vietnam during the mid- 1880s. The famous Vietnamese dish is thought to have been influenced by Chinese and French cuisine because the rice noodles and spices came from China and the French introduced the eating of red meat. This shows the time of the meal.

Food aid can be seen to convey a range of cultural meanings; the four examples mentioned earlier communicate information in terms not only of occasion but also social status, ethnicity and wealth. These meanings, however, are not inherent in foodstuffs. They depend on the social context in which the items are found. As Atkinson (1980) has remarked, a 'mouthful of wine will convey very different meanings to the professional wine taster, the bon viveur, the Christian celebrating Holy Communion and the alcoholic down-and-out'. Habits of eating and drinking are invested with significance by the particular culture or sub-culture to which they belong. The preparation and consumption of food provides, moreover, a material means for expressing the more abstract significance of social systems and cultural values. It may be argued that what people are prepared to take inside their bodies reflects their social identities, and their membership of social groups. To view eating habits as a matter of culture is to understand that they are a product of codes of conduct and the structure of social relationships of the society in which they occur. What and how people eat may, indeed, usefully be understood in terms of a system

whose coherence is afforded by the social and cultural organization within which it is associated. It is this kind of approach which lies at the heart of a structural analysis of food and drink outlined by Mary Douglas (1972) and Edmund Leach (1976) in Britain, and given, perhaps, special impetus by the work of the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss (1975).

Healthy eating food is a social construction that is built differently by different people. As we design education and information campaigns, we need to address those different understandings and perceptions. The Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior (2012) a social constructionist approach explained healthy eating in terms of food, food components, food production methods, physical outcomes, psychosocial outcomes, standards, personal goals, and as requiring restriction.

There are multiple truths that make social constructionism a relevant theory in this study. Cole, 2006 agrees that qualitative methodology supports the view that there are many truths and multiple realities which constructivists generates or develops a pattern of meanings through language used by the households and interpretive paradigm is associated more with methodological approaches that provide an opportunity for the voice, issues in their setup and practices of respondents to be heard. This theory therefore aided the study in understanding how households understand food aid. It provided the social, economic and political context on how households understand food aid and its influence to the social relationships. It is suitable explaining how social relationships are affected by the social meaning given to food aid which is agreed by Schwandt, 1993 who argues that the constructivists/interpretivists generally focus on the process by which meanings are created, negotiated, sustained and modified.

Social constructivism theory has limitations that range from requirement of enough time for the study of the study participants, requirement of researcher and beneficiaries to make a lot of preparations (Farris, 1996) and its difficulty to be applicable in all circumstances. It is relative and subjective and not universalized. In this study, all limitations were taken into consideration and the theory replicated the expectations of the study in ensuring that it's applicable in understanding the objectives of the study and achieving the results expected.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented a review of definitions of food insecurity and approaches used by different countries. It presented the objectives of the study and different understanding of food aid and food insecurity which helps in explain how food aid organizations are perceived by the beneficiaries. The theory helped in explaining how food aid is constructed and interpreted.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The main purpose of this study was to assess the meaning of food aid and food insecurity at the household level and how this understanding influences the social relationships among residents of Turkana County. This chapter presents how data was collected, analyzed and presented. The sections include the study setting, research design adopted, description of the study population, sampling technique, data collection methods and statistical analysis used. The chapter describes in detail the data collection tools adopted and methods of secondary data collection used.

3.1 Study Site

This study was undertaken in Turkwel ward, Loima Sub-County of Turkana County between April and July of 2016. Turkwel ward was purposively selected as the case study for Turkana County as it is spatially the largest in the county and majority of its residents suffer from food insecurity and benefit from food aid.

Secondly, it is one of the wards with the major source of livelihood is through pastoralism, agro-pastoralism, formal and informal employment. The choice of Turkwel ward provides a bird's eye view of the entire Turkana County as it will show how people's understanding of food insecurity and food aid affect their coping and livelihood strategies.

Thirdly, it is one of the wards in Turkana County that adopted commodification (food for work) strategies of food aid to curb food insecurity within the county (GoK, 2011). According to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS, 2016), Turkwel

ward which is within Loima constituency had food insecurity emergency interventions and projects instituted by different government agencies and non-governmental organizations such as *NJAA marufuku*, Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP), Child Fund among others. Being the first place in the larger Turkana County to receive food aid and adopt commodification strategies, this makes Turkwel ward a suitable area to study the household perceptions of food aid, food insecurity and livelihood coping strategies.

Fourth, because the ward is peri-urban (with both urban and rural characteristics) because of its proximity to Lodwar Town – the County's headquarters – it provides contextual diversity on the understanding and response to external food insecurity mitigation measures at the household levels.

Geographically, Turkwel ward covers 3,518 square kilometers, is located within Loima Constituency of Turkana County with an approximate population of 42,216 with a population density of 12 people per square kilometer (KNBS, 2019). It is supplied by River Turkwel and two seasonal rivers (Kospir and Kawalathe) which are needed to support food production in the ward. The rainfall patterns and distribution are erratic further compounding food crisis in the area. The two major rainfall seasons include the long rains (*akiporo*) usually occur between April and July and the short rains between October and November and ranges between 52 mm and 480 mm annually with a mean of 200 mm. The driest periods (*akamu*) are January, February and September. The rainfall is distributed on an east-west gradient with more rainfall in the western parts and other areas of higher elevation. The rain falls in brief violet storms resulting in flash floods. The surface run-off and potential evaporation rates are extremely high.
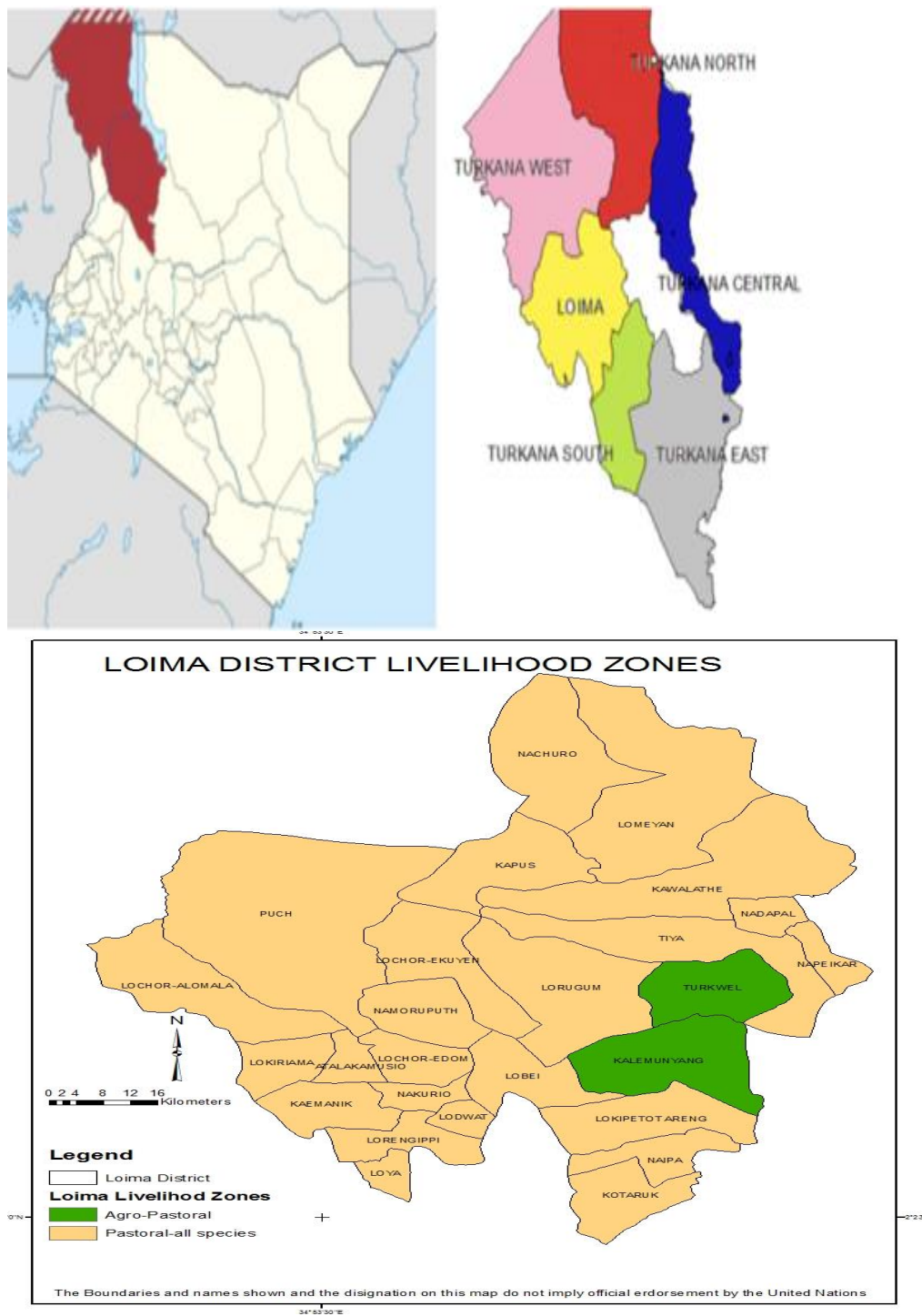
Figure 3.1: Maps of Kenya and Turkana county's constituencies (*study was conducted within Loima constituency (Turkwel)). **Source: (Kenya national bureau of statistics, 2019).**

3.2 Study Design

This study adopted a case study research design using Turkwel Ward in Loima Constituency as a case of Turkana County. This design was adopted because the study was interested in providing an in-depth understanding of household definition of food aid.

This study was concerned with how food aid influences social relationships at the household level among the Turkana. Specifically, this study assessed household understanding of food aid as well as how food aid affects social interactions at the household and community level among residents of Turkana County.

A case study approach focuses on an in-depth understanding of a particular entity or event in a specific time (Willig, 2008). It is defined as a "study focusing on one organization selected from the total population of other organizations in the same industry" (Emory (1995). Case studies are detailed investigations of individuals, groups, institutions, or other social units. Studies use case studies to analyze the contextual variables relevant to the subject under study (Polit and Hungler, 1983). The principal difference between case studies and other research studies is that the focus of attention is the individual case and not the whole population of cases. Most studies search for what is common and pervasive. However, the findings of case studies may not be generalizable to populations different from those assessed using the case study design. This is because a case study focuses on a bounded system, usually under natural conditions, so that the system can be understood in its own habitat (Stake, 1988).

In this study, the factor of interest is food aid and food insecurity which required an understanding of its meaning and influences on social relationships. A case study is a

story about something unique or of interest that can be an individual, organization and even events (Yin, 2003). This study therefore focused on a particular unit/case to help in giving in-depth details and understanding of how the household perception of food aid and its dynamics in influencing social relationships.

3.3 Research Paradigm

As a qualitative study, it was guided by interpretivist and constructivist research paradigms. These approaches help in understanding the world and human experience by giving suggestions that reality is socially constructed (Meretens, 2005). The study therefore relied on the views of household respondents on how they understand food aid and how this understanding affects their social relationships. Through interpretivism, first-hand exploration and development of theories is achieved because it helps in generating a pattern of meanings through language used by the households (Cole, 2006)

3.4 Study Population and Sampling

Elements which we wish to make some inferences on are referred as a population in research (Cooper and Schindler 2000). When a portion of the population with specific characteristics is targeted, this forms the study population. From the target population, a few individuals are sampled (selected) to participate. The method of selecting these study participants is known as the sampling technique. The basic idea of sampling is that, by selecting some of the elements in a population, conclusions may be drawn about the entire population (Cooper and Schindler, 2003). This description is also in agreement with a previous view that "studying the sample, and understanding the characteristics of the sample, it would be possible to generalize the properties or characteristics to the population elements" (Sekaran, 2000). The

essence of sampling is to secure a representative group which will enable the study to gain information about the population (Mugenda, 2003).

This study targeted the heads of household who had benefitted from food aid from humanitarian organizations and government agencies. The potential study participants were identified from households that were beneficiaries of food aid and sampled using snowballing technique to saturation at 45 households.

To ensure that the sample accurately represents the population, the study clearly defined the characteristics of the population and chose the best method for selecting the sample from the larger population (Cooper, 2000). Because this was a qualitative case study, it was guided by Ritchie, Lewis and Elam (2003) explanation that samples for qualitative studies are generally much smaller than those used in quantitative studies. Given the fact that this study was qualitative; the study sampled the targeted household heads to saturation as there was no predetermined sample size. In this study the final sample size was determined when data collection process reached saturation. This was the point at which additional data do not lead to any new emergent themes (Given, 2016). Birks et al 2015 agrees on a similar position regarding the non-emergence of new codes or themes hence the study considered that saturation is achieved when no more data need to be collected. According to Schroder (2003) major diversities at the households should be observed and be taken into consideration during the qualitative study so that the objectives are achieved. These diversities included: age, gender, level of education, marital status, village, livelihood, level of income beneficiary of food aid was considered. These diversities, therefore, formed the basis on which participants for this study were selected.

3.5 Sample Selection Procedure

In selecting participants for this study, the study used snowball sampling technique. In this case, the study made some contacts with one household in Turkwel that had the required characteristics and diversities required for this study; that is, they were households within Turkwel Ward, beneficiary of food aid. This contact was identified through the Area Chief. After gaining their consent and interviewing them, they later helped the study in identifying other household participants. They later also led the study to other households which had the required characteristics. When the study achieved a point of saturation, interviewing households stopped because the study was getting the same information that was repeated by households. Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) propose that saturation often occur around 12 participants in homogenous groups. Consequently, 15 as a minimum for most qualitative interview studies work very well when the participants are homogenous. To ensure that you have achieved saturation, you have to go beyond the point of saturation to make sure that no new major concepts emerge in the next few interviews or observations (Latham, 2013). The study therefore   managed to interview 45 households heads who were majorly women (where a point of saturation was achieved) who accepted to be interviewed though they claimed that the study should not share any information related to their households, vulnerability and how they perceive the food aid organizations and government since they might be locked out of the food aid. In this study, women were interviewed as household heads because they were the ones who had knowledge of issues related to food aid. Men had given them express authority to share information about food aid since they are usually the ones who participate in food aid related activities.

3.6 Data Collection and Procedure

Prior to study commencement, an introductory letter from Moi University was sent to the National Council of Science and Technology (NACOSTI) in order to secure a research permit. Once the permit was issued, the study was able to conduct the study after obtaining permissions from the governor of Turkana County and County Commissioner. To collect the data, the study relied on qualitative methods for data collection. Qualitative research is an interpretative approach, which attempts to gain insight into the specific meanings and behaviours experienced in a certain social phenomenon through the subjective experiences of the participants. Mason, (2002) notes that qualitative research methods allow the study to go into the depth of the participant's experience, social processes and discourses. The study therefore relied on qualitative methods. The study was able to collect data which was in-depth and inclusive. In-depth conversational interviews were adopted to collect data from households which were selected through snowball sampling. Data for this study was also collected through focus group discussion (FGD) and Key Informant Interview (KII) sessions.

3.6.1 In-depth Interviews

According to Kothari (2004), in-depth interviews are approaches used to reach the basic causal relations. Such studies usually go deep into the causes of things or events that interest us, using very small samples and very deep probing data gathering devices. Interviews in qualitative researches are one of the most important sources of data (Jwan and Ongondo, 2011)

In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their

perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. They are useful in obtaining detailed information about a person's thoughts and behaviors or want to explore new issues in depth.

In this study, in-depth interviews were used to collect data from households which were beneficiaries of relief food who were identified using snow ball sampling. The study used in-depth personal interviews to ask questions to the households in a face-to-face contact and the questions were open ended.

When the study was conducting the in-depth interviews, all the 10 interviews had guide questions to ensure that all the topics and themes were addressed. These themes helped the study to create the atmosphere that was conducive for household respondents to talk about their lived experiences about food aid at household level. Follow-up probing questions were asked in order to seek more clarity from participant responses. Despite the challenges during household interviews, the households gave relevant information as guided by the schedules. Clarity on the type of questions regarding household food security and how it affects social relationships was done. The households did not want the study to probe on wealth of the households because it was regarded as a taboo and a preserve for men to declare wealth. The study informed the households that the question in the schedules and information shared was for academic purposes only so as to reduce suspicion and fear from the respondents.

3.6.2 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

A focus group is a form of group interview mainly used to inquire about people's perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes towards a particular phenomenon. The interview form is called focus group because the participants are 'focused' on a given

topic and are selected based on whether they have something to say about the topic. The method combines both elements of interviews and observation methods and involves a homogeneous group with a common interest (Jwan and Ongondo 2011, Casey and Krueger, 2000). Increasingly used in social and business research, focus group meetings enable a study to gain much information in a relatively short period of time (Morgan & Kruger 1993).

The study selected between eight to twelve participants to take part in the FGD sessions based on the following set criteria: should be a beneficiary of food aid, a resident of Turkwel and willing to share experiences on food aid. This method of data collection usually facilitates the discussion with a smaller group of household respondents on a specific topic. The FGD sessions were conducted under a tree. The study managed to conduct 10 FGDs which had female participants ranging between 8-12 people. There were no male participants willing to take part in the FGD sessions as they were busy with taking care of their livestock. Questions from the interview guides were prepared and shared in the groups. The respondents from the FGD responded to questions based on experience and understanding. The main reason for FGDs is to get an understanding of how the respondents feel and think about a given situation (Jwan and Ongondo 2011). All FGD sessions were audio recorded in Turkana language, transcribed by the trained research assistants, then translated to Kiswahili before retranslation to English by research Assistants as most local residents of Turkana County's Turkwel ward only speak in Turkana language. The lead study confirmed consistency in the translation through both forward and back translations as well as thematic consistency by listening to the audio recordings.

3.6.3 Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who are knowledgeable (have expert information) on the study subject. Key informant interviews are normally shorter than in-depth interviews and are normally preferred when dealing with senior people or people with specialized (privileged) information because of their status. They are short and focus on open and straight questions (Yin, 2003). The purpose of key informant interviews is to collect information from a wide range of people including community leaders, professionals, or residents who have first-hand knowledge about the study subject. These experts, with their particular knowledge and understanding, can provide insight on the nature of problems and give recommendations for solutions.

A well-designed personal interview guide was used for recording the responses obtained from the interviewee. The key informant Interview lasted for approximately an hour. The selection of participants for key informant interviews was done purposively by taking into account knowledge and involvement of the informant on food aid and the expertise knowledge He/She has in that area of food aid. During this study, the study established that personalities involved in food aid programs in the study site. By virtue of their involvement in food aid related activities, they were privy to some information which was essential in augmenting data from in-depth conversational interviews. Though there were many actors involved in food aid, the study decided to directly approach one participant from 10 Government and non-Governmental institutions which in the own opinion of the study were genuinely involved in food aid.

The study conducted 10 key informant interviews with the Project officers, Ward Administrators and principal administrators from Government and Humanitarian organizations doing food aid distribution in Turkwel Ward. In this study, the study used Key informant interviews because he wanted to obtain expert information on up-to-date data the impact of food aid in the community and at household in specific.

3.6.4 Participant observation

Marshall and Rossman (1989) define observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study" (p.79). Observations enable the researcher to describe existing situations using the five senses, providing a "written photograph" of the situation under study (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993).

As Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) relate it, one of the first instances of its use involved the work of Frank Hamilton Cushing, who spent four and a half years as a participant observer with the Zuni Pueblo people around 1879 in a study for the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology. During this time, Cushing learned the language, participated in the customs, was adopted by a pueblo, and was initiated into the priesthood. Because he did not publish extensively about this culture, he was criticized as having gone native, meaning that he had lost his objectivity and, therefore, his ability to write analytically about the culture.

During this study, observation was used to obtain information and emerging behaviors at the household level. This built more on the findings because the households' activities were observed as they happen there and then.

3.7 Pilot Study

The interview guides were piloted in a nearby Kawalathe village. It is a village within Lodwar but benefitting from relief food. Interview guides were administered to the households which were randomly selected from the village twice within an interval of two days. An FGD discussion was also conducted by selecting 10 participants from the village randomly. The results obtained from the pilot study assisted the study in revising the interview guides to make sure that it covers the objectives of the study and elicits the same results. It was also confirmed that the only available respondents will be women at the household and the ones who have required information on food aid and men were not knowledgeable since they do not participate in food aid related issues.

Expert Opinions and judgement from the supervisors, Literature searches and pre-testing of open-ended questions in the interview guide was done in order to improve the validity of data collected. The interview guiding questions were brainstormed with colleagues and peers thereafter necessary corrections were made. Consequently, the instruments with guidance from the supervisors and the results of the study helped in the improvement of the content.

3.8 Data Analysis

Data Analysis is defined as the whole process, which starts immediately, after data collection and end at point of interpretation of the processes results (Obure 2002). The whole process includes data sorting, data editing, data coding, data entry, data cleaning, data processing and interpretation of the results.

Data from the household interview guides and FGD was recorded using a tape recorder and field notes. After data collection, the study conducted data cleaning

which involved correcting errors and inaccurate responses, completing incomplete sentences. This helped in improving the quality of the responses obtained from the interview schedules. The interviews were transcribed and translated from Turkana language to English. The study took time read and reread severally. After getting clarity and consistency, themes were grouped and attached with corresponding narratives. The analysis involved coding of data, dividing the text into smaller units, phrases, sentence and paragraphs assigning a label to each unit and grouping the codes into themes, then the study analysed the themes (Creswell and Clark 2011). The study thematically analysed data based on narratives on food aid, coping mechanisms and social relationships influence food aid. Concepts from different FGDs and interviews were then pooled together and integrated into common themes. Emerging themes were similar across both FGDs and in-depth interviews. In data analysis there are no universal processes of data analysis rather it is a rigorous, complex and messy (Jwan and Ongondo 2011) but a process of transcribing, editing and reporting the data in the manner that makes it accessible and easily understood by the readers after analysis.

Thematic analysis is the search for themes that are relevant to the research topic under which the data collected through the relevant research methods can be organized (Jwan and Ongondo 2011) Resultant themes were therefore used to organize the presentation of the results. For validation, the study discussed the findings with some households that had participated in the study.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethics refers to prescribed code of conduct. Ethics establish the standards and norms that guide certain behaviour. In research, ethics guide the study in the investigation of the study.

According to Shamoo and Rensik (2009), it is very important for the study to observe and obey ethical norms in conducting their research due to the following reasons: Norms promote the aims of the research, ethical standards promote the values that are essential to cooperative work, ensure that studies are held accountable to the public, help to build public support for research, promote a variety of other important moral and social values. Permission to carry out the study the study was obtained from the relevant authority and from the respondents (Kombo and Tromp, 2009). The study assured all the respondents of the confidentiality of the information given and confirmed to them that it was only meant for academic purposes. The study in this study observed the voluntariness of the respondents and did not force them to obtain information, respect of privacy, respect of anonymity and confidentiality, not deceiving respondents. These details were only collected for statistical purposes. This study mainly focused on qualitative data. The data was stored in a password protected environment.

Issues identified in the study were upheld with strict confidence. This entailed confidential keeping of all the relevant information sought by the study. Information sought from respondents was kept confidential in order to avoid victimization of respondents. Authority was sought from County Commissioner, County Government and the University before engaging respondents in the study. Thirdly, the study sought permission from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

(NACOSTI) before going to the field to collect data. Fundamental human rights were observed during the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents results and findings based on the research objectives. The objectives of the study were: to investigate how households understand food aid, to understand social, economic and political context influencing social meaning of food aid at the household

4.1 Characteristics of Household Respondents

In this study, the study interviewed 45 respondents: 30 women 15 men. Majority of the respondents found at households were Women. More women were found at home because most men had moved out and migrated with livestock. It was a dry season and since men have a role of taking care of the herds, they moved to look for grass and water for livestock in far flung areas away from the homesteads where women and children cannot move with them. The migration is necessitated by drought so that surviving stock cannot be depleted and die of hunger. The 15 men found at the households indicated that they had come to see their families and will go back to the herds. Others said that they cannot move away from their families because they have small children and required their attention.

On the ages of the household respondents, the study found out that 25 respondents were aged between 40 and 44 years. 10 were aged between 35 – 39 years. 7 respondents were aged below 30-34 years and only 3 respondents were aged below 30 years. This shows most of the households have young families of less than 50 years.

When the study explored on marital status, it was discovered that 43 of the respondents were married. The study established that 2 households had widows. The

households with marriage status show that the Turkana people value marriage and its important aspect in the society. The households had an average of 2-8 children per household. The higher number of children indicated that the dependency ratio at the household level is high.

The study established that economic activity of 44 respondents was pastoralism and they depended on livestock. One respondent indicated that she is in a formal employment. The overdependence on pastoralism makes the households vulnerable to climate change such as drought and flooding. The lack of adequate employment makes them vulnerable and therefore depends on food aid when drought befalls them.

44 respondents of the household did not have formal education. 1 respondent said that she is a class 8 drop out. The higher illiteracy level makes them depend on traditional means of livelihood. It denies them opportunities to diversify sources of income and livelihood. This increases level of dependency to food aid for support and survival.

4.2 Household Understanding of Food aid and Contextual Meaning

In this study, food is a major problem according to study participants. The problem of food has been intensified by drought and overdependence on food aid. The number of deaths reported due to drought and overreliance of food aid shows that food aid provision and rate of dependence makes food a major problem. During the field work, the faces of the household members and emaciated livestock indicated that food is a problem. Food as a major problem according to the households has caused vulnerability hence, making households shift traditional survival methods to survival on food aid. The household respondents indicated that most people depend on food aid from government and organizations. Data from narratives indicated that the

situation of lack of food is getting worse as people ignore coping strategies due to

dependence on external assistance from food aid organizations and government.

As one household respondent, Akai, female, aged 42, indicated that,

> *It is like nowadays our capability is getting worst. We have abandoned our traditional coping strategies and people have resorted to food aid. Each one of us now days forget about the livestock we have and we are depending on food aid. Food aid is the only available option when the number of livestock is dwindling because of drought.*

Akeno, Female aged 25, a household respondent, also said that

> *We are not stopping anytime soon from depending on food aid. Who else can feed us when our livestock is being swept by drought? We have no option rather than focusing on how we get enough food from the organizations by migrating towards the centres where we can get aid instead of watching our livestock die from drought. There is no rain*

> *Our rain will come soon inform of food aid. Leave us alone with our God sent savior*

This was augmented by John, Male, aged 23, a Key informant from NGO who said

that

> *Turkana is one of the areas that is affected by drought and that is why the government (meaning National and county) is making efforts to assist the residents of this region so as to be food secure through provision of food aid. More people are becoming miserable and more dependent on NGOs and Government. This region is basically dominated by pastoralist. The only option they have is depending on food aid so that their households can get food to sustain them during drought. Food aid has been a substitute to the pastoralism livelihood. When animals die, the community suffers. We (organizations) have to see a way of giving them food rations that takes them for some time so that they cannot die of hunger. It is the receiving household that utilizes the ration of food given so that it can sustain them for some time. The quantity given is not that much but it is up to the household to use it responsibly.*

Asekon, 35, an FGD respondent had agreed with the sentiments by saying that

> *For us who have no option, we survive through the mercies of the NGOS. We do not have livestock. Our surviving livestock are more than 200kms away and we cannot move with them. We depend on*

food from well-wishers for survival since we cannot afford to buy what is in the market.

Food aid has been of more help to the households for a long period of time. Different households perceive it from different angles based on how they take it. Despite the changing trends of food aid, the households were asked what they understand by food aid. There meanings were different as hereby discussed;

4.2.1 Food aid as a savior

According to the households, drought has caused death of livestock. It has made the households lose their livelihood. This makes them vulnerable. This vulnerability due to lack of alternative livelihood has made the households shift to food aid which they see as a way of survival. The households have focused to food aid so that they can be saved from the pangs of hunger which has affected everyone in the village without discrimination. The dependence on food aid chances who it's perceived, hence regarded as a savior from drought and death.

This was observed by Lokol, Female, 48 years, a household respondent who said that

You see this drought, you can't plan anything, we depend on food aid as the only way to survive. Food aid has saved us when no one was intervening. Our livestock death was caused by drought. All children ran to neighbors and friends in urban areas. Food aid is our savior It is God sent; we thank God (raising hands as if praying) we pray that it continues coming because we have no alternative livelihood that can save us. Tell whoever brings food to go on doing the same. We do not know how to repay the good deed but we pray for them every day.

According to Akine, Female 40 years and a household respondent,

Women have migrated to urban centres where they were able to get food aid easily than staying at the remote areas with men yet they cannot get food. We all go to a savior who provides free food which can be consumed by the households rather than depending on livestock which is not predictable.

Akai, 40 years, an FGD respondent said that

> *My children were almost dying, This Aid has helped us. My children were malnourished, emaciated and were dying in the next day. When the aid came, it was a ray of hope I fed them and they were up and running. Food aid is our savior and we can stop depending on it because it makes us people*

James, 42 years, a key informant from National Government also indicated that

> *This food aid is a savior to households*
>
> *When someone gives you food that you have not had for months, He/she has saved you from death.*
> *Food aid comes at the right time when people are in dire need of it. It has become a savior to them.*

Ewoi, 38 years, an FGD participant had this to say;

> *Drought cleared all my herd. We have not had rain for some time. You can see my remaining goats. They are all emaciated. We feed on carcass of thus emaciated goats. Food aid has saved us and has ensured that more deaths are not experienced.*

This assertion was augmented by an Ekal, 40 years, an FGD participant from County

Government who said that

> *Food aid organizations are God sent. They have enabled us to survive. They have saved children from dying. They have acted as our savior in times of drought. It has saved our livestock from death.*

4.2.2 Food aid as promoter of self interest

In this study, most of the households indicated that food aid is used as bait and away of driving the interests of organizations by seeking legitimacy and driving their agenda. It is given to them to promote anarchy and perpetuate self-interest. According to the household respondents, the NGOs and Government think about themselves by eliciting personal benefits rather than household benefits. They lack openness, focus on short term distribution. This is done through the food distributed, organizations undertaking food distribution, ghost organizations and projects implemented.

According to Akai, 25 years, the respondents at the households said that

> *We do not know the names of the NGOs or their offices. We only know WFP because of the logo in the vehicles. We assumed that all organizations are WFP. They usually become suspicious on the organizations. When they have issues on the food aid and want to make enquiries on where they can report the matter, they are told they don't have offices whereby they can be traced. Their interest is the food that they bring this lack of identity of NGOS shows that they have a hidden interest which is done through food distribution.*

Asibitar, 35years, an FGD participant indicated that

> *The ghost NGOs are present and cannot be traced. This means that this NGOs have a direct benefit on food insecurity which they benefit from yet they do not have a physical office or staffs who can be contacted incase an issue arises pertaining their operations. The lack of a physical location and how an NGO can be traced raises questions on whether its genuine or it's used to perpetuate interest.*

Peter, 40 years, Key informant from NGO confirmed that

> *There is no available list of all NGOs operating in Turkana or their physical office. Some organizations have their headquarters in Nairobi and they were not able to confirm whether they are ghost or brief case NGOs. The lack of physical office confirms that NGOs exist as ghost and only appear when they have won funding hence, they cannot be monitored or activities of operation cannot be justified. We are not able to probe on how certain NGOs are being run since we are all different and focus on areas of operation.*

Clare, 28 years, Female an FGD participant in Turkwel agreed with the household

sentiments and indicated that

> *Most NGOs come during famine situations as they do not exist in Turkana County nor have offices in the county. This reduces full time presence in the county. This shows that they only use a calamity to benefit and disappear after they have gained what they wanted.*

The response on this was echoed by John, 40, a key informant who is a government

representative who stated that,

> *Some NGOs come directly from Nairobi and start operating in Turkana yet they have not been in existence.*

Nakine, 25 years, Female, a household respondent explained that

> *Food Aid agencies have been operating in Turkana since 1960's. Some people in Turkana have been weaned off personal initiative by*

the ubiquitous presence of relief food aid and had become addicted to 'aid waiting'. This attitude of residents being hopeful that the NGOs have come to help them makes regard them food insecure. This is due to the proliferation of aid agencies which have likely displaced some government programs anywhere in Turkana with its army of aid workers hence providing a gap that makes residents assume that, when they are not providing food, they are insecure and vulnerable.

She went to explain and said as follows

We keep on asking why we are being spoon-fed yet other sustainable projects can be done so that we will be able to live without this organizations. Something is hidden because we cannot be this way all the centuries.

On Politicians and NGOs perpetrating anarchy, Amesek, 45 years, Female household respondent said that;

Politicians and NGOs gain from the activities of food aid. Aid is used to stamp authority and seek legitimacy. They use the aid to course us to accept what they want.

4.2.3 Food aid as a political vehicle

Politics thrive where voters and politicians are involved. Politicians have their way out on how food aid is transported and how it reaches the beneficiaries. To understand this concept, the study explored on the process of food distribution, role of politicians in logistics and transported of food and identification of lead agency organizations as a political process.

Respondents indicated that politics of food insecurity exists in Turkwel Ward.

Awoi, 34 years, Female household respondent indicated that:

The Politicians always come to the Ward and are involved in food distribution.

Turkana Politicians have a background of working with Oxfam, world vision and various NGOs who are involved in food security operations. Food security has been taken as a bait of capturing votes by the politicians. They use NGOs as a campaign tool.

Lowoyapong, 35 years an FGD respondent agreed with the sentiments and indicated

that

> *Politicians appear during electioneering period. They give us food and claim that they are solving our food insecurity problem. As soon as they win an election, they disappear and resurface after election. This food is used to entice us so that we can vote for them.*

Ekal, 34 Years, a household respondent had this to say,

> *It is only during campaigns when food from the organizations and government comes to us in large quantities. Their presence is felt during distribution. They follow cars that are transporting food. They usually want to be identified with food aid. Politicians use the avenue to share their manifestos and lie to us voters. At times, food monitors lie to us that the food aid is courtesy of a certain politician so that we can vote for us. But you know what, away to a man's mind is through the stomach. If they give us food, we vote for them*

> *You see, the government brings us food during campaigns so that we vote for them.*

> *That's used to convince us. For us who are hungry, we have no option; we get food and vote for them*

A key informant, Peter, 48 years from County Government agreed with what the

households said

> *Politicians accompany the vehicles transporting food to their wards. Some Members of County assembly accompany our vehicles during distribution. They participate in the process and we usually give them room to talk to their electorates. It is reported that it is the only platform for them to share manifesto and a meet the people tour. Some accompany trucks and tell the beneficiaries that the food distributed is courtesy of their good rapport with the Governor.*

Nawaar, 28 years, a household respondent also added that

> *Politicians now in parliament and county assembly said that when we vote them in, they will come with goodies (Maize)*

> *We voted them in because we have to give a vote to someone who is ready to feed us*

> *You know we do stomach politics because our stomachs are bigger than votes*

Ewoi, 35 Years, a household respondent also indicated that

> *Food distribution is usually done by political allies of politicians for political gain. They also distribute food only during campaigns so that the hungry populace is convinced that the food distribution will continue but what happens after voting is a different story.*

According to the respondents, the process of transporting food is also political. This was alluded by John, 45 years, a key informant who said that

> *The vehicles used for transporting this food are for Politicians and some are for the NGO staff. The same vehicles for politicians are used in the vast Turkana County hence, the time food reaches Turkwel ward depends on the availability of the vehicle that can be used during emergency distribution of food. These vehicles charge exorbitant rates so that food reaches people at the grass root. This means that the survival is pegged on sweet talking the transporters who are politicians so that they can help us get food at the required time.*

Nawi, 40 years a household respondent also indicated that

> *We do not have vehicles. The people who are rich are politicians. They choose where their vehicles go. This causes suffering because we have to bootlick our politicians so that they can provide vehicles which can be used to transport food to needy areas. It's challenging when our demands are politicized.*

Another issue that is politicized is on the lead agency that will be responsible for handling food insecurity emergency interventions. This process takes a political angle.

According to Simon 48 Years and a Key informant,

> *Disputes usually arise on who can be a lead agency to do food aid activities. This process is political in nature and requires lobbying. According to the households, they are not aware of the lead agency, but they usually see politicians accompanying Lorries ferrying food and later claim that they are the ones who have brought food.*

Peter, 48, key informant had also this to say

> *In Turkana County, the appointment of a lead agency to distribute food is the mandate of the County Steering Group (DSG), which usually include representatives from Government line ministries, NGOs and district local leaders.*

The appointment of different organizations as the lead agency in several counties which receive food and its usually based on capacity of the organization, personnel and resources and whose ability has been tested and proven over time, and during previous complex disasters.

On the side of NGOs, they have been fighting in Turkana County on who will be a main lead agency in charge of food distribution. Being a main lead agency means that the NGO will take over all operations as an Umbrella and other NGOs will be reporting to it and that means pooling of more resources and staff to it. This process in itself is political

Every politician wants to associated with food aid so that they can get votes against the opponent. It is a supremacy battle among the politicians

4.2.4 Food aid as demeaning

The role of NGOs and Government in supporting vulnerable households has affected the family dynamics, division of labor and family structures. According to the households, the families have turned out to dependent on Government and NGOs. The dependency has caused the households to lose their dignity and respect from other societies because they are humiliated and treated as poor and depend on free food. This shows that food aid is demeaning the households. The households agreed with the role of food aid in demeaning them and informed the study that they have been put down and humiliated by the food aid.

According to Lowoi, 33 years, a household respondent

The over reliance on NGOs and government has made us lazy and they not able to herd their livestock because they have all moved to urban centers to look for food aid. This brews a culture of dependency and laziness among the households.

Our *Men and boys usually do the herding, supervising each herd unit and protection of the homestead. The women and girls on the other hand do the cooking, gathering, fetching drinking water, constructing and repairing the living units. Men and boys have nothing to herd when drought has swept all the animals. The death of animals is a social representation of a calamity that affects households.*

> *Their roles as heads of the households have now been taken by NGOs and Government who are continually feeding their families. Their family structures are no longer tight because their roles are being handled by NGOs who provide food. This shows that they are demeaned through this process.*

Asekon, 25 years, household respondent said that

> *We depend on these NGOs. They act as our husbands. Who in this world can give you free food without sweating for it? The NGOs are Godly sent since they are replacing our herds which were washed by drought. Without them, we cannot survive. Through them, we can access food, sale and do barter trade with it to get money for buying other commodities. Without them, we are dead…."*

> *This free food arms our pride. We are seen like children who are fed by another parent. It is demeaning us and we have become laughing stock of other Kenyans.*

According to John 30 years, a key Informant from National Government said that

> *Food is usually packaged in bags that have logos of donors of the food. It is usually indicated as free food and not for sale. According to me, this portrays a bad image that the free food is for a certain community. We distribute what is supposed to be. We cannot correct the decision of donors because they know what they are doing. I feel for the recipients because it shows how vulnerable they are. The packaging and display of logos in food harms pride and dignity of the beneficiaries but we have no option.*

Awoi, 40years, a household respondent said that

> *We pastoralists are masters in survival. We have our own coping strategies which when there is drought, when their animals have died, we wait for relief food and in this action, there is no family structure but all and sundry wait for donor agencies or relief food suppliers. This has affected the family structures. Our Men no longer provide food as expected. We have all been married to NGOs and Government. This dependence has degraded us because it causes patronage and change of attitude towards NGOs and Government.*

According to the households, this over-reliance and dependency demeans them because the NGOS and Government have taken roles which was supposed to be performed by men by being providers. It creates a rift at the household level hence causing loss of pride and dignity.

4.2.5 Food aid as an agent of mobility

The household residents use migration as a coping strategy during drought. Natural disasters have stifled development opportunities within Turkwel. Disasters like rain threaten food security through disruption of normal pastoral and marketing activities with negative impacts on economic growth. Food aid has become an agent of mobility because the households indicated that they move to urban centres where they can get food aid.

According to Amesek, 38 years, a household respondent

> *During times of drought, the women are the most affected due to increased burden of taking care of the family. Some people migrate to urban centers in search for casual employment while Men move to other neighboring districts and even Uganda in search of pasture. Hundreds of pastoralists have migrated to neighboring Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia. Turkwel Ward residents have also been affected by this migration because they move from one place to another in search of relief food and assistance from relatives engaged in productive economic activities in towns and market centers. During this period, there are great episodes of children skipping schools and moving to urban centres to look for food. This mobility is necessitated by search for food aid in urban centres.*

According to Lowoi, 38 years, a household respondent

> *At the height of the dry season, milk might contribute little to the total food supply, while during a good wet season milk may supply the family with all its food. This nomadism has deteriorated due to the focus on food aid. Many families are migrating towards urban centres in readiness for the food aid targeting.*

James, 45 years, a key informant confirmed that

> *A good number of people have now shifted to towns so that they can easily be beneficiaries of food aid because when they are in remote areas, food aid cannot reach to them and they will suffer, hence, they have moved with livestock to areas that are accessible by Government and organizations providing food aid.*

Awoi, 33 an FGD Participant agreed that

> *Food aid has become an agent of mobility. We have been forced to move from the interior villages to the food aid distribution points so*

that we can get food ration from the organizations. The households that remain suffer and start begging from us so that we can support them with food. You see the next centre from here pointing at the western direction, a centre called Tiya), it started as a targeting and distribution centre. People have moved there and it will soon grow to a bigger town that will support a large population.

4.2.6 Food aid as a source of worry and uncertainty

The households interviewed indicated that food aid has been a source of worry and uncertainty. It causes mental troubles because the residents have been made used to it. When distribution has not been done, it causes anxiety and alarm whether they will still get food or not hence making them worried.

According to Nakine, 35 years, household respondent

> *They are much worried because they have nothing to eat at that time because food aid has not been provided by the government and organizations because they rely on them for support. See the empty Sufurias (and pointed a finger to where they usually store their food). Everywhere is empty. There was no sign of cooking since the cooking area looked deserted.*

> *What are you saying my son, this area is deserted because of drought.*

> *We have not had anything like food for some time. Our animals have all been swept by drought. We are suffering because the organizations have not supplied food. WE shall the small we get with our animals. We are much worried because we do not know the next time we will get food.*

NGOs and government key informants on the other hand agreed with what was said by the households

John 45, a key informant had this to say

> *We are worried and that the effects are felt at our offices because they get updates on how the household members are exerting more pressure on them to intervene since there is no food to sustain the population. This pressure mounts hence they are forced to start fundraising and preparing proposals so that they can get food donations to be distributed to the residents.*

> *The worry from the households shows that they are food insecure because they are not able to physically and economically access*

sufficient food to meet their dietary needs so that they can operate and work for the betterment of the life of household members. The worry pushes them to diversify livelihoods and also get to exhaust the available local resources. This worry also makes NGOs and government go beyond their functions to resource mobilization and looking for more donors who can help salvage the food insecurity situation. This worry shows that the residents are food insecure and fully depend on organizations.

This worries and dependence on food aid shows that the NGOs and government are the source of worry on food experienced by the households because they ensured that the dependency increases every time.

4.2.7 Food aid as a source of the changing concept and perception on food

A new diet has been introduced to the traditional foods (milk, meat and blood) consumed by the households inform of food aid. According to the household respondents, food distributed by NGOs is the same maize they have been receiving for a long time. This food isn't nutritious according to the respondents. This food aid has changed their concept of food and gives them a different perception on how food is treated and perceived

Akitoe, 40 Years, a household respondent said that

We are given the same boring maize that requires more time to be cooked to make it ready for consumption. We wished that we can be given an option to choose the variety of foods that they needed or our livestock supported. This eating of just a few kinds of foods makes them vulnerable and food insecure. The preference of the meals that the households eat has affected their livelihoods.

Ikale, 28 Years, Male, FGD participant agreed with the assertions and said that

The reliance on relief food from humanitarian organizations has affected the households because they are made to accept ration foods like rice, maize sorghum, beans and maize which are not their preferred foods. This is attributed to lack of resources and their capacity to choose their preferred food which is culturally accepted. This changes their concept of food because they are not used to the food aid ration supplied.

According to the Wilson, 40 years, an NGO key informant

> *The households have no choice hence they eat what is provided by the NGOs. We usually distribute maize, beans and sometimes sorghum. We have no choice on preferred food because that is what the organizations can provide at that time.*
>
> *The lack of options to eat preferred foods makes the households vulnerable. It affects children and the aged because they are forced to eat what is available rather than staying angry and die of hunger. They have no option but to be used to the white maize because the NGOS and government are not able to provide their traditional foods which they are used to. This eating of foods that is not preferred by households makes them food insecure and affects their perception what food is. We are regarded as the people of white maize.*

Peter, 40 years, a Key informant from NGO also on agreed with what the

households said and indicated that

> *This routine maize supply has become historical and they have no option rather than distribute what is donated from well-wishers. They have no option of returning the food back because they even do not know the bureaucracy involved. This shows that the households have no option of choosing the kinds of food to eat. This changes their perception of what food is according to NGOs hence regarded as donors who do not involve the households on the type of food that they will be comfortable with.*
>
> *As an organization distribute what we receive from donors. The maize we receive is what is available. We are not in a position to dictate our donors because our hands are tied. It is better for the households to receive what is available at that time rather than looking   for choices.*

The study asked the households the dietary choices related to variety of foods and

whether the households had to eat an undesired monotonous food.

Nakine, 33 years, household respondent said that

> *The households consumed maize and beans from the government and NGOs. This food according to them is monotonous and boring. The aged complained because they do not have teeth for chewing the white maize that needs to be overcooked. The children also suffered because they do not get soft foods that they can eat.*
>
> *My son, we have been on this white maize for some time, we are tired*

Awoi 42 years also indicated that

> *We rely on our animals for milk, meat and blood. Sometimes, we eat wild fruits gathered by women from the bushes and cooked for 12 hours when there is no food. We eat meat from slaughtered goats that are roasted on a fire. Roasting meat is their favorite way of consuming meat. When the goats have been swept by drought, we have no choice rather than eating any available food. This available food discourages them because their traditional food which they are used to is not provided by the Government and organizations hence our perception of food aid has changed because we are given what has not been part of our daily and traditional food*

> *For us the Turkanas, food is Meat, milk and blood. That is what is traditional fed and a means of sustaining lives. What we are given by Food aid organizations is not our traditional food but we eat because we have no option.*

4.2.8 Food aid as an agent of conflict

Food aid precipitates food related conflicts at the household level. When food is distributed by food aid organizations, not all households benefit from the aid. Some get enough ration and others get less depending on the household size, vulnerability and your network with the food monitors and food distribution committees.

Alimlim 38 years a household respondent said that

> *Conflicts occur. They are usually food related. We cannot see the other household feeding well and we are suffering. We fight over food; we have to share food that is available. When the small children go begging, they fight for food. That fight graduates to the grown ups*

She went on to say;

> *My husband spends a whole day at a tree shade with other men sleeping and when He comes back, he comes empty handed. What do you expect, He can't come and eat food that has been brought by a woman? This leads to fights at the household level.*

Asekon 35 years and FGD participant also said that

> *Conflicts also occur between committees involved in food distribution and the community. When they start identifying their own people as beneficiaries and ignore the most vulnerable, we quarrel and at times confront them. It's a big fight because everyone*

is supposed to benefit from the food aid yet the process is politicized by political sycophant who want to benefit rather.

A conflict also occurs when food is delayed. The beneficiaries get information that the trucks distributing food are on the way. A delay causes anxiety, suspicion and leads to conflict.

According to a key informant,

During targeting and preparation of lists, some people miss out and others are part of the list. This creates conflict between those who benefit and those who do not benefit. The conflict also results during distribution and queuing. People fight for space and chances of being beneficiaries.

At the household, homesteads lighting fire indicate that they are beneficiaries. Lack of fire in some households creates envy and provocation from other households.

4.2.9 Food aid role in erosion of culture

Households indicated that food aid has affected the social gatherings, ceremonies and different celebrations that are traditionally recognized under the Turkana rites of passage and will lead to culture shock and erosion of family values and roles of the heads of households will be taken over by Governments and NGOs. Food aid has changed the people way of life. People have become individualistic and self-centered. The communal life is no longer the norm because each person is concerned with providing for his/her family.

Lowoi, 35 years, a household respondent said that

Food in Turkana is meat to some or blood and milk from animals, when they see vehicles, this is what they expect as this is food to them. This has switched us from our cultural foods to dependence on food aid.

He further said

At the community level, availability of food is symbolized with community celebrations and wedding ceremonies

He went on to explain the last time they had a meal

> *"The last time we had a community ceremony or wedding is a year ago*

Asekon 40 years, male, an FGD participant indicated that

> *Ceremonies in Turkwel are usually done when animals for slaughter are available. The absence of community ceremonies and weddings showed that they were living in poverty due to drought and loss of livestock that could have otherwise been slaughtered in the ceremonies. Lack of food was a communal indicator of food insecurity. The presence of food aid has decimated community gatherings because value is attached to food that is distributed by the organizations.*

James, 47 years, a Key informant from County Government agreed with the sentiments and indicated that

> *No traditional dances are conducted now days. No community gatherings and interaction. The community waits for food aid. The only meeting point is the food distribution centres. Community members form of interaction has been minimized because there are no animals that could have been a form of unity that can be slaughtered and feasted on as a community. This shows that the culture has eroded and people are now focused on eating what is provided by the organizations.*

4.2.10 Food aid as agents of corruption

In Turkwel Ward, food aid organizations specialize in different food crisis intervention strategies which are seen to be ignoring calls by the locals to ensure the process of targeting is done as required. Corruption is manifested in the food aid process from targeting, distribution and transportation of food aid.

Asekon 42 years a household respondent indicated that

> *Food is usually not delivered to the ones in need. The process of targeting involves identifying people who are vulnerable and food insecure but the contrary happens in Turkwel. Most of the respondents said that targeting of beneficiaries is poorly done, shrewd and not participatory. The process of identifying beneficiaries is biased and corrupt.*

Awoi, 40 years, a FGD respondent added that

> *Food distributed does not reach at the expected time. This increases the worries about food. It leads to much expectation and excitement. The road terrains are poor.*

> *When food is given by the donors, it is stored in Lodwar, the County headquarters. The stores are far from the beneficiaries. Stored food takes long to reach the needy populace. The storage space is paid for and it's expensive. The money could have been used to buy more food and distributed to the beneficiaries. When food reaches to the villages, it's again stored to the makeshift shelters belonging to the politically correct people hence its security and right quantity is questionable.*

> *The storage and transportation are calculated moves so that food is lost along the way to benefit other quarters which were not listed as beneficiaries. Recently, a lorry transporting food was diverted on its way to Turkwel and maize sold to a wholesaler in Lodwar. We don't know where that case ended but food did not reach to the beneficiaries therefore the process is corrupt.*

Peter, 38 years, key informant from National Government argued that

> *We have food aid programs that target extremely vulnerable families but we can't cover everybody and many more still need the food aid but they aren't receiving it. Many will still die of hunger unless more food aid comes in.*

> *We have noted that the field monitors involved in preparing names for the beneficiaries do not capture the required data hence targeting not done as expected by communities. Cases of corruption were also reported. This leads to conflicts.*

> *It was also reported by the households that the remaining food is shared among the elders and field monitors. This shows that some people gain from the food insecurity initiatives through sharing food that could have been utilized by the households. This is a recipe for conflicts in the community.*

> *Food distributed is not done properly as expected. Follow up and surveillance lacks hence food is used for self-gains by Politicians and administrators who have a voice and are involved in the process of transportation and storage.*

Ekitela, 42 years, key informant from County Government echoed the sentiments raised

> *I can confirm that such cases are rampant and defended himself by saying that their work ends when food is loaded to the lorries and offloading is done by the locals. We have heard of corruption related cases but people fear victimization.*

4.2.11 Food aid as a business Enterprise

Households do barter trade using food aid. This helps them in breaking dietary monotony and getting a balance diet. According to the households, they cannot consume same meal everyday yet they can do a barter trade in exchange of other available food within the village.

Lowoi, 35 years, a household respondent had this to say

> *Everyday same food. Tomorrow again same food. Other nutritious food is available for barter. Many people have beans of other foods. We have maize. We barter food so that we can change diet. No one monitors what we use the food aid for. We have to use it appropriately so that we can get money to substitute what is not available in the household*

Akai, 37 years an FGD participant indicated that

> *There is no secret that food is sold. We sell the surplus. Some food is bartered so that we buy onions and ingredients to cook the white maize. No one here can say that food is not sold. Food aid is our business enterprise.*

According to James, 45years, a key informant from the NGO

> *The laborers are not usually budgeted for during the distribution of food. It is expected that the beneficiaries volunteer to offload the food after it has reached its destination. This is not the case at the ground because the community usually does not cooperate in offloading yet the owners of trucks deliver to the destination and they are expected to go back to the point of origin. This according to the respondents leads to payment of the loaders using the same food. This utilization of food to pay laborers opens a room for looting and selling of food.*

Peter, 40 years, a key informant had this also to say

> *People loading and off-loading the relief food are paid through the same food. One loader gets a sack of maize. The offices do not have finances to take care of other logistics hence; maize is used as a means of payment.*

> *When food is transported, not all of it reaches to the beneficiaries but instead it is sold in Lodwar to generate cash for certain people who are involved in distribution. It was reported by households that food is usually sold by transporters.*

> *The logistics involved in transportation of the food aid is so enormous such that escorting food to its destination is not done. The transporters entrusted with food usually sell some food because when is offloaded, cases of less sacks are reported.*

John 45 years, a key informant indicated that

> *Cases of loss of food by the transporters are reported in most places. This according to him is attributed to lack of proper channels of ensuring that food is transported with escort and due diligence carried out to ensure that the transporters conduct their work in a proper and structured way and the people receiving food at the delivery point are well versed with the quantity which should be delivered.*

> *Selling of food is rampant at the household level. This is attributed to the lack of finances to purchase other requirements for the meal like cooking oil, onions, tomatoes and salt. The households confessed that they usually sale the food distributed to during distress to the market so that they can get cash to substitute their living.*

According to the households, food like maize that cannot be eaten by the aged and

children was sold so that money got was used for other household needs

Akai, 45 years, a household respondent said

> *We have nothing to do cause its white maize that is supplied. We sale the maize so that we can get money for buying other essential items required at home. The aged and children require soft foods like porridge. We have to sell this food so that the remaining maize can be taken to the posho mill for flour that can be taken by the elderly.*

Lowoi, 35years, a FGD participant agreed with the sentiments and indicated that

> *We sell food so that we can get money for doing other things at home. Not everyone is comfortable with the white maize. Our*

children need milk. The aged need white flour and our only source of income is through sell of relief food.

John, 45 years, a key informant from County government agreed with what was said and indicated that

Food is sold at the household level. This can be seen through depletion of the ration within a short time. Food that can be consumed by the elderly is not available and therefore, people are tempted to sale the available relief food so that the rest of the family can get what they prefer.

4.2.12 Food aid as a source of livelihood diversification

According to the household, not all food is used by the household. Maize is used in brewing local brew. This is a means of diversifying livelihood and getting income. Eating maize does not bring more cash to the household.

Lowoi, 35 years, a household respondent said that

We have to seek for an alternative livelihood which will sustain us for the rest of the days when food aid has not been distributed and the only way is take maize to the maize mill, grind and prepare local brew which will help in generating funds that can be used by the household.

Akai, 38 years an FGD participant reiterated the same and indicated that

None of us sleeps when the opportunity beckons. We brew alcohol (locally referred as busaa) as a way of diversifying livelihood. It's our maize. No one will come and ask us where it went after distribution. The local brew brings as enough cash that can be utilized at the household level. For some of us who have children in school, we pay for them using money from the busaa that we sell.

Peter, 45 years, a key informant from the National Government agreed with what said by the household respondents

We do not monitor how food aid is used. Each beneficiary chooses what to do with the food. The local brew available is from maize floor. The maize distributed is milled to give flour. That's a business that helps the households in diversifying livelihoods rather than waiting for food aid that sometimes takes long to come.

4.2.13 Food aid as agents of dictatorship

Food aid has been used to perpetuate the act of dictatorship to the beneficiaries. This dictatorship comes inform of lack of consultation and participation on the type of food needed by the households.

Amekwi, 32 years, Female, a household respondent said that

> *The external stakeholders mainly adopt the relief food distribution strategy and are also involved in making the "relief" decisions which include preferred type of relief food, quantity, delivery points, and proportions which should be a preserve of the community. Community participation has been minimal and as a result, a chronically food insecure community has persisted from independence to date. This is dictatorial because we are not involved so that we can make choices of what we want as households and beneficiaries of the food aid.*

James, 48 years, male, a key Informant from the County Government agreed

by saying that,

> *The recipient communities are not consulted on type of relief food they would prefer and also that the relief food is on record as having been sold after distribution to hungry people due to unacceptability caused by lack of prior consultation with the community*

Amekwi, 32, years, Female, a household respondent indicated that

> *These people (in reference to NGOs and Government) only bring maize and beans without even caring whether the elderly and frail persons can cook or chew their food). Since the food is free, we have no choice but to accept what we are given even if it is not desirable.*

Naro, 25 years, Female, a household respondent argued that

> *We do not take part in food insecurity responses since we are considered naïve and ready to receive any kind of food that can be supplied. The NGOs do not know their lifestyles and how they have been surviving since time immemorial. They have their own favorite food and how they manage different meals for different age groups. This is dictatorship*

> *This lack of consultation on the type of food to be distributed shows that the NGOs and government have a way of getting profit. It's like the NGOs and Government are given enough money to respond to the emergency but resort to buy cheap white maize that can be*

pushed to the throats of the households that are desperate and voiceless.

Akai, 35 years, Female, a FGD participant indicated that

My son, we are told people at the county benefit from this food. All the money remains at the County level. We are forced to eat white maize because they know we cannot refuse to eat.

The practicality and existing rights to food and being part of the process is not felt at the grassroots where beneficiaries have the right to be informed on what transpires and their entitlements. The policy framework is top-down approach. It is not participatory. The only form of participation is in queuing up to receive the relief food handout from NGOs and Government.

Abei, 28 years Female, an FGD participant said that

They do not know what policies exist because when food lands to the stores, they cannot get any information on quality, quantity and the process of distribution of that food. They have no information of their rights and how they can complain and share their dissatisfaction. This according to them shows that the hidden policy framework profits government and NGOs because they are not transparent and willing to share policies which touch the beneficiaries.

James, 48 years, a key informant from NGO indicated that

The budgetary process has not been fully participatory. The budget has been considered insufficient as most of it goes to operations, per diems and contingencies.

Fundraising activities for the organizations happen when there is an emergency. We are not part of the process hence it does not trickle down to the residents on how things are at the headquarters. Policies relating to emergency response only exist in books.

Peter, 42 years, Male a key informant had this to say;

The households should be made aware on policies underlying food aid and be enlightened so that their expectations are met as expected

Social and economic inequalities still persist, with significant challenges to food and nutrition security and the government still does nothing). This is attributed to lack of policy framework and the top-down approach on how the aid is shared. It opens room for victimization and politicizing of the process

Summarize your findings by showing what informs these meanings. For example, the decontextualized of food aid from the people ways

of life due to their top-bottom approach. Two, show how self-interests makes beneficiaries have varied meanings.

4.2.14 Agent of livelihood coping Strategies

According to the respondents, people in vulnerable systems such as those in Turkwel, pursue adaptive strategies that seek the use all available options at all times to survive and to preserve assets for future livelihoods. Both adaptive and coping strategies often overlap. The households indicated that coping strategies involve the collection of people's responses to declining food availability and entitlements in abnormal seasons or years. Some of the coping strategies used by the households are; migration, skipping of meals, eating wild fruits, begging, getting local jobs, reducing the number of people in the family by sending them to towns, sale of livestock and sale of charcoal.

4.2.14.1 Migration

Turkwel Ward residents move from one place to another in search of relief food and assistance from relatives engaged in productive economic activities in towns and market centers.

During times of drought, the women are the most affected due to increased burden of taking care of the family. They travel long distances in search for water for both domestic and livestock use. Men migrate to urban centers in search for casual employment while others move to other neighboring districts and even Uganda in search of pasture.

As one household respondent, Awoi, female, aged 42, indicated that,

> *We usually migrate. That's how we survive. We move to look for food during droughts. Some of us move to urban centres so that humanitarian organizations can easily trace us and we benefit from the aid. That's the only available way of getting food*

Esikiria, Female aged 27, a household respondent, also said that

> *Our Animals are also moved to areas where we can get them grass and water. We only remain with small herds that are manageable and lactating so that they can provide milk for the small children. Our men and adults move away from homes so that they can help us get food in future by securing animals from death*

This was augmented by James, Male, aged 23, a Key informant from NGO who said

that

> *Pastoralists move. They either move with animals or they move to urban centres. This is a way of making sure that they get access to food aid in towns. When they are in remote and areas that they are not passable, our vehicles cannot meander to the hilly terrain hence the best way is to get them food at the right place that is accessible to us and therefore, they are forced to migrate*

Asekon, 35, an FGD respondent had agreed with the sentiments by saying that

> *Food cannot look for you. We have to look for food. The only way is to migrate to where we can access food and that is at the centres. That applies to our animals. They have to be moved to areas where they can get grass and water otherwise, they will perish. When our animals die, we will not have an option but die like them. We have to move with our animals because we need food and they also need food.*

4.2.14.2 Skipping of meals

According to the household respondents, they are poor and they cannot have three

meals a day. They have to look for a way for utilizing the available food so that it can

take them for some time. This utilization is inform of skipping of meals

As one household respondent, Akiru, female, aged 40, indicated that,

> *Who can finish the whole food in a day. We have to look for our of making sure that we skip meals. At times, we take one meal a day. We also feed the young children alone and the rest stay hungry till evening.*

Lokeno, Female aged 23, a household respondent, also said that

> *Our food is utilized well because you do not know when next you will get food. We have to use what is available in away such that you*

> *consider about tomorrow. We use little food and eat only when hungry.*

This was augmented by Peter, Male, aged 25, a Key informant from NGO who said that

> *Its true that skipping of meals is a norm in Turkwel. Households skip meals so that the can reserve for future use. The food aid takes long for it to come and they have to look for an adaptation strategy.*

Nawoi 40, an FGD respondent had agreed with the sentiments by saying that

> *Skipping of meals has been there since time memorial. We only consider the aged, children and the sick. The rest of the people in the household will have to take a meal a day of sometimes take two to three days without food. This skipping of meals has helped us keep food in the reserve for use in other days to come.*

4.2.14.3 Eating wild fruits

According to the households, wild fruits are available during dry and wet seasons.

They are consumed as an option when hunger strikes.

As one household respondent, Asekon, female, aged 40, indicated that,

> *"Families have not received food aid for some time hence most of the vulnerable groups feed on carcasses of livestock and wild fruits. Look at my homestead, I don't have even one got Drought has swept all animals and none of the food aid is forthcoming. We are going for several days without food. Several villagers are weak and emaciated due to hunger. Just use your eyes and you will get the answers. The only option is to feed on Traditional wild fruits*

Akiru, Female aged 25, a household respondent, also said that

> *You see what we are eating (Showing the palm fruit). This is what has saved us. It's delicious. We eat it and drink water and it takes us for some days.*

This was augmented by James, Male, aged 23, a Key informant from NGO who said that

> *The households eat wild fruits. When there is no food from humanitarian organizations, families resort to eating wild fruits to save them from hunger. It's a reality.*

Akai, 35, an FGD respondent had agreed with the sentiments by saying that

> *When there is no food and we have wild fruits, what do you expect us to do? We have to eat what is available and this is what we are able to get (showing wild fruits). This is our savior. It has saved us and our children from dying. We wish these fruits are available every time and everywhere so that we do not die waiting for food aid.*

4.2.14.4 Eating wild fruits

According to the households, they usually beg from neighbors, relatives or get help from well-wishers when they are faced with starvation.

As one household respondent, Nanikan, female, aged 38, indicated that,

> *When I have nothing to eat, I send my children to the neighbors who might have food. Some neighbors give but some do not give. We beg for food because my children cannot die yet other people have food and they can give. That is how we survive.*

Susan, Female aged 25, a household respondent, also said that

> *I usually go to my relatives who live in urban centres to look for food. You stay in their place for a week so that you come back home with something to feed your children. If lucky, you are given food. If not lucky, you return home empty handed. Begging is too challenging*

This was agreed by Peter, Male, aged 23, a Key informant from NGO who said that

> *Begging is not strange. People who do not have resort to begging. This habit is common when you are poor and you do not have an option. People here even beg for money from us and we give when we have. It is a way of survival.*

Naleman, 35, an FGD respondent had agreed with the sentiments by saying that

> *People beg. What is expected of someone who is sleeping hungry? You look for well-wishers to help you. We cannot die of hunger yet your seeing fire in your neighbor's house. I just send children there to wait for food and beg. We are proud beggars because we do not have something that is for us.*

4.2.14.5 Reducing the number of people in the family

According to the households, the higher the number of people the higher the dependency rate. To reduce the dependency rate, the number of people getting food

from the household is reduced. This is usually achieved through reducing the number

of people in that household.

As one household respondent, Nakine, female, aged 42, indicated that,

> *We usually send family members to relatives leaving in towns or places away from the households. This reduces the quantity of food consumed in the household. We also send children to schools so that they can get food there.*

This was augmented by John, Male, aged 23, a Key informant from NGO who said

that

> *It is true that a larger family reducing the number of family members to a number that is manageable. This reduces the quantity of food eaten in that household*

Asekon, 35, an FGD respondent had agreed with the sentiments by saying that

> *Schools have been opened, hence the number of school going children is high because they go there for the free school feeding Programme. We send them to school so that they can get food*

4.2.14.6 Sale of livestock

Livestock, livestock products are the main business commodities of trade in Turkwel.

The lack of properly organized markets, poor marketing skills, lack of sufficient

marketing information and poor transport system has hindered business growth.

As one household respondent, Akai, female, aged 42, indicated that,

> *I have to sell my goat because just like me it has nothing to eat; I don't have money to feed my family and only that goat, which is very thin, is my wealth. Now I have turned it (pointing at a tethered goat) into money to buy food*

This was augmented by John, Male, aged 23, a Key informant from NGO who said

that

> *We have created livestock markets. The households are now selling livestock so that they can generate more income that helps them to buy things they did not have at the household*

Asekon, 35, an FGD respondent had agreed with the sentiments by saying that

> *Now some of us have realized that we can sell livestock when the dry season starts and buy back livestock when the rains resume. Sale of livestock substitutes what we have because we can use money to get food that we did not have.*

4.2.14.7 Sale of charcoal

According to the households, the residents depend on charcoal though they face

harassment from the forest guards. They transport charcoal to urban centres for sale

As one household respondent, Akai, female, aged 42, indicated that,

> *"I am going to the market and when I sell l this charcoal, I will buy food so that we can eat. We haven't had food for two days now and we just drink water and sleep. If somebody can buy these sacks of charcoal, I will buy flour and some vegetables and we can eat."*

This was augmented by John, Male, aged 23, a Key informant from NGO who said

that

> *People here sell charcoal. They get good money from charcoal. They transport them using bicycles to Lodwar so that they can generate some money which is used in buying items that they do not have.*

Asekon, 35, an FGD respondent had agreed with the sentiments by saying that

> *Charcoal selling is a booming business but not to all households. The households which are in that business get some good money and they help themselves by opening up other business. Though lucky, the pressure form forest guards affect the business and it makes them fear engaging in that business. Money generated takes children to school*

CHAPTER FIVE

FOOD AID AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

5.1 Food Aid and Its Influence on Social Relationships among Residents of Turkana County

This chapter discusses the impacts of food aid on social relationships at the individual, community and national level.

5.1.2 Individual Level

At the individual level, social relationships have been affected by food aid. This can be seen inform of the deteriorating relationships at the house level. This was seen inform of deteriorating family structure.

5.1.2.1 Family way of life and relating with relatives

Relationship is a way of life among the Turkanas. Household respondents indicated that the family way of life and relating well with neighbors has been affected by food aid.

Awoi, 38 years, Female, a household respondent indicated that

> *The availability of food brings visitors to the household. When food is not available, people tend to avoid that household and associate themselves to households that can be accommodated. Relief food is now days treated as food, therefore, a household that does not receive food aid loses visitors and this deteriorates the social relationships.*

Ekitela, 42 years, Male a FGD Participant stated that:

> *We rely on food aid. When food is not available, we lose friends and relatives because we are regarded as useless and people who do not have food.*

Paul, 50 years, Male, a key informant from National Government indicated that:

> *When food is not available, many people are not received in that household. No one wants to identify with a household that does not have food. This affects how people relate in that household.*

5.1.2.2 Decision making and gender relations

Women have taken an active role in providing food at the household. They are the ones who are providing the food that is a role usually played by men. This makes men poor decision makes in the household and affects the relationships.

Aitekang, 32, Female Household respondent explained that

> *Women are now the ones taking food to the households. Men who are supposed to provide it have nothing to give. This has changed men role as head of household. This has made women household decision makers because they have all the resources required.*

Lokitela, 40, Male, Household respondent agreed and said that

> *We are no longer the men we use to be. Power has gone to women who have all the resources. We follow what they say or else we are denied food from food aid organizations.*

Peter, 40, a Key Informant also agreed and indicated that

> *Women are empowered. They get money from different avenues. They operate small businesses. Men are seen as useless and worthless because they have nothing to bring back home. This therefore makes them vulnerable and depend on women. This affects the gender relations and decision making at the household level.*

5.1.2.3 Roles disintegration

When the family gets a little maize from Government relief programmes or well-wishers, they are forced to share it with their emaciated livestock. The households argued that they usually look for a means of survival. They send the young children and the aged to the nearest shopping centre to beg so that the well-wishers can have mercy of them.

Nakine, 35 years, Female, a household respondent indicated that

> *We have defined roles as a community. The roles are now changing due to drought. Children are now beggars in the nearest towns. We also beg from neighbors when we do not have food. This begging has changed the roles of men and women in the society.*

Lokitela, 42 years, Male a FGD Participant agreed that:

> *Our self-esteem, role definition has changed nowadays because men and women are not performing the roles which are traditionally defined. In some families, its either Women or Children who fend for the families.*

James, 50 years, Male, a key informant from National Government indicated that:

> *Roles are changing every time. You will see women here being active looking for food for the families. This has changed the relationships based on the roles at the household level.*

5.1.2.4 Mobility of men

Members of Turkana community get cultural prestige and wealth from the animals they keep. When animals die due to drought, Men become desperate and now depend on NGOs and Government for survival. Their self-esteem and pride is reduced because they do not have animals to take care of. They resort to moving to urban centres to wait for food aid.

Awoi, 38, Female household insinuated that

> *The dependence on food aid according to the household respondents has influenced social relationships at the household. Our Men have become mobile like animals. They follow us to distribution centres for food.*

Akai, 30, an FGD Participant agreed that

> *We are all the same. We have become mobile with our goats. We have no option but move with our animals to look for food aid. This has affected our social relationships as households.*

James, 42, a key informant agreed with the sentiments and said that

> *Men also migrate with their wives to look for food. Nothing special with mobility because no one can stay at home waiting for food. They have to look for the nearest centre so that they can also be targeted for food distribution.*

5.1.2.5 Household gender-based violence

Turkana get prestige and wealth from the animals they keep according to the culture.

When animals die due to drought, Men become desperate and now depend on NGOs

and Government for survival.

Asinyen, 40 years, Female, a household respondent indicated that

> *Our men do not have work to do for them to feed the families. They also wait for food aid which we get from the NGOs. When food is brought to the household, it is not sometimes of the quantity that will feed everyone. A Priority is given to children and the aged. This has caused conflicts at the household level. We scold and molest them leading to violence.*

Ewoi, 42 years, Male a FGD Participant agreed that

> *We fight for food. Who can stay hungry yet food is available? Women have become bread winners and this has caused conflict.*

John, 48 years, Male, a key informant from National Government indicated that

> *The household relationships are affected by food aid. Conflicts are caused by scrambling for the little food and it graduates to fights at the household. We cannot solve household cases which we are told they are associated with food.*

5.1.2.6 Begging

According to the respondents, begging is one way of getting meals for the household.

This habit of begging affects how people interact and relate at the household level

According to Nanyait, 34 years, female, a household respondent indicated:

> *We usually go to the neighbors to beg for food when we do not have. When the family gets a little maize from Government relief programmes or well-wishers, they are forced to share it with their neighbors and emaciated livestock. This begging is not taken lightly. It causes disharmony when food is not shared to the beggars. This has caused much conflicts and poor social relationships among households.*

Asinyen, 46 years, a FGD participant argued that:

> *We usually look for a means of survival. We send the young children and the aged to the nearest shopping centre to beg so that the well-wishers can have mercy on them. We usually target households*

which show a lighting fire which is usually an indication that some food is being cooked.

When the beggars are lucky, they can come with something that is shared by all household members. When they are not lucky, we sleep hungry and pray that the NGOs respond to our predicaments at the expected time.

The role of men in the household is now shifted to the kids who are part of the begging. This causes more conflicts and affects how household members relate.

Ewoi, 42 years, Male an FGD Participant reiterated that:

When a woman in a household receives food, it shows that she has become a source of food in that household. Food aid exacerbates a social action whereby a woman sees herself as a source of food because she is the one who takes part in receiving and carrying food to the household.

John, 48 years, Male, a key informant from National Government indicated that:

It is the women who usually receive food during distribution. Begging is a common phenomenon when you have nothing. This begging habit according to me creates enemity.

5.1.2.7 Vulnerability Created

Food aid has caused vulnerability among the recipients. They have become dependent on aid such that they cannot think of the other available option. This has affected the relationships at the household level.

According to Asibitar, 25 Female household respondent,

My husband has developed a culture of depending on relief food aid. He goes to the drinking spree when the aid is not available. When food is cooked, women decide to eat with kids because the husbands do not bring any food for the family. It is like the women are taking roles of being breadwinners. This has affected the social relationships and has caused conflicts at the households and makes the household vulnerable.

Lowoi, 40 a FDG respondent indicated that

Our Lives rely on relief food. We have lost power and we have nothing to do about it. This has made us vulnerable and dependent on food aid.

John, 40, an NGO Key Informant said that

> *There is suspicion among community members. They feel useless because they being suppressed by women. According to them, they have become vulnerable because of food aid and reliance on women.*

5.1.3 Community Level

At the community level, social relationships among community members is affected. This is caused by dependence on food aid which has acted as a push to reduction and relations among community members. This was explained by households as shown below;

5.1.3.1 Food aid and Cooperation at the Community level

According to the household respondents, food aid organizations do not aim at working together with the households in the achievement of sustainable livelihoods. They do not lay groundwork for social institutions and therefore leading to the deteriorating relationship between people hence affecting the social relationships and communal working relationships.

According to Akai, 43 years, Female, a household respondent:

> *Food aid organizations and government singlehandedly make decisions on behalf of the aid recipients. They choose what food to provide and who should benefit. They have never consulted households on preferred foods and changing eating habits. They actually do not cooperate because they see us as illiterate and befit food aid. This causes poor social relations.*

Ewoi, 42 years, Male a FGD Participant agreed that:

> *We have our traditional coping mechanisms which can be capitalized by this organizations so that we can no longer depend on aid because we will have sustainable projects.*
>
> *When herds dwindle, men are increasingly relying on their wives, many of whom depend on selling local alcohol or sell charcoal. They buy maize flour and oil with the sale proceeds. The quantities are very small. This situation has led to dependency. The dependency of women to men is culturally not accepted. If the organizations can*

consult us, we can provide better solutions through cooperation. The lack of cooperation and working together is a bottle neck to the achievement of food insecurity. It also causes poor social relations because the households feel ignored.

Peter, 50 Years, a key informant from NGO

Households have had to depend on food aid. This causes dependency syndrome because they always focus on anticipation of food aid. The beneficiary households depend on external assistance because they are not consulted on their needs. This reduces engagement in other livelihood activities that could enable them to become food self-sufficient. This is attributed to lack of cooperation and working together with beneficiaries so that they can provide own solutions which can be adopted

5.1.3.2 Food aid and Accommodation at the household

Food aid has aided accommodation at the household levels. It brings about an agreement on something that households that do not have. This impacts the rate of how people relate as households and at the community.

Akai, 43 years, Female, a household respondent indicated that:

The availability of food brings visitors to the household. When food is not available, people tend to avoid that household and associate themselves to households that can be accommodated. Relief food is now days treated as food, therefore, a household that does not receive food aid loses visitors and this deteriorates the social relationships.

Ewoi, 42 years, Male an FGD Participant agreed that:

We have friends and relatives when we have food from the organizations. Food attracts beggars and friends. It has become a means of building relationships at the community level. People would wish to associate with households that receive food. When households have visitors and yet they cannot get food, the move to the nearest village where they can be rescued and be fed properly. This food has affected our networking and how we accommodate our visitors. This in turn affects social relationships because it has increased and the same time decreased visitors.

John, 48 years, Male, a key informant from National Government indicated that:

> *The household's relationships is affected by food aid. Not all households receive the aid. Some receive and some do not receive. The ones that receive aid are under pressure to share the little they get. When you don't share, you are branded as a bad person. This causes enemity and it affects the relationship. This food aid in away has been an agent of accommodation because it dictates whether you can be accepted or not based on your generosity in sharing the aid received at the household level or it creates conflict and hatred at the household level and at the community level.*

5.1.3.3 Food aid and social exchange at the community level

According to the households, food aid is the cause of lack of the existing social

exchange at the community level.

Akai, 43 years, Female, a household respondent indicated that:

> *I have to sell my goat because just like me it has nothing to eat; I don't have money to feed my family and only that goat, which is very thin, is my wealth. Now I have turned it (pointing at a tethered goat) into money to buy food. We sell goats as a means of exchange to get money for buying food.*
>
> *Food aid has also provided food that we sell so that we get enough money that can be used for buying. The lack of food for exchange to get money is affecting our lives because we lack money that will help us in buying items required at the household.*

Ewoi, 42 years, a male FGD Participant agreed that:

> *The social behavior of people is influenced by the exchange process. The exchange of food aid is to maximize benefits in terms of money generated out of sell of food aid to substitute the household economy by increasing income inform of money that can be used at the household level. This increases the level of people interaction and affects the frequency of interaction.*

John, 48 years, Male, a key informant from National Government indicated that:

> *Food aid is used as a form of exchange. Barter trade of food aid affects how people interact. It affects the social relationships by increasing interactions and support the community level.*

5.1.3.4 Food aid and competition at the community level

According to the respondents, food aid brings about the contest between beneficiaries, food aid handlers who strive for a goal that cannot be shared causing psychological stress and conflict. This competition affects how households interact and their social relationships.

Akai, 43 years, Female, a household respondent indicated that

> *We usually compete when we queue for food. No one is ready to miss food because we usually do not know who will get it and who will miss in the ration. Do you expect us to wait for food while seated? No way. This competition leads to deteriorating social relationships and grudges when people fight for space.*

Ewoi, 42 years, Male a FGD Participant agreed that

> *People fight and a times lack order during food distribution. The conflict also happens when the wrong names are found in the list leading to fights. This affects household relationships because they are branded as betrayers or people with self-interest.*

John, 48 years, Male, a key informant from National Government indicated that

> *No order during distribution. The targeting sometimes leads to competition for the small slots available which should be given to the vulnerable and the most affected. When the Community realizes that some people were given priority and others were ignored, it creates a conflict between the beneficiaries and the food aid organization.*

5.1.3.5 Erosion of culture

It was noted that the respondents listen to news and some see newspapers. The respondents also said that they usually see the images of emaciated Turkana children and animals in the Television news.

Asekon, 43 years, Female, a household respondent indicated that:

> *When images are splashed all over media, we are branded as useless people. We are seen as worthless and always depending on food aid. Though it is true, this is affecting our culture and it has caused erosion of our taboos. This is a way is affecting our social relationships.*

Ekile, 42 years, Male a FGD Participant agreed that:

> *We are not happy when the organizations are using us to gain support and funding. This is destroying our culture and social relationships.*

John, 48 years, Male, a key informant from National Government indicated that:

> *The dependency syndrome is affecting the Turkana Culture. Most of them are now moving to urban centres to wait for aid. They are no longer focused on pastoralism. This is eroding the culture and affecting social relationships.*

5.1.3.6 Identity and communal gatherings and celebrations

Food aid has affected community gatherings and celebrations. It has weaned people

of the livelihoods they have been used to traditionally.

According to Asibitar, 25, Female household respondent,

> *No communal life is practiced nowadays. Everyone tries on how to make ends meet individually without bothering how others survive. This has affected our communal life.*

Lokidor, 40 Male FGD participant agreed and said that

> *We do not work together nowadays. We do not participate in our traditional dances. No community celebrations these days. This is affecting social relationships among community members.*

James, 35 Key Informant indicated that

> *Selfishness has become a habit among households receiving food aid. They are turning to be individualistic. This is not a habit among the Turkanas. This food aid has made people change the way of life and in away affecting social relationships.*

5.1.4 National level

Nationally, the social relationships are impacted through the organizations providing

food aid and trickles down to the beneficiaries

5.1.4.1 Lead organization rivalry

There is usually politics of who is the lead organization to provide food aid in different places. This conflict causes ripples among the organizations and it affects the beneficiaries and the relationships of the organizations.

According to Asibitar, 40 Female respondent,

> *We hear that the organizations fight for who should bring food aid to us. This causes in fights between them and we are affected because of the delay. The relationships in the choice of the lead organization should be taken into consideration so that we are not affected.*

Ewoi, 42, Male FGD Respondent agreed with the household sentiments and indicated that

> *We are not bothered about the competition on who should be the lead organization. Our Problem is who should be allowed to bring food to us. The rest of the politics should not bother us at all.*

5.1.4.2 Turkana's residents voice is suppressed

Household respondents indicated that the organizations providing food aid do not take into consideration their demands and needs as expected. They only supply what they have or get from donors.

Nakine, 35 Female household respondent indicated that

> *The organizations suppress us. We usually tell them the types of foods we are comfortable with but they still give us the white maize as usual.*

Naleman, 28, a Female FGD participant indicated that

> *The organizations see us as illiterate and cannot contribute to ideas regarding our wellbeing. We are treated like no people. Our voices are suppressed and useless.*

Peter, 35 Male Key Informant agreed with the households and said that

> *We are also agents of the organizations. We give food that comes from the donors. We are not able to dictate to the donors on food preference by the people. This has affected our relationships with the beneficiaries*

5.1.4.3 Voting rights deprived

Food aid has been used as a bait for vote hunting by the national and county government. This has affected the relationship of the beneficiaries and the organizations.

According to Asibitar, 35, Female household respondent

> *We are used as voting machines and tools. Food is given to us as a campaign tool. It is given to us so that we vote for the leaders who give out food. This has affected our relationships with our leaders. Our rights as voters and choice of leaders are deprived.*

Echakan, 32, Female FGD respondent indicated that

> *We only see food during campaigns. It disappears after the election period. This affects the relationship we have with our leaders because we identify them with relief food and not leadership required in delivering services to us.*

James, 40 a key informant indicated that

> *We give food to beneficiaries. The National government provides food through provincial administration. It is a way of showing Government presence at the villages. It is sometimes used by national Government politicians as a way of endearing to voters to stamp authority and set an indelible mark for future engagements and voting. The medicine to a hungry stomach is food. Politicians use food to lure voters.*

5.1.4.3 Stereotypes and loss of identity

The household respondents indicated that they have lost identity as beneficiaries of the aid. They suffer from stereotype because of the images shared in the national televisions.

Asekon 45 years, Female household respondent noted that:

> *We listen to news and some see newspapers. We see the images of emaciated Turkana children and animals in the Television news. Our images which are paraded to the media are a big shame especially when we are photographed naked. Showing photos of us and our animals is an abomination because it can expose them to curses. This has been a conflict between us and the organizations. It has affected our relationships with organizations. It also affects*

> *household relationships because it is shameful when we see photos*
> *of the people we know displayed all over.*

Lowoiya, 25 years, Female, an FGD participant agreed with the sentiments and indicated that

> *The aid as a support to the situation at hand but not appropriate if it*
> *involves use of their images. Our images are being splashed allover*
> *media in the name of fundraising yet they do not get the cash from*
> *their images. It is against the Turkana culture to expose images of*
> *animals and human beings that are emaciated. It gives a bad picture*
> *of the Turkanas and it seems Government and NGOs are happily*
> *using it for self- gain. This is affecting our social relationships and*
> *causes conflict in the society.*

Peter, 50 Years, a key informant from NGO agreed with the households

> *We receive complains from the households on the issue of images in*
> *the media. They tell us that displaying images have a negative*
> *impact on the social relationships among the households. It has also*
> *caused us our lives because we are not able to take photos during*
> *and after food distribution. The community claims that the taking of*
> *pictures is affecting how they interact because people are branded*
> *based on status of the household that the emaciated members of the*
> *household are seen as a source of livelihood when their images are*
> *displayed.*

5.2 Discussion

The results from the households show that there were different perceptions on the definition of food aid. Constructivism suggests that every individual constructs the social world in his mind through experience while, social constructionism has a social rather than an individual focus (Young and Colin, 2004). Constructivism therefore is the process through which people create reality. People create reality by giving meaning to what they see or observe —meaning that reality is constructed through people's experience through interaction with the world. In this case, food aid has been socially constructed. According to the study participants, food aid is understood using different context such as; Food aid as a savior, Food aid as promoter of self-interest, Food aid as a Political vehicle, Food aid as demeaning, Food aid as an agent

of mobility, Food aid as a source of worry and uncertainty, Food aid as a source changing concept and perception on food, Food aid as an agent of conflict, Food aid role in erosion of culture, Food aid as agents of corruption, Food aid as a business Enterprise, Food aid as a source of livelihood diversification, Food aid as agents of dictatorship.

5.2.1 Food aid as a savior.

The Turkana ethnic community inhabit Arid and Semi-Arid Areas in Kenya. ASALs are home to the world's poorest and most marginalized people in the World according to the study done in 2004 by the government of Kenya. Lentz et al. (2005) usefully explain that an individual, household, or community exhibits dependency when it cannot meet its immediate basic needs without external assistance. The households and key informants who participated in the discussions gave the meaning of food aid a way of saving their lives. Food has saved them from the pangs of hunger, and they have resorted to food aid to save their lives. The lack of food is attributed to drought. Droughts increase a community's vulnerability to household food insecurity (Rose 2008) hence a demand for food aid as a savior.

According to previously published studies, food aid to households is an important relief for emergencies during food short falls in households and also increases access to food by households (FAO, 2008). Food aid from various donors such as USA and EU acts as relief for emergencies during shortfalls of food production globally (Gitu, 2004). This is therefore an indication that food aid acts as a savior. This was reiterated by (Icheria, 2008) who stated that the food aid by food agencies such as WFP and NGOs increases access to food by households, (Rose, 2008) and is a relief for emergencies during shortfalls of food production among farm family households in

ASAL areas (Gitu, 2004). According to FAO's (2007), there are few households in developing countries where small scale farming / small gardens act as a major source of food to meet household consumption requirements (Ichene, 2008). This shows that farming is not relied by households.

The World Health Organization (WHO) states that Food Security is achieved "when all people, at all times have physical and economic access to adequate/sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life". Food security therefore is not the physical availability of any single commodity; such as maize in the Kenyan context. Neither does it imply just availability but must be accessible in terms of affordability in adequate quantities, containing essential nutrients. The study established that at macro level, it implies that adequate supplies of food are available through food aid from organizations and government. At the household or individual level, food security depends on Food availability, Food accessibility and Stability. This factor according to GOK is related to various forms of entitlements to income and food producing assets as well as the links between domestic and external markets. Food security is not just a supply issue but also a function of income and purchasing power, hence its relationship to poverty (GOK, 2009).

The study determined that both government agencies and Non-Governmental Organisations involved in food distribution influences food insecurity and livelihood by supplying relief food to even the households that do not deserve and in the process hence households designate and give social meaning to food aid based on the assistance they receive. This in the end makes them be more dependent on food aid which is unprecedented and consider it a savior. Groupe URD (2005) reports that in

Afghanistan some communities stopped maintenance on public goods in anticipation of food aid payments for the same projects. The same case applies to Turkwel whereby food is considered a savior.

5.2.2 Food aid as promoter of self interest

The study also found out that; food aid organizations bring food that salvage people during hunger pangs. The Food aid organizations quickly respond to emergencies occurring in Turkana County. Allen and Morsink (1994) found that relief organisations reacted more to donor demands than either humanitarian principles or detailed knowledge of the local circumstances. When ghost organizations exist that have no physical offices, it raises concerns because the households will not be able to trace them in case they have issues that need to be handled concerning the operations.

Other authors (Barrett and Awokuse, 2006) have argued that individuals from food aid organizations acting in their own self-interest (baking and selling bread to earn a living) create beneficial outcomes for society as a whole (making affordable bread available in the marketplace). Most commonly, people think of unexpected consequences in negative terms, when anticipated benefits are reduced or negated because of some induced response to the original intervention. The same happens to food aid operations whereby self-interest is perpetuated.

5.2.3 Food aid as a political vehicle

The activities of food aid according to households have been politicized. Risks of political influence and nepotism at the targeting and registration stages were significant and report by majority of the households. Households confirmed that food is usually diverted by politicians with an intention of assisting their own networks and political supporters. It is also seen in the process of patronage so that households are

included on lists. States and politicians involved in food aid often are reluctant to recognize an emergency for the reason that it could be seen as an admission of failure in their own capacities to govern (Harvey and Harmer, 2011). Urvin (1992) argued that food aid donation is motivated solely by the economic and political self-interest of the donor, and that it is efficient in furthering these interests. This assertion agrees with the findings that politicians and organizations put their interest first and consider food aid as a way of pushing their agenda further rather than focusing on what the food aid will do to the livelihood of the recipient households. Targeting creates incentives for political leaders, local elites and local relief committees to manipulate beneficiary lists through cronyism or by demanding bribes, and ghost or duplicate names may be included on registration lists (Harvey, 2007; Jaspars and Shoham, 1999; WFP, 2006; Harvey and Bailey, 2011).

5.2.4 Food aid as demeaning

The study found out that Government and Non-Government agencies intervene in various direct and indirect ways in order to help pastoralists cope with and recover from drought. These agencies working in Turkana County and especially in Turkwel Ward have worked closely with the local community in the areas on humanitarian, relief and development interventions.

The study found out that the NGOs provide emergency response to the residents during food insecurity situations instead of empowering the food insecure to be self-reliant. Studies done on food insecurity by the ministry of agriculture in 2009 revealed that over the years, Kenya Government has strived to achieve national, household and individual food security throughout the country. The success in this effort has been mixed. The economic review of agriculture 2007 indicated that 51% of the Kenyan

population lack access to adequate food. This inaccessibility to food is closely linked to poverty which stands at 46% (National Economic Survey, 2008).

This over reliance to food aid organizations and government has affected the family structures and has led to dependency syndrome which the study found out that it is a condition where farmers modify their social and economic behavior in anticipation of food aid.

Barrett and Maxwell (2005, p.180) argue that claims of dependency seem to have the direction of causality wrong. Shocks cause behavioural change that may necessitate various types of safety nets, including food aid. But food aid volumes transferred, in almost all cases, are simply too modest. This in away affects and demeans social structures in a household because food aid makes women superior to men.

5.2.5 Food aid as an agent of mobility

According to households, mobility is a well-known primary risk reduction strategy, particularly in times of drought employed by pastoralists exploiting rangelands. A majority of the respondents view mobility as an adaptation strategy to reduce risk, and also to access livestock, markets, or urban centers. But the level of mobility differs between the locations depending on access to pasture and water resources.

The key informants confirmed that herd mobility enables opportunistic use of resources and helps minimize the effects of droughts, disease outbreaks, and livestock losses through raids.

Turkana herders frequently migrate across borders, especially to Uganda, South Sudan, and Ethiopia, to access resources and markets. These movements are often

affected by impacts such as violent conflicts, diseases outbreaks, and recurrent drought.

Research established that seasonal decisions to migrate with the livestock to areas with secure water and pasture resources is an effective strategy against droughts and has remained important for herders in Turkana County of Kenya.

The study also established that some household members were sent to eat elsewhere thereby limiting the portion size during meal times, restricting adult consumption in favour of small children, reducing the number of meals eaten in a day, skipping entire day without eating and begging from neighbours or friends.

This mobility due to looking for food aid makes people move to urban areas and along the roads in anticipation for food aid.

5.2.6 Food aid as a source of worry and uncertainty

According to households, lack of food brings worry and uncertainty. Barrett, Mohapatra and Snyder (1999) argue that when needy households receive food aid it allows them to invest more resources for production in the following year. The dependence on food aid increases the level of worry among the households in case a calamity occurs. Economic theory suggests that food aid transfers may have a negative effect on labour supply, because such transfers are a form of income. As incomes rise, people tend to work less simply because even hard-working people prefer more leisure to less (Kanbur, Keen and Tuomala, 1994). This is an indication that food aid continues being a source of worry because they have no other alternative of survival.

5.2.7 Food aid as a source changing concept and percepcion on food.

Different households have different understanding of food and the way they perceive food aid. Food aid organizations have been supplied food rations in terms of maize, beans, rice or cooking fat. These rations are not suitable for the households. They are consumed because the households do not have an alternative. The traditional foods of Meat, milk and blood have been ignored hence changing the perception of food according to the households. Examples of well-intended interventions that have failed because they did not take cultural settings into account are plentiful and range from rejected deliveries of culturally inappropriate food aid to disregard for dietary recommendations that conflict with the cultural meaning of certain foods (e.g. Allen and Gillespie, 2001). Improving our understanding of the cultural dimension of food security is therefore increasingly recognized as an essential part of moving towards sustainable healthier diets for all (e.g. Helman, 2007; Keding et al., 2013; UN, 2013).

5.2.8 Food aid as an agent of conflict

Food aid continues to cause conflict among households. The conflicts are associated to food shared by the organizations and government. Dercon and Krishnan (2003) point out that food aid may have conflicting impacts in the presence of informal insurance arrangements within a community.

Recent empirical studies suggest that most households in vulnerable countries neither understand who is targeted for food aid nor how the quantity of aid per household is determined, so food aid cannot provide reliable insurance against crises (Bennett, 2001; Harvey and Lind, 2005). When different people and others are missing, it causes conflict among those who benefitted and those who did not benefit.

5.1.9 Food aid role in erosion of culture

Food is not only a source of nutrition, but plays various other roles in human society and is intimately linked to culture (Feeley-Harnik, 1995; Fieldhouse, 1995; Kittler et al., 2011; Mintz and Du Bois, 2002). Food aid helps in erosion of culture. Over reliance on food aid causes erosion of culture. People focus on food aid which is regarded as a savior and forget the traditional rites of passage, ceremonies and participating in traditional events. This erosion of culture deteriorates the way of living. We use the term 'traditional knowledge' throughout the paper to emphasize the process of knowledge building and transmission along a cultural continuity (Berkes, 2012; Mazzocchi, 2006). Lack of involving cultural aspect in food aid causes erosion of culture. This is because culturally inappropriate food aid to disregard for dietary recommendations that conflict with the cultural meaning of certain foods (e.g. Allen and Gillespie, 2001).

5.2.9 Food aid as agents of corruption

Some interviewees indicated that some level of collusion occurs amongst truckers when transport rates stop being attractive and for this reason, agencies needed to be very clear on pricing structures to allow for adjustments whenever appropriate, especially following fuel price increases. One key informant also noted that staff could be exposed to bribery and kickbacks in order to favour specific providers during procurement processes.

All agencies also experienced challenges during the drought due to limited availability of secondary transport, coupled with considerable hikes in fuel prices and cost of vehicle maintenance. For instance, in East Pokot, the Kenya Red Cross reported that there are only three transporters available for hire to supply food to over

100 schools, and the maintenance costs are exorbitant on account of the poor infrastructure. In Turkana, the Turkana Truckers Association went on strike for a number of months during the critical drought period demanding three times what they were not being paid, to reflect the increased cost of fuel and spare parts; the issue was resolved through negotiations with WFP.

Agencies working in Turkana disclosed that there is a lot of pressure to employ Turkanas in the office even in more senior positions than they are qualified to occupy. The study found out that organizations use food distribution activities as a profit-making venture. Among programme support functions, procurement has been found to pose significant risk of corrupt diversion (Schultz & Soreide, 2008). In the Maxwell et al., study (2011) it was by far the most commonly mentioned activity with a high risk of corruption, although finance, audits, human resources, fleet management and supply chain management also entailed a significant risk of corruption.

At county level, staff is also exposed to bribery and kick back payment to favour specific providers, and theft and collusion between staff and local chiefs or community representatives. KRC disclosed that it moves staff around so that they do not get accustomed to operating in any given context. Manipulation or bribery in assessments, registration and targeting; skimming rations, Incorrect information provided to direct assistance to certain households, groups or regions, or to inflate needs Names added to beneficiary lists in exchange for payment or sexual favours; bribes demanded, multiple registrations Leaders/staff/committees provide false information about which households meet targeting criteria.

Some contexts beneficiaries perceive that part of the food ration is sold by chiefs and Relief Committees, particularly in more remote areas, and that these also take some of the food as compensation for their role. In some cases, there were reports of community leaders 'under scooping' food so that a small remainder could be kept or sold. This is more likely in GFD where beneficiaries may not be sure of the actual quantities of rations to which they are entitled.

5.2.10 Food aid as a business Enterprise

This study established that donor countries have sought to change consumers' food preferences (coping strategies) to stimulate demand for their exports through food aid given to households. The food aid is sold in markets or bartered by the households. This food aid is sold on the open market to generate cash by large US-funded NGOs such as CARE, World Vision, and Catholic Relief Services to raise money for shipping and handling of food aid.

Tschirley, Donovan and Weber (1996) found that large amounts of maize food aid delivered to Mozambique caused both yellow and white maize market prices to fall. Several studies have found that food aid sold on local markets decreases prices (Faminow, 1995; Clay, Dhiri and Benson, 1996; Tschirley and Howard, 2003). Barrett and Maxwell (2005) argue that monetized project food aid has the largest negative effect on local market prices.

Barrett and Maxwell (2005) describe a collapse in sorghum prices in southern Somalia in 2000, linking it, in part, to poorly timed food aid deliveries to Ethiopia that then moved across the border into southern Somalia. The collapse according to the household is associated to the utilization of food aid which is sold or bartered.

Food aid sold through small, village-based processors and traders may help to stimulate the emergence of a competitive food distribution channel (Abdulai, Barrett and Hazell, 2004; USDA, 2001). This is why the households used food aid to boost their dietary need or reduce monotony of consuming same meals.

5.2.11 Food aid as a source of livelihood diversification

According to the key informants, most of these livelihood diversification activities are adapted to complement pastoralism, rather than to substitute for livestock production. Interestingly, Watson and van Binsbergen (2006) in their study reported that most of these livelihood diversification activities are practiced by women in Turkana.

A majority of households in the study area pursue a number of adaptation strategies to mitigate the adverse impacts of drought. The study further found out that diversification of livelihood is a major adaptation strategy practiced by households through using food aid which is sold or brewing of alcohol that helps their livelihood by substituting.

5.2.12 Food aid as agents of dictatorship

The budgetary process according to households has not been fully participatory. Most humanitarian organization do not focus on capital projects like irrigation but on recurrent expenditure. This does not solve the livelihood coping strategy challenges.

Bakewell (2000) warned that neglecting the life and world of local people will make it impossible to understand the process by which external interventions are mediated at the local level to give particular outcomes, and valuable lessons which could help alleviate suffering will be lost. Bakewell, (2000, p. 103) further examined the experiences of Malian refugees from Algerian and Mauritanian camps of repatriation

and rebuilding. The more initiatives they could engage in, the more positive they felt about the assistance they received. Lack of participation is dictatorial

More broadly, household respondents pointed out that in 2011, disaster response in Kenya was characterized by weak coordination, which increased the risk of interventions not prioritizing the neediest areas or duplicating assistance. In particular, there was a relatively weak understanding of 'who is doing what and where' in food assistance, and how their activities related to broader food security initiatives including livelihoods, livestock and agriculture programming. The NGOs have been ignoring the household role.

At the local level, non-government organizations and the Kenya Red Cross were criticized for sometimes bypassing local authorities and carrying out their interventions directly with communities. According to households, monitoring of government food aid is almost non-existent, and the information channels between the Ministry of State for Special Programmes and the district-level administration were very unclear.

At County level, there is little understanding of the criteria used by the Government in food allocation, specifically how much could be expected, and how it compared between districts. Most stakeholders noted that it was unclear how food was targeted and distributed from the District Commissioner's office to the communities. Additionally, households could not confirm how the project fitted into existing food assistance planning, in particular whether it was targeted at additional beneficiaries to those on WFP/GoK pipelines or providing additional assistance to the same beneficiaries.

The principle behind Community Based Targeting (CBT) is that communities themselves are more likely to have better information on those most adversely affected and needy in times of disaster than are outsiders (IFPRI/WFP, 2005).

Part of a strong accountability mechanism is being clear with beneficiaries regarding any challenges facing the programmes, the overall goals and end dates. However, cooperating partners found that this had been a significant part of the challenge in their relations with the beneficiary community – the inability to forecast and communicate when delays are expected or why rations are missing, reduces their ability to manage expectations of beneficiaries. This was summed up by an interviewee who said, "The lack of forecasting as to what's happening has reputational risks, as well as livelihood ones".

This is not peculiar to Kenya as Governments seldom commission or publish internal or independent analyses or evaluations of their disaster responses (Harvey and Harmer 2011). Whilst governments might be sensitive about allowing independent evaluations of their provision of emergency relief, this critical dimension of the overall relief response needs to be better documented and understood.

Despite recent pushes in the humanitarian sphere for accountability and transparency, people's knowledge of the aid process – who is entitled, what they are entitled to, how they can access it and who to contact if they encounter problems accessing it –is still inadequate (Maxwell et al, 2011). The Kenya Red Cross reported that it had no systematic means of receiving beneficiary complaints.

5.2.13 Food aid and social relationships

The study found out that food emergencies do not only threaten lives but also have a devastating impact on the livelihoods of the affected households. This evolution is reflected in the fact that culture is now commonly mentioned as one of the 'deep drivers' of food security in conceptual frameworks (WFP, 2012). Long-term exposure to multiple risks of food aid erodes households' ability to cope with their adverse effects leading to situations of chronic crisis, whereby households regularly face shortages in food and income. Englberger (2012) for example reports that a government program in Micronesia aimed at reducing vitamin A shortages failed because it promoted the consumption of green leafy vegetables, which were seen as fodder rather than food for human consumption.

5.2.14 Food aid and corruption

Among programme support functions, procurement has been found to pose significant risk of corrupt diversion (Schultz & Soreide, 2008). In the Maxwell et al., study (2011) it was by far the most commonly mentioned activity with a high risk of corruption, although finance, audits, human resources, fleet management and supply chain management also entailed a significant risk of corruption.

Due to rising food prices, food has become a higher value commodity in the last several years. Given the significant amount of food aid and, increasingly, cash being directed at any particular emergency, the risks and possibilities of diversion increase commensurately, necessitating the conduct of risk management (Maxwell et al 2011).

More broadly, interviewees pointed out that in 2011, disaster response in Kenya was characterized by weak coordination, which increased the risk of interventions not prioritizing the neediest areas or duplicating assistance. In particular, there was a

relatively weak understanding of 'who is doing what and where' in food assistance, and how their activities related to broader food security initiatives including livelihoods, livestock and agriculture programming. At the local level, Non-Government Organisations and the Kenya Red Cross were criticized for sometimes bypassing local authorities and carrying out their interventions directly with communities.

Manipulation or bribery in assessments, registration and targeting; skimming rations[SEP]Incorrect information provided to direct assistance to certain households, groups or regions, or to inflate needs Names added to beneficiary lists in exchange for payment or sexual favours; bribes demanded, multiple registrations Leaders/staff/committees provide false information about which households meet targeting criteria. Distributors modify ration amounts or composition, or knowingly distribute commodities to 'ghost' or non- beneficiaries. Collusion, kickbacks, multiple submissions of same invoices, conflicts of interest[SEP]'Ghost' staff, nepotism. Falsified or inflated invoices or receipts, manipulation of exchange rates, abuse of bank accounts, embezzlement Diversion during transport or storage; Unauthorized private use of vehicles, siphoning of fuel, collusion with fuel/service providers, falsified records. Falsification of warehouse documents, diversion during storage. Partners can engage in any of the above corruption areas. Human resources recruitment and other programme support risks; bribes required for permits or access to public services Diversion of assistance to their own networks, acceptance of bribes for inclusion on lists; payment for role from food supplies. Diversion of assistance to their own networks and political supporters, acceptance of bribes for inclusion on lists.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Summary

Governments often are reluctant to recognize an emergency for the reason that it could be seen as an admission of failure in their own capacities to govern (Harvey and Harmer, 2011). According to the study participants, monitoring of government food aid is almost non-existent, and the information channels between the Ministry of State for Special Programmes and the district-level administration were very unclear hence the meaning of food changes based on the beneficiaries

At district level, there is little understanding of the criteria used by the Government in food allocation, specifically how much could be expected, and how it compared between districts. Most stakeholders noted that it was unclear how food was targeted and distributed from the District Commissioner's office to the communities. Additionally, the respondents could not confirm how the project fitted into existing food assistance planning, in particular whether it was targeted at additional beneficiaries to those on WFP/GoK pipelines or providing additional assistance to the same beneficiaries. The principle behind Community Based Targeting (CBT) is that communities themselves are more likely to have better information on those most adversely affected and needy in times of disaster than are outsiders (IFPRI/WFP, 2005). Targeting creates incentives for political leaders, local elites and local relief committees to manipulate beneficiary lists through cronyism or by demanding bribes, and ghost or duplicate names may be included on registration lists (Harvey, 2007; Jaspars and Shoham, 1999; WFP, 2006; Harvey and Bailey, 2011).

Risks of political influence and nepotism at the targeting and registration stages were significant. In some contexts, beneficiaries perceive that part of the food ration is sold by chiefs and Relief Committees, particularly in more remote areas, and that these also take some of the food as compensation for their role. In some cases, there were reports of community leaders 'under scooping' food so that a small remainder could be kept or sold. This is more likely in GFD where beneficiaries may not be sure of the actual quantities of rations to which they are entitled.

In a number of districts, the Kenya Red Cross was 'selected' by local government officials and politicians as the preferred partner over competitively selected (and at times, already contracted) partner. Interviewees noted that the patronage of certain implementing partners was partly based on possible rent seeking behaviour, particularly in order to ensure usage of certain transportation and warehousing interests. It was noted that the monopolization of the food aid distribution 'business' can lead to rent-seeking and diversion, and also risks that dominant partners may not implement according to the agreed principles of cooperating partnerships.

Some interviewees indicated that some level of collusion occurs amongst truckers when transport rates stop being attractive and for this reason, agencies needed to be very clear on pricing structures to allow for adjustments whenever appropriate, especially following fuel price increases. One agency also noted that staff could be exposed to bribery and kickbacks in order to favour specific providers during procurement processes.

All agencies also experienced challenges during the drought due to limited availability of secondary transport, coupled with considerable hikes in fuel prices and cost of vehicle maintenance. For instance, in East Pokot, the Kenya Red Cross

reported that there are only three transporters available for hire to supply food to over 100 schools, and the maintenance costs are exorbitant on account of the poor infrastructure. In Turkana, the Turkana Truckers Association went on strike for a number of months during the critical drought period demanding three times what they were being paid, to reflect the increased cost of fuel and spare parts; the issue was resolved through negotiations with WFP.

Among the measures proposed to help prevent diversion of aid during transport and storage is the sourcing of food closer to the beneficiaries for example from farmers in Kitale or Eldoret rather than Nairobi as is presently the case for West Pokot. Apart from contributing to local economies, this would substantially reduce the costs of transport, while also reducing the opportunities for diversion, delay and spoilage.

Agencies working in Turkana disclosed that there is a lot of pressure to employ Turkanas in the office even in more senior positions than they are qualified to occupy. At the district level, staff are also exposed to bribery and quick back payment to favour specific providers, and theft and collusion between staff and local chiefs or community representatives. KRC disclosed that it moves staff around so that they do not get accustomed to operating in any given context. This is particularly so for those working in the proximity of their home areas; for example, there are fewer Somalis in senior positions in Wajir. The issue of partnerships, the quick scale-up of organisations particularly local ones complicates the risks that organisations face in the management of their programmes as any significant expansion – say from 20 staff to 150 contracted staff – puts significant pressure on the organisation as regards assets management and quality control.

Despite recent pushes in the humanitarian sphere for accountability and transparency, people's knowledge of the aid process – who is entitled, what they are entitled to, how they can access it and who to contact if they encounter problems accessing it –is still inadequate (Maxwell et al, 2011). The Kenya Red Cross reported that it had no systematic means of receiving beneficiary complaints.

Part of a strong accountability mechanism is being clear with beneficiaries regarding any challenges facing the programmes, the overall goals and end dates. However, cooperating partners found that this had been a significant part of the challenge in their relations with the beneficiary community – the inability to forecast and communicate when delays are expected or why rations are missing, reduces their ability to manage expectations of beneficiaries. This was summed up by an interviewee who said, "The lack of forecasting as to what's happening has reputational risks, as well as livelihood ones".

This is not peculiar to Kenya as Governments seldom commission or publish internal or independent analyses or evaluations of their disaster responses (Harvey and Harmer 2011). Whilst governments might be sensitive about allowing independent evaluations of their provision of emergency relief, this critical dimension of the overall relief response needs to be better documented and understood.

From the above discussion, people have a different way of conceptualizing food. The top bottom approach in targeting and food distribution has influenced how distribution is done. Different actors have different interest which are beyond assisting people who are vulnerable making the recipients conceptualize food aid in different ways as they are affected in terms of social relationships.

6.1 Conclusions

This study concludes that food aid has changed the family dynamics, decontextualized and camouflage with different self-interest hence making people have varied meanings of food therefore affecting societal social relationships of the residents of Turkana County. This has also influenced the understanding of food security as sustainable access to food. They understand food aid as a savior, promoter of self-interests, a political vehicle, a demeaning activity, an agent of mobility, a source of worry and uncertainty, an agent of conflict, dictatorship, corruption and erosion of culture.

Local community members in Turkana County cope with food security through work, migration and selling of assets. Humanitarian organizations in Turkana County have not been fully involved in community participation activities during their budgeting and implementation processes leading to a disconnect with the local residents. These organizations profit from food distribution through engagement in corrupt identification and distribution activities. Furthermore, food insecurity and resultant food aid is a major source of household conflict in Turkana County as it not only destabilizes the social balance in the community but is also a tool for community manipulation.

From the findings of the study, food insecurity is still a serious problem in Turkana County. It was observed that more than half of the households in the study area were food insecure and depend on food aid. The results indicate further that households of Turkana County understand food aid in different context such as; Food aid as a savior, Food aid as promoter of self-interest, Food aid as a Political vehicle, Food aid as demeaning, Food aid as an agent of mobility, Food aid as a source of worry and

uncertainty, Food aid as a source changing concept and perception on food, Food aid as an agent of conflict, Food aid role in erosion of culture, Food aid as agents of corruption, Food aid as a business Enterprise, Food aid as a source of livelihood diversification, Food aid as agents of dictatorship.

The study reveals further that people expect aids from the government and other non-governmental agencies, as the residents believe that the government is there for them, even if they do not have food the government will give them food. This aid has cost the household social relations because it because of dependency syndrome and later conflicts and erosion of culture in the households.

6.3 Recommendations

There is need for enhanced community participation by humanitarian organizations, strengthened auditing initiatives on humanitarian organizations, diversification of income sources among residents of Turkana County as well as the creation of more sustainable livelihood coping strategies by both governmental and humanitarian organizations on food insecurity coping strategies.

As a policy implication, the findings of this study demonstrate that there is need for legal, legislative and societal reforms on communal understanding of food aid and adoption of existing coping strategies.

The theoretical implication of this study's findings is that social construction theories are useful in the understanding of food insecurity as a social problem.

Socially constructed meanings do influence human behaviour creating the need to deconstruct the meanings that societies bestow on food aid as an initial stage in mitigating food insecurity.

Future studies including both quantitative and qualitative techniques should be conducted across the entire Turkana and other counties to assess the influence of commodification of food insecurity on livelihood coping strategies.

To improve food insecurity situation in the study area, it is suggested that the Government of Kenya through Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives should incorporate different research outputs to design programs for food insecurity intervention rather than focusing on food aid. The local government and other stakeholders should create awareness among the people so as to enable them understand the importance of self-dependency so that they can struggle themselves to solve their problems of food insecurity, instead of depending on the government and organizations.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Guiding questions for in depth interviews with Turkwel Ward Residents

Background Information

1. Date of Birth or Age
2. Gender
3. Level of Education
4. Marital Status
5. Livelihood-
   - How do you get your food?
   - Is it enough?
   - How long can it last?
   - In the event that it is not enough, what do you do?
6. What is Food security /insecurity according to you?
   - What makes you Food insecure?
   - What are some of the indicators of food insecurity among the Turkanas
7. Are there actors who intervene when you don't have enough food?
   - If yes, who are these actors?
   - Which food is usually distributed?
   - Is everyone in the village targeted?
   - For how long have you been under food aid?
   - How often do you get that food?
   - How long does the food distributed take you?
   - Do you share the food with other people?
   - If yes, who are the people? Specify
8. How do you perceive the actors involved in Food insecurity Interventions?
   - How are beneficiaries targeted? Who decides on the targeting criteria?
   - Is the targeting Process fair?
   - How is the distribution done? Are you informed of your entitlement? Does everyone get the right entitlement?
   - Are you contented with how food is distributed to beneficiaries?

- In the event that you are not contented, who do you complain to?
- If yes, are you complains handled? How?
- Do you think this institutions gain from the process of Food distribution?
- How do they gain?

9.How do these Actors influence the existing Coping strategies at the individual and   Community level?

- In times of food scarcity, what do you do?
- Do this institutions support the coping strategies you have mentioned and how?
- When you compare you own coping strategies and the one supported by the actors, which ones are effective and efficient
- Given an opportunity, how would you want the actors to support you

Guiding Questions for Key Informant Interviews

1. What is your understanding of Food security?
2. How about in Turkana?
3. Who are the most affected Population in this County?
4. In your understanding what are some of the causes of food insecurity in the county?
5. How has your institution helped in Tackling Food Insecurity issue?
6. What informed your choice of these interventions?
7. For how long have you intervene in Food Aid
8. When the organization is not involved in food Aid, what does it do?
9. What is your perception of food aid in terms of efficiency and effectiveness? Does is help in improving household food security?
10. What benefits does your organization get from food distribution?
11. How many times have you distributed food in the last 6 months? In the months you did not distribute food, where did the beneficiaries get their household food?
12. How has the community faired on or coped with the food insecurity?
13. Are the Coping strategies effective?
14. What role does your institution play in strengthening these coping mechanisms?
15. What percentage of the Budget of this institution goes to project implementation vs administrative costs? Give a Summary.
16. According to you, if we were to make Turkana food secure, what would you recommend?

Appendix II: Research Authorization

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
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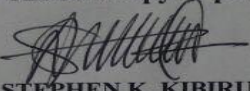Ref: No.   NACOSTI/P/16/52110/10283

Date:
15ᵗʰ April, 2016

Augustine Tioko Logiron
Moi University
P.O Box 3900-30100
ELDORET.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"The influence of commodification of food insecurity on livelihood coping strategies in Turkana, Kenya,"* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Turkana County** for the period ending **13ᵗʰ April, 2017.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Turkana County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Turkana County.

The County Director of Education
Turkana County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO 9001:2008 Certified