REPORT 3 KENYA)

Agricultural and Food Security Policies and Small Scale Farmers in the East African Community

3 - Kenya

Contribution to ESAFF advocacy strategy

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Summary:

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Content

PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

This report presents the findings of the study on agricultural and food security policies in Uganda. It is part of a study on agricultural and Food security policies in the EAC regions that also includes specific studies on Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania, as well as a study on the regional level.

The study aims at reviewing:

- the main policy commitments on agriculture and food security in East Africa, at national and regional levels, as well as the state of implementation and the main strengths, weaknesses and constraints for this implementation;
- the degree of involvement the civil society organisations, and specifically small scale farmers organisations, in the policy process their positions on these policies.

The study is part of INVOLVE project (*Involving small scale farmers in policy dialogue and monitoring for improved food security in the East African Region*) implemented by ESAFF (*Eastern and Southern Africa Farmers Forum*) in the five countries of the East African Community (EAC), namely Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, in partnership with Tanzanian small-scale farmers organisation MVIWATA and the French NGO Gret, with the participation of the other ESAFF members in Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda, and with the financial support of the European Union.

Objectives and scope of the study

The objective of this study is to enable each ESAFF organisation to reflect on the situation in the countries of the EAC. This reflection will help ESAFF organisations to build their national advocacy strategy and a regional strategy at EAC level.

The study does not intend to bring ready-made solutions or advocacy positions to be taken directly by ESAFF members. It intends to create a common understanding of food and agricultural policies of the five countries among ESAFF members.

An essential step of this study will be to put in debate the observations and the findings. Such debates will hopefully bring new questions on the table, new perspectives from other countries' experiences and fresh ideas to advance small scale farmers' interests.

This debate should help each ESAFF member organisation to make its own choices in terms of policy they want and advocacy they need to conduct.

The geographical coverage of the study is the same as the East African Community. This is due to the coverage of INVOLVE project and it makes sense in terms of regional agricultural policies. However, linkages among ESAFF members could be done at a large scale, involving other neighbouring countries.

The study focused on the following questions:

- What are the main policy commitments on food security in East Africa, at national and regional levels?
- What are the positions of civil society organisations on these policies?
- How is the civil society involved in the policy process and how does it monitor such commitments?

Methodological approach

As explained above, the purpose of the work is not to conduct an exhaustive research on agricultural and food security policies. It is more to mobilise knowledge of each country's situation to create exchange and debate among ESAFF members, in order to build the best possible advocacy strategies.

The methodological approach remained pragmatic and tried to use the best the limited resources available:

- Desk research on the context for food and nutrition security in the region and in the countries: situation, trends and key policies; and
- Interviews in country of key stakeholders: farmers' organisations, NGOs, civil society networks, ministries, academics, etc.

Study work conducted by two Gret consultants, in close relationship with ESAFF member organisations in the countries. Due to the constraints in time and resources, interviews and meetings had to be conducted in one week, leading to some gaps in the collection of data and interviews with stakeholders. However, as explained above, the study doesn't aim at being exhaustive in all policies and actors involved, but at creating debate and exchange among ESAFF members.

Two consultants from Gret will also present the results and facilitate the debates with ESAFF members during a regional workshop.

The support provided by ESAFF members was extremely useful in identifying stakeholders, getting contacts, analysing primary raw information, etc. The result of the study is obviously influenced by what ESAFF members in the countries consider as key issues. We particularly thank Justus Lavi, Secretary of KESSFF for his grateful support.

The study for Kenya was conducted by Louis Pautrizel (pautrizel@gret.org), Gret expert on agricultural policies. It successively presents:

- A brief outlook on agriculture and food and nutrition security in Uganda.
- The main commitments, achievements and gaps regarding agricultural and food security policies.
- The main civil society actors and their participation in agricultural policy processes.
- Conclusions and recommendations.

INTRODUCTION / EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Kenya agriculture is marked by the duality between the vast majority of small scale farmers and a limited number of commercial large farms that receive an important support from the government and mainly oriented towards exports.

Another important fact of Kenyan context is the variety of agroecological conditions that creates important differences among farming systems, from nomad pastoralist in arid areas to Highlands intensified agriculture.

The demography of Kenya differs from other countries of the EAC as the urban population is the most important (about one quarter of the population). The country is facing new challenges to feed this fast growing urban population. In the meantime, agriculture needs to be more attractive and provide employment for the youth to reduce the pace of the "rural exodus".

The Government of Kenya has a long history of direct intervention in agriculture. The recent developments have tries to associate further the stakeholders in the elaboration and implementation of agricultural policies but it remains very marginal regarding small scale farmers.

Kenya Vision 2030 (adopted in 2008) is the roadmap for the social and economic development. In the Vision, agriculture is identified as a key sector in achieving the envisaged annual economic growth rate. It took the continuity of 2003 Economic Recovery Strategy.

Regarding agriculture, recent developments have been the Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture (SRA 2004-2014), followed by the Agriculture Sector Development Strategy (ASDS 2010-2020). These two strategies insist on the importance to create wealth and employment through a profitable and market-oriented agriculture, while previous agriculture strategies had aimed at achieving food self-sufficiency.

This market-oriented approach has led to increased growth within the agriculture sector. However, Kenya's policy in recent years has focused less on long-term development and more on temporary policy measures in response to short-term events, such as natural disasters and political instability, which caused domestic food shortages[1].

The role of civil society is quite weak when dealing with general agricultural policies. The government has a background of direct intervention and seems only willing to engage with development partners and large scale private sector. However, some CSOs have managed to be heard at higher levels, using the levers provided by the legal framework. The new Constitution could provide further space for the farmers to express their voices, especially at the local government level as these now have more responsibilities and resources in the definition and elaboration of agricultural policies and programmes.

[1] FAO, Monitoring and Analysing Food and Agricultural Policies in Africa, Synthesis report, 2013, Rome, 2014.

Source: elizon.com

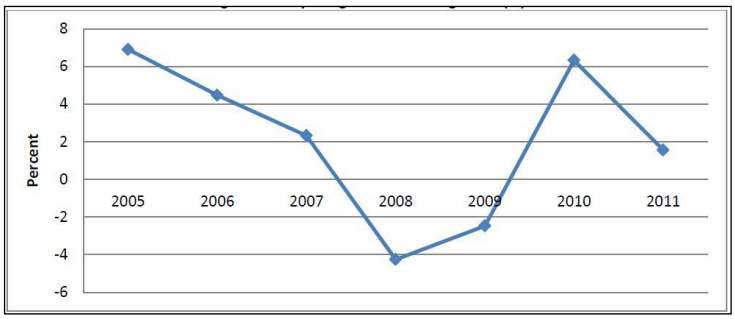
I. BRIEF OUTLOOK ON AGRICULTURE AND FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY IN KENYA

1. Agriculture

1.1 Contribution of agriculture to GDP and employment

Agriculture is the backbone of the Kenyan economy. One quarter of the national gross domestic product comes directly from agriculture (see table), and another quarter indirectly through the agriculture's linkage with other sectors. Farming products also accounts for 65% of the country's export earnings (NASEP, 2012). The agriculture sector GDP growth reached 6% in 2010 (after two years of domestic shocks).

Figure 1 : Agriculture sector GDP growth per year (source : WB, 2012)



Three quarters of the total Kenyan labour force works in agriculture sector.

In 2013, about 70% (14 million persons) of the labour force works in agriculture. This ratio has decreased from 76% in 1998 (see figure 2).

Figure 2: Evolution of population and labour force size (FAOStat)

	Size [Millions]				Annual growth rate [%]		
	1998	2003	2008	2013	1998-2003	2003-2008	2008-2013
Total population	29.70	33.91	38.77	44.35	2.69	2.71	2.73
Total labour force	13.41	15.63	17.93	20.58	3.11	2.78	2.8
Labour force in agriculture	10.24	11.57	12.84	14.21	2.47	2.1	2.05

1.2 Agrarian structure

Kenya is characterized by the diversity of its agrarian systems. The average farm size is 2.5 hectares but this figure is hardly relevant given the differences observed between, for example, high lands and arid areas[2].

Depending on the authors, Kenya is divided into different numbers of agro-ecological zones. In broad, we can observe three main zones:

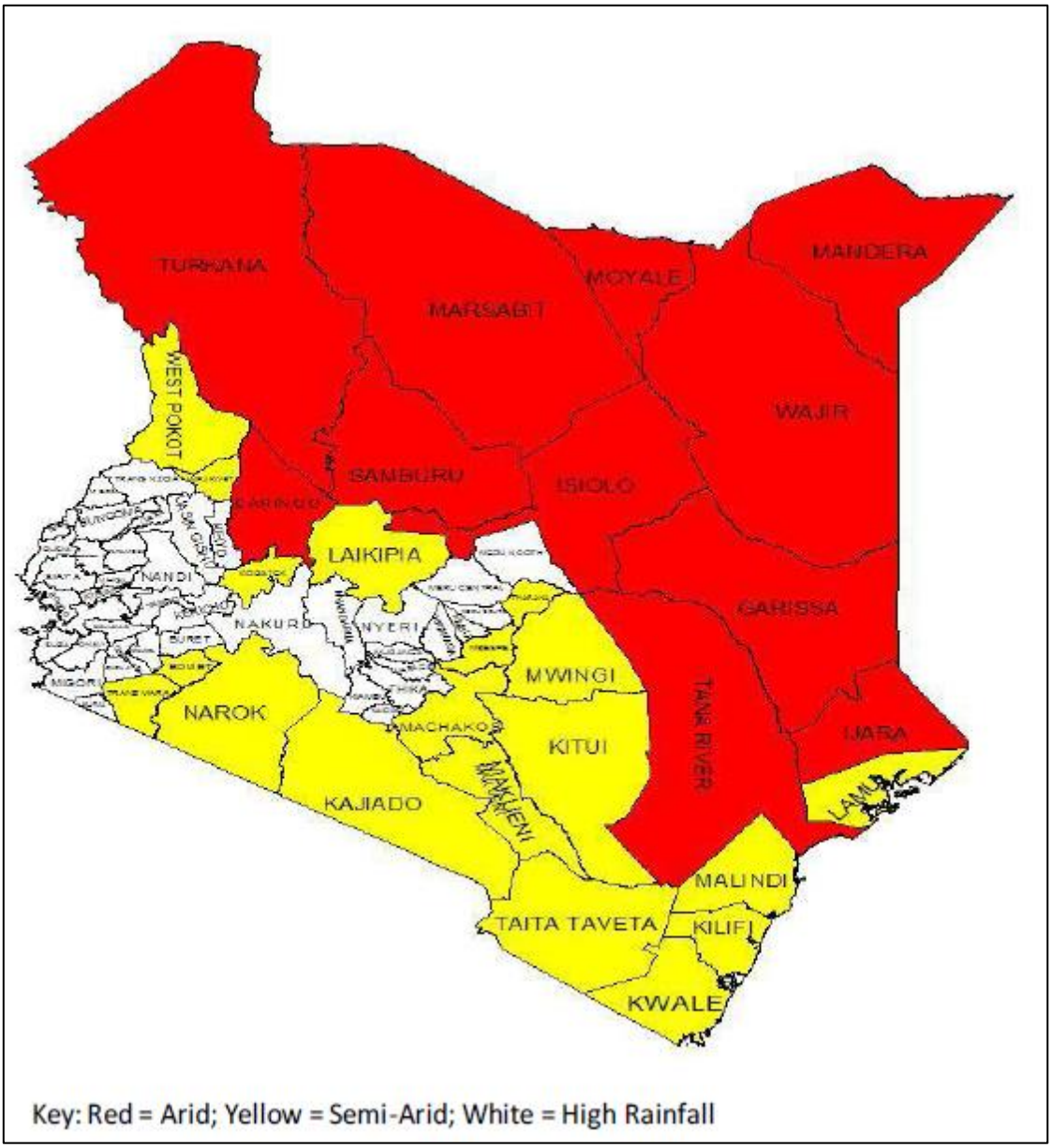
The **arid north** (northern and north-eastern) receives 150-450 mm of rain per year. Most farmers are pastoralists. The area hosts Chalbi salt desert.

Semi-arid areas (midlands, lake regions and western Kenya) are located mainly in the southern and coastal areas of Kenya. They receive 450-870mm rain every year and are characterized by a

[2] Salami et al., Smallholder Agriculture in East Africa: Trends, Constraints and Opportunities, AFDB, 2010.

more diverse set of agricultural activities (rain-fed and irrigated agriculture, agro-pastoralism, commercial farming, ranching). A large share of agricultural land is used for grazing, but the region is also home to over two million smallholder farmers[3].

Highlands receive more than 1 000 mm per year, the production of crops is very diverse (maize, tea, coffee, pulses, root crops, horticultural crops and wheat) and livestock farming. Land units are small, averaging less than two hectares per capita. The region represents 45% of Kenya's population[4].



[3] ReSAKSS, Agricultural growth and poverty reduction in Kenya, Working paper, May 2012.
[4] FAO, 2000.

Map of agroecological areas, extract from GoK, MTIP 2010-2015 (in red the arid zone, in yellow semi-arid and in white the highlands).

Figure 3: Key agriculture indicators and comparison with EAC average. Source: WB Databank

Indicator	Kenya (2011)	EAC average (country level)
Total agricultural land[5]	274,500 sq.km	829,520 sq.km
Share of agricultural land in total land area	48%	49%
Total arable land[6]	5,500,000 ha	25,990,000 ha
Share of arable land in total land area	10%	15%
Share of employment in agriculture	61% (2005)[7]	71% (2005-2009)
Share of small farmers (under 5ha)	75% of agricultural output	n/a
Fertiliser use (kg/ha of arable land)	32.4	10.5
Average cereals yields	1,515 kg/ha	1,682 kg/ha

In the broad picture, Kenyan agriculture is rather intensified compared to the ones of neighbouring countries (including Uganda and Tanzania), in terms of fertilizer use (highest amount of EAC countries). One of the reasons for the high use of fertilizer in Kenya is the government's decision of liberalizing the input market in the 1990s, which was followed by investment in wholesale and retail of fertilizer. In the following years the percentage of households using fertilizer for maize rose from 39 to 81% in 2007. In recent years, large amounts of public money have been dedicated to subsidise imported fertilisers due to the increase in international fertiliser prices (see section 2).

Also these average figures hide the strong disparities among Kenyan farmers, between small scale farmers who only access limited amounts of fertiliser and commercial farmers who are able to invest heavily in their crops.

Irrigation covers less 7% of the cropped land. It is mainly developed in form of irrigation schemes and large-scale irrigation of crops such as rice and coffee. Individual farmers have developed their own systems of irrigation especially for export crops such as coffee and horticultural produce. Large commercial farms account for 40% of irrigated land, while the small scale farmers and government-managed schemes account for 42% and 18% of irrigated land, respectively[8].

[5] Agricultural land refers to the share of land area that is arable, under permanent crops, and under permanent pastures.

[6] Arable land (in hectares) includes land defined by the FAO as land under temporary crops (double-cropped areas are counted once), temporary meadows for mowing or for pasture, land under market or kitchen gardens, and land temporarily fallow. Land abandoned as a result of shifting cultivation is excluded.

[7] The ratio is different from the one of FAO due to different definition of « agriculture employment ». However, what is interesting here is to compare with average EAC ratio.

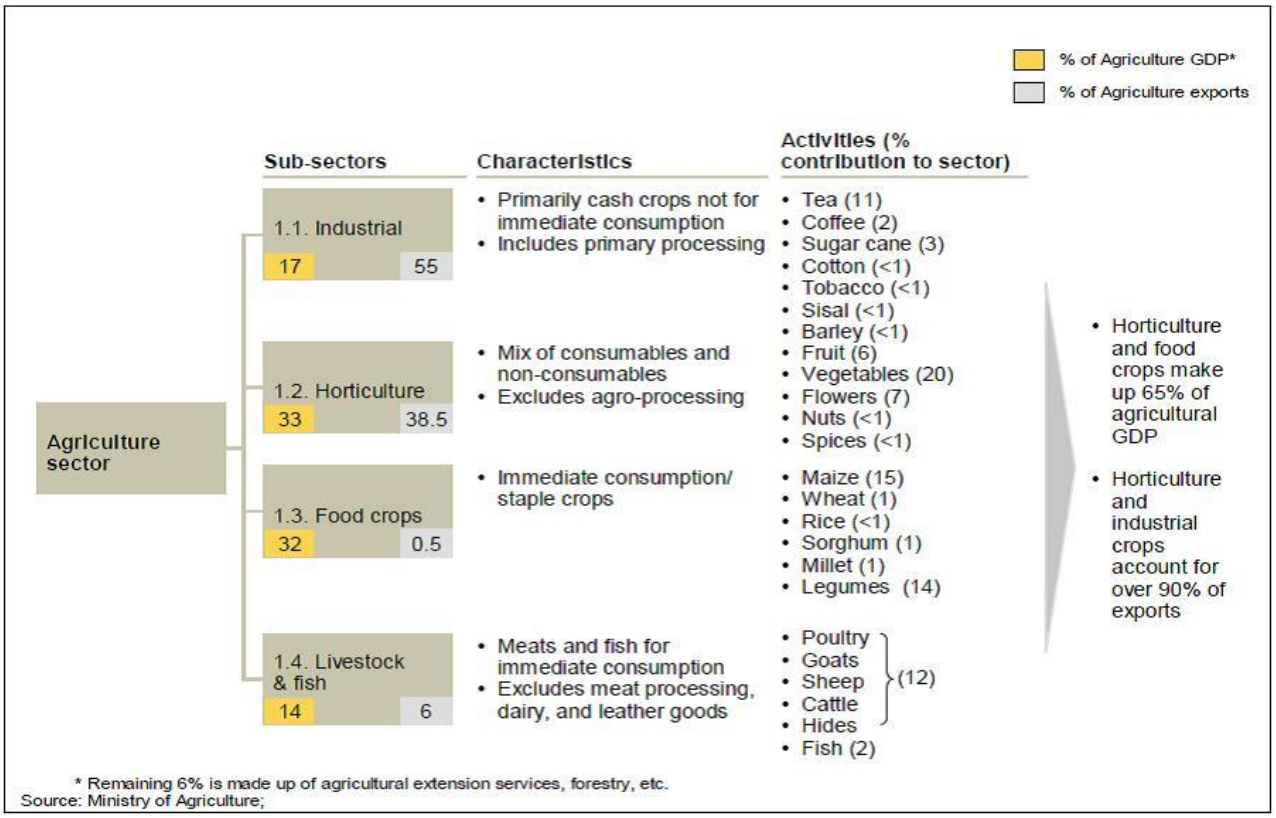
[8] Government of Kenya, ASDS, 2009.

The table below, extracted from the Kenya Vision 2030, illustrates the differences among the different agricultural sectors according to their relative contributions to GDP and exports.

Kenya's agriculture is predominantly small-scale farming, mainly in the high potential areas. Production is carried out on farms averaging 0.2 - 3 hectares mostly on commercial basis. This small-scale production accounts for 75 % of the total agricultural output and 70 % of marketed agricultural produce. Small scale farmers produce over 70 % of maize, 65 % of coffee, 50 % of tea, 80 % of milk, 85 % of fish and 70 % of beef and related products. However, adoption of improved inputs such as hybrid seed, concentrate feeds, fertilizers and pesticides or machinery by small-scale farmers is relatively low[9].

Medium and large-scale farming accounts for 30 % of marketed agricultural produce mainly involving the growing of crops such as tea, coffee, maize and wheat in addition to keeping livestock for commercial purposes.

Figure 4: Relative contributions to GDP by agricultural sectors (extract from MAFAP, 2013)



1.3 Main agricultural sectors

[9] ASDS,2009.

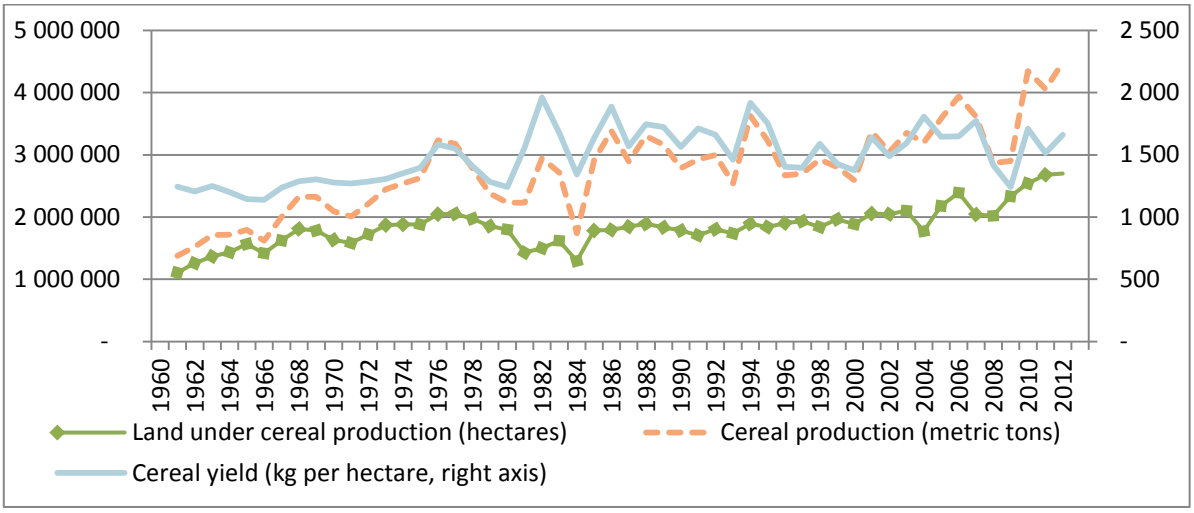
Figure 5: Main productions per area and volume (source: ministry of agriculture, 2013)

Commodity	2011 Area (Ha)	2012 Area (Ha)	2011 Production (90 Kg bags)	2012 Production (90 Kg bags)
Maize	2,131,887	2,266,196	37,520,694	40,037,090
Wheat	131,509	148,725	2,983,130	4,908,400
Rice	25,598	27,183	1,486,200	1,630,987
Sorghum	254,25	220,010	1,776,412	1,944,915
Beans	1,036,738	1,065,180	6,418,596	7,358,225
Cowpeas	197,980	218,851	905,938	1,308,253
Green Grams	159,910	188,493	780,283	1,007,796
Potatoes	123,390	329,675	2,365,253 (MT)	5,497,275 (MT)
Cassava	60,473	71,650	679,167 (MT)	905,710 (MT)

Wheat and bean are the two main crops of Kenya in terms of area covered evey year. They are the foundation of Kenyan food security.

Maize is the primary staple food in Kenya, accounting for 36 % of all calories consumed and 65 % of staple food calories consumed. However, maize accounts for only about 8% of the total value of agricultural production, while other commodities (cattle, milk and tea) are more important by value. Kenya's annual maize production in recent years has remain stable around 3 million tons. Parts of the Rift Valley Province in western Kenya, particularly the districts of Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu, produce a large maize surplus, primarily on medium and large farms. Most other regions are self-sufficient or face a maize deficit on an annual basis. About 15% of total maize production is sold directly to the National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB) and large millers, much of which comes from medium and large farms in the surplus region. About 57 % of smallholder producers are maize deficit (buying more than they sell), and about 11 % are purely subsistence producers (neither buying nor selling maize).

The increase in production of cereals observed over the past decades and that enabled to feed most of the population rely almost only on the extension of land cultivated. Average yields have been stable since the 1970s despite improvements in the technologies (chemical fertiliser, improved seeds). It probably reflects the fact that the lands put into cultivation since the 1970s has been the one with lower fertility as it was not cultivated before. It also means that future increase of the production to cope with population increase will have to rely mostly on intensification since remain lands would provide even lower levels of fertility and yields (arid or semi-arid).



Source: FAO Stat

The main cash/industrial crops in Kenya are tea, coffee, sugar cane, cotton, sunflower, pyrethrum, barley, tobacco, sisal, coconuts and bixa, all of which contribute at 55% of agricultural exports. Tea is still one of the leading foreign exchange earners in the country and its production is still increasing. About 50% of the tea is produced by small scale farmers, the rest in large farms[10].

Sugar cane is also a major cash crop but its production does not cover the domestic demand and the country has to import sugar.

The horticultural industry plays an important role in the Kenyan national economy. The products in this industry include cut-flowers, vegetables, fruits, nuts, herbs and spices. The area under horticultural crops increased from just over 350,000 hectares in 2002 to over 380,500 hectares in 2006, while the value of total production increased from Kshs 32.0 billion to Kshs 54.4 billion over the same period. The value of horticultural exports grew by an average of 16 percent rising from Kshs 26.6 billion in 2002 to Kshs 43.3 billion in 2006 and rising to Kshs 65.2 billion in 2007.

Livestock plays an important economic and socio-cultural role among many Kenyan communities. Besides contributing to the food and cash needs of the operators and providing employment to about 10 million people, the livestock sub-sector contributes 7% to the GDP and 17% to the agricultural GDP. Further, it provides 50% of the agricultural labour. Both crop farmers and pastoralists keep livestock for food and income generation.

The livestock industry has a high degree of vertical linkages with upstream and downstream industries. It is a significant user of products from feed, drugs, vaccines and equipment manufacturing industries and is a major provider of raw materials for agro-processing industries. Therefore, any shock in the industry will affect the supply chain[11]. The two main livestock businesses are:

- Dairy industry: The country's dairy cattle are estimated at 3.5 million head. Dairy cattle are mainly kept in medium to high rainfall areas of the country. The key dairy breeds are Ayrshire, Friesians, Guernsey, Jersey and the cross breeds. In 2008, milk production was

[10] Republic of Kenya, ASDS, 2009.
[11] Republic of Kenya, ASDS, 2009.

estimated at 5.1 billion litres valued at Ksh 100 billion. At current effective demand the country is self-sufficient in milk production.

- The beef cattle population is estimated at 9 million. The main beef species are East African Zebu, Boran, Sahiwal and cross breeds. Although most beef is produced from rangelands, the dairy cattle culls contribute substantially to the national supply. On average, the country produces 320,000 MT of beef worth Ksh 62.1 billion. However, beef production is affected by climate variability and animal diseases.

1.4 External trade of agri-products

While the country has an overall trade balance largely in deficit, the trade balance in food produce is positive every year (KNBS, 2014). The main exported goods by value are tea, horticulture and coffee. The main imported produce is vegetable oil.

Kenyan has built a specific trade partnership with Pakistan. The country is Kenya's main tea buyer as well as the main rice supplier, so Kenya applies a 35% preferential rate on rice imports from Pakistan, other countries being charged with 70%.

The main imported agricultural produce, by value, are wheat and palm oil. Even though wheat appears as the first crop imported, relatively high tariffs apply to protect wheat producers (mostly large scale farms).

1.5 Farmers' situation in agricultural value chains

Farmers are selling their produce at farm-gate due to the lack of rural markets accessible to them. Farmers are price takers and are facing great price instability. Traders (intermediary) are both the buyers and the source of market information, creating an asymmetry unfavourable to small scale farmers.[12]

Farmers' organisations have done little to improve farmers' integration within markets. The same situation is found for inputs markets **where** farmers have no choice but to buy from intermediaries with poor quality and high prices[13].

2. Food and nutrition security

2.1 Population

In 2012 the total population of Kenya was estimated at 44.3 million inhabitants. The population is very young: 42.8 percent of the population is under 14 years of age and 54.6 percent aged 15 to 64 years. The median age of the Kenyan population is 18.5, compared to 29.2 years for the world but higher than other EAC countries. The annual population growth has been 2.68% in average for the past ten years, twice faster for the urban population (4.4% per year) than for the rural population (2.2%).

[12] Ogalo, Harnessing small-scale farmers' potential in Kenya, CUTS, 2012.
[13] Ogalo, Harnessing small-scale farmers' potential in Kenya, CUTS, 2012.

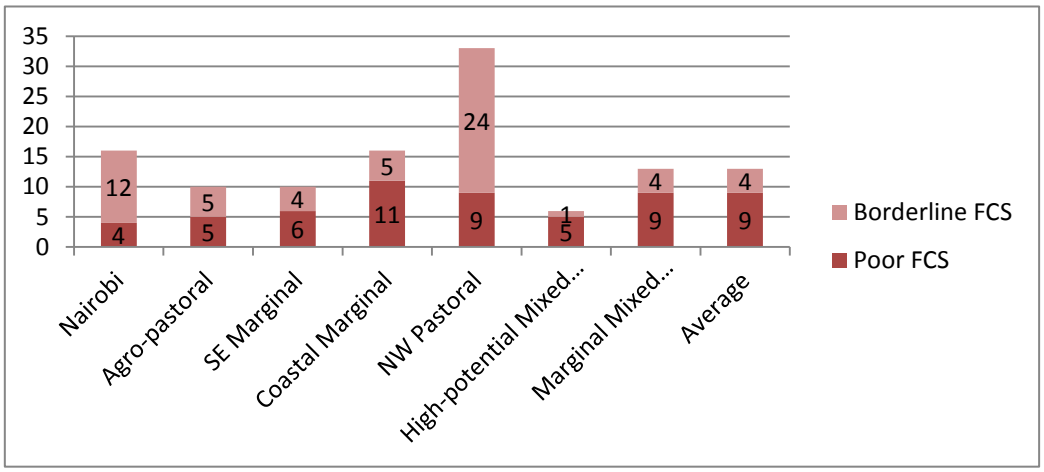
Over 75% of the Kenyan population lives in the rural areas. Kenya is a mix of 42 tribes, the largest being the Kikuyu (21%), the Luhya (14%), the Luo (12%), the Kalenjin (12%) and the Kamba (11%).

2.2 Food security

In the 2000s, food insecurity fell (around 15%). But in 2011, Kenya faced one of the worst food insecurity conditions, an estimated 2.4 million persons required food.

Successive above-average rainfall seasons have led to improvements in crop and livestock production. Meanwhile, the interventions by the Government of Kenya, humanitarian and development partners targeting the most vulnerable population have supported recovery. The number of food insecure people requiring direct food aid has dropped from 2.1 million in 2012 to 1.1 million in 2013[14].

Percentage of household with poor and borderline consumption



Source: WFP, 2013

The last food security assessment report, made by the Government of Kenya, analyses the food crop production in 2012 and the available stock in early 2013.

Following the improved production and supplies of the major food staples during 2012, the stocks of the staples have generally improved. "Most of the sampled large and medium scale farmers still hold 30-70% of their produce in anticipation of better prices. In this category, individual farmers sampled were found to be holding between 60 to 3,000 bags of maize and 100 to 1,000 bags of wheat. At the cross border points, the inflow of maize has decreased in the last two months due to availability of local supplies" [15].

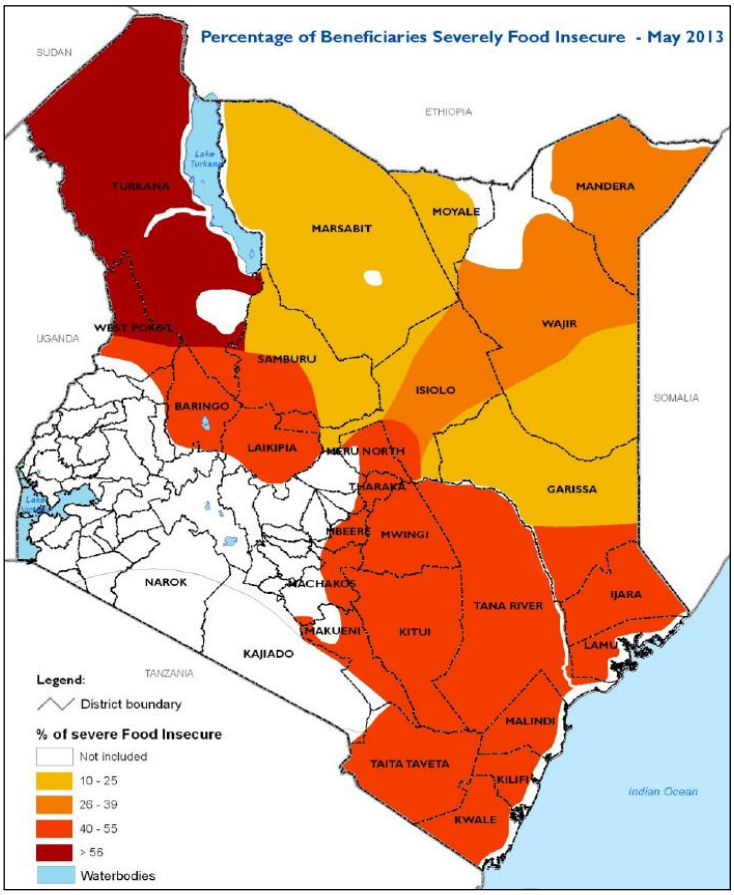
Also, urban food insecurity is increasing. "More than half of Kenya's ten million urban populations live in informal settlements lacking basic services; many are unable to meet their food needs without compromising non-food expenditures"[16].

[14] WFP, 2013.

[15] Ministry of Agriculture, Food security assessment report, Department of crops management, March 2013.

[16] MAFAP, Review of food and agricultural policies in the Kenya 2005-2011, Country report, February 2013.

"The rapid growth and urbanization of Kenya's population has resulted in a changing poverty and food security environment in high-density urban areas. Urban dwellers represent an increasingly important share of the food insecure and malnourished. Little is known about the characteristics of urban food insecurity and malnutrition, however"[17].



Source: WFP, 2013.

Following Kenyan government, 16% of adult males suffer from iron deficiency. Women are the most vulnerable at anaemia (60% among pregnant women) and vitamin A deficiency (39%).

Kenya is also increasingly facing with diet-related non-communicable diseases, especially in urban areas. These are mainly caused by excessive energy intake associated with purchased meals and processed foods, and decreasing levels of physical activity in urban settings.

Global acute malnutrition of children under five was of 6.7% in 2009 (5.3% in urban areas, 7% in rural areas).

According to the 2008-09 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS), 35% of children under age of five years are stunted, 16% are underweight and 7% are wasted. The situation is not much

[17] NZUMA, J., OCHOLA, S., Kenya Urban Comprehensive Food Security & Vulnerability Analysis (KU-CFSVA) and Nutrition Assessment, WFP, 2010.

better since the end of 1990. An estimated 2.1 million children are stunted which is a serious national development concern as these children will never reach their full physical and mental potential. Regional disparities in nutrition indicators in Kenya are significant with North Eastern province having the highest proportion of children exhibiting severe wasting (8%) while Eastern province has highest level of stunted children (44%). As in many other parts of the world, children living in rural areas and children from poorer households in Kenya are more likely to be malnourished[18].

2.3 Constraints faced by small scale farmers

Kenya has also been affected by climate change in recent years. Changing climate conditions are already responsible for the decline of water levels in rivers and melting of glaciers on Mount Kenya, with important impacts on agriculture.

There were serious droughts at least 12 times in the past 50 years. For example, the 1999/2000 la Niña droughts resulted in 4.7 million Kenyans facing starvation. Major rivers including the Tana, Athi, Sondu Miriu, Ewaso Ngiro and Mara had severely reduced discharges during droughts and many seasonal rivers completely dried up[19].

A study by CUTS, in partnership with KESSFF, conducted in 2012, has listed eight broad constraints affecting small scale farmers' productivity[20]. They are listed below:

- **Irrigation**. Between 10% and 20% (depending on the sources) of the irrigation and drainage potential of Kenya is used. With increasing adverse climatic events, there is need for better access to irrigation water by small scale farmers. On the other hand, environment degradation (especially in the highlands) and changing climate pattern are affecting the existing small-scale irrigation schemes.
- **State funding in agriculture**. Under-funding (compared to Maputo Declaration commitments) makes it difficult to provide adequate rural infrastructure (roads, power, water supply) that would enable small-scale farmers to invest in their activity.
- **Access to agricultural credit**. Despite the recent reforms to make credit more widely available to farmers, most of them still don't intend to access formal finance and rely on informal money lenders. One issue is the condition of repayment that are too constraining for small scale farmers and not in line with their economic pattern.
- **Access to markets (for inputs and outputs)**. Constraints faced by farmers in accessing markets are: physical access (infrastructure, cost of transportation due to monopoly), asymmetric relationship with intermediary traders, lack of collective producer organisation to balance the relationship, lack of information.
- **Internal market integration**. Cases of surplus of products that do not find any buyer are frequent in country. Small scale farmers are invited to produce more but they must be sure that they will find a market to sell their production and this is not always the case currently.
- **Land security tenure and fragmentation**. Most of the lands in Western Kenya are own without title. Women also have usually weaker land rights.

[18] Ministry of Public Health and Sanitation, National Nutrition Action Plan 2012-2017.
[19] MAFAP, Kenya Country report, 2013.
[20] Ogalo, Harnessing small-scale farmers' potential in Kenya, CUTS, December 2012.

- **Extension services and technology adoption**. Current extension programme (NALEP), despite interesting reforms compared to previous approaches, still faces challenges in terms of corruption, contradiction of messages and low outreach (more than 80% of farmers do not access extension services).
- **Cultural beliefs and traditions**. It is said in the report that socio-cultural beliefs and habits have an impact on farmers' practices in terms of timing of the crops in the family and on diversification of crops.

II. FOOD SECURITY POLICIES: COMMITMENTS, ACHIEVEMENTS AND GAPS

1. General policy framework

Kenyan agricultural policy has been a mix of state-oriented and state-led actions together with market-led and liberal approaches. Kenya is the country getting the lowest ratio of external grants into the government's budget among the EAC.

After the general economic crisis in the early 2000s, the country started to develop a strategy for economic recovery, with a new emphasis on the use of a Stakeholder Participatory Approach.

In 2004, the government launched the Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture (SRA). The policy framework guided Kenya's agricultural development during 2004-2014.

Kenya Vision 2030 (adopted in 2008) is the roadmap for the social and economic development. In the Vision, agriculture is identified as a key sector in achieving the envisaged annual economic growth rate.

In 2010, the new Constitution was promulgated. It replaced 1969 Constitution and introduced several changes[21]. One of the main changes was the introduction of devolution. Devolution is the granting of powers from central government to sub-national level. With the new Constitution, the 47 counties (including 13 urban counties) receive the provision to create a county government with attached responsibilities and resources. The general elections of 2013 have led to the creation of 47 county governments who took office in March 2013.

[21] National Council for Law Reporting, The Constitution of Kenya, Revised Edition 2010.

Some elements of the overall policy framework related to agriculture and food security

Long term	Kenya Vision 2030 Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS) 2009-2020
Medium term	Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture 2004-2014
	Njaa Marufuku Kenya (Eradication of hunger) 2005-2014
Sector level	National Agricultural Sector Development Policy (NASEP) 2012
	Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERS) 2003-2007
	National food and nutrition security policy 2011
	Promotion of Private Sector Development in Agriculture (PSDA) 2003-2015
	National Accelerated Agricultural Inputs Access Programme (NAAIAP)
CAADP financing Mechanism and framework	Medium Term Investment Plan (MTIP) 2010-2015

2. Agriculture policies

After providing an historical insight of the agricultural policies in Kenya, this section will draw on the main current strategic frameworks and present some examples of policies in place. The diversi-

ty of the policies cannot be entirely covered by this exercise. Some sources say that Kenya's agriculture is regulated by 140 pieces of legislation[22]. There are also 24 parastatals[23] that implement their own policies and programmes in their assigned sectors.

2.1 Evolution of agricultural policies in Kenya

The agricultural sector in Kenya is large and complex, with a multitude of public, semi-public, non-governmental and private actors. Researchers identify three periods since independence with different agricultural policies: post-independence, liberalization, and stakeholder participatory approach.

During the **post-independence period** (1963-1980s), policy objectives were influenced by self-determination and economic growth. The government impulse to agricultural production was mainly through the increase in productive land by promoting access to land for many smallholders. This period was characterized by a conservative fiscal and monetary policy, supported by a fixed exchange rate system.

The **liberalization period** starting in the mid-1980s was characterized by the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and "free market" policies, under the external influence of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The actions enforced included the privatization and deregulation of the sector, reduction in trade barriers, exchange rate adjustments, and an increase in decentralization. This period resulted in the collapse of some government institutions created during the post-independence era, as they did not prove efficient in the liberalized market. In addition, the private sector did not have the capacity, nor the incentives, to take on the role that the government abandoned. Liberalization suddenly exposed the un-capitalized farmers to market forces without support institutions, leading to poor performance of the sector[24].

While secondary liberalization measures continued during the early 2000s, since then Kenya has been very dynamic in reforming and consolidating policies for a post-liberalization period. After the general economic crisis of the late 1990s–early 2000s, the country started to develop a national strategy for economic recovery, with a new emphasis on the use of a **Stakeholder Participatory Approach**. Although most of the support institutions had existed since independence, almost all of them, together with the respective commodity-specific and sector-wide policies, were to be reformed and adapted for stakeholder administration. Largely consultative processes resulted in a number of new or reformed policies, which conformed to the country´s recent strategies[25].

2.2 Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture (SRA), 2004-2014

After the launch of the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERS) in April 2003 where agriculture was identified as a key sector, the government and partners started to work on a sectoral strategy. This led to the Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture (SRA), launched in March 2004.

The SRA, however, did not just signal the government's intention to "do something about agriculture"; it proposed a radical reform of the role of the state within the sector. Numerous, often over-

[22] KEPCO, Resource Allocation and Utilization in Kenya's Agriculture Sector – Public Expenditure Review, 2010

[23] Many of these parastatals date back from the colonial times. They include producers' gathering for specific commodities, regulatory bodies, research and training institutes and sugar factories.

[24] MAFAP, Kenya Country Report, 2013.

[25] MAFAP, Kenya Country Report, 2013.

lapping and sometimes redundant pieces of agricultural legislation were to be harmonised into one or a few pieces of framework legislation. The number of state organisations was to be reduced through closure or privatisation, while the mandates of others were to be scaled back and still others could be put into public-private partnerships to increase their efficiency.

The overall aim was to refocus the state on the provision of key public goods, such as research and extension (which in theory should benefit all producers), road and irrigation infrastructure, creating greater space for the private sector to expand the services it provided to producers, most notably output marketing, but also input supply and financial services.

This reflected both the President's stated commitment to private sector-led growth and the authors' analysis of the future of Kenyan agriculture, namely that it could not continue as it was if it was to contribute to the growth and poverty reduction aspirations of the new government. They observed that the most dynamic sectors, e.g. horticulture, were largely free of state control, whereas state organisations were generally inefficient.

This strategy was set to run from 2004 to 2014. Six "fast-track" areas of action were identified:

1. reviewing and harmonising the legal, regulatory and institutional framework;
2. improving delivery of research, extension and advisory support services
3. restructuring and privatising non-core functions of parastatals and ministries to bring about efficiency, accountability, and effectiveness;
4. increasing access to quality farm inputs and financial services
5. formulating food security policy and programmes,
6. taking measures to improve access to markets, for example, rural roads and internal taxes.

2.3 Agricultural sector development strategy (ASDS), 2009-2020

ASDS is the overall national policy document for the sector ministries and all stakeholders in Kenya. The introduction states:

> *The document is an expression of sector characteristics, challenges, opportunities, Vision, Mission, strategic thrusts and the various interventions that the ministries will undertake to propel the sector to the future. As a revision of the Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture (SRA), ASDS has incorporated not only the successes, but also the lessons from SRA with the view to provide the framework for stimulating, guiding and directing progressive agricultural growth and development in the next 12 years*[26].

However, the successes of the SRA that the ASDS wants to "incorporate" are quite limited. A review by Future Agricultures Consortium explains that only one of the six fast-track areas can be describes as really successful (the formulation of the food security policy). For the more ambitious components that were intending to transform radically the state-run agricultural sector, most of the action could not be implemented due to internal resistance (especially based on ethno-regional issues) and lack of leadership[27].

The ASDS falls short in analysing the difficulties faced by the previous strategic framework and goes on with a similar list of objectives and targets.

[26] Republic of Kenya, Agricultural Sector Development Strategy 2009-2020, 2009.

[27] Poulton and Kanyinga, The Politics of Revitalising Agriculture in Kenya, Future Agricultures, May 2013.

Assuming conducive external environment and support from enabling sectors, the agricultural sector has set the following key targets by 2020:

1. Reduction of people living below absolute poverty line to less than 25% to contribute to achieving the MDGs set by the United Nations.
2. Reduction of food insecurity by 30% to surpass the MDGs set by United Nations.
3. Increase in the contribution of agriculture to the GDP by more than Kshs 80 billion per year as set out in the Vision 2030.
4. Divestiture in all state corporations dealing with production, processing and marketing that can be better done by the private sector.
5. Reform and streamlining of agricultural service institutions such as research, extension and regulatory to be most effective and efficient.

Kenya's ASDS is explicitly aligned with the CAADP pillars[28].

CAADP Pillars	Corresponding ASDS Thematic Areas
Pillar 1 Land & water management: extending the area under sustainable land management and water control systems	Sustainable land and natural resource management
Pillar 2 Market access: improving rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities for market access	Agribusiness, access to markets and value addition
Pillar 3 Food supply and hunger: increasing food supply and reducing hunger	Food and nutrition security
Pillar 4 Agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption	Research and extension
	Inputs and financial services
	Legal, regulatory and institutional reforms

The ASDS focus on agribusiness and contract farming a way to support small scale farmers but the risks associated to such practices are omitted:

> *In this connection, the Government will strengthen the complementarities and inter-dependence of the agricultural sector with the agribusiness by promoting forward and backward linkages and prioritizing rural industrialization. Where contractual obligations can be enforced, forging partnerships between smallholders and agribusiness in the form of out-grower and contract farming schemes will be encouraged. Such partnerships will allow smallholders to enjoy assured markets for their products and the supply of inputs on a credit basis or through input voucher schemes. Contractors also benefit from an assured supply of commodities of higher quality. Such schemes are currently in use for some few commodities. (ASDS, p.66)*

[28] MAFAP, Kenya Country Report, 2013

2.4 Medium Term Investment Plan (MTIP)

MTIP for Growth and Food security through Increased Agricultural and Trade 2010-2015 springs directly from ASDS, whose development process fulfilled specific requirements for developing the Kenya CAADP Compact[29].

The implementation is made by the Agricultural Sector Coordination Unit (ASCU), the process involved in-depth consultation with all 10 sector ministries, development partners, the private sector and civil society, leading to a document that has crucial buy-in across the sector.

Its proposed investment areas emerge from the strategic thrusts prioritised in the ASDS and CAADP Compact.

MTIP prioritizes six investment areas with attached allocation[30].

Investment Area (IA)	Kshs billion	USD million	Budget Share (%)
1. Increasing productivity, commercialization and competitiveness	88.92	1,112	36.0
2. Promoting private sector participation	30.88	386	12.5
3. Promoting sustainable land and natural resource management	103.74	1,297	42.0
4. Reforming delivery of agricultural services	2.47	31	1.0
5. Increasing market access and trade	19.76	247	8.0
6. Ensuring effective coordination and implementation	1.24	15	0.5
TOTAL	**247.00**	**3,088**	

The proposed portfolio of investments will require Kshs 247 billion (USD 3.09 billion) over the five-year planning horizon to 2015.

Financing

The Government of Kenya (GoK) has invested Kshs 28.45 billion in the development portfolios of the 10 sector ministries over the last three years. In keeping with the Maputo Declaration, the GoK has committed itself to increasing this level by 30 percent by 20 for a total contribution of 161.22 billion (65% of the budget). Kenya's development partners are expected to commit at least 31% of the budget. The private sector could add. Current GoK and development partner commitments, along with expected contributions from the private sector will leave an overall funding gap of Kshs 6.23 billion, 2.5 percent of the budget[31].

[29] ESAFF, Analysis of the implementation of the CAADP in EAC, The Case of Small Scale Farmers in Kenya, February 2012.

[30] Republic of Kenya, Growth and Food Security Through Increased Agricultural Productivity and Trade, A Medium-Term Investment Plan for Kenya's Agricultural Sector (MTIP) 2010-2015,

[31] Republic of Kenya, Growth and Food Security Through Increased Agricultural Productivity and Trade, A Medium-Term Investment Plan for Kenya's Agricultural Sector (MTIP) 2010-2015.

2.5 Agricultural Extension Policies

Agriculture extension has been provided in various forms since independence:

- Integrated approach in the 1970s
- Training and visit system that began in 1982
- District focus since 1984
- National agricultural and livestock extension programme (NALEP) since 2000

Regular shifts came from the lack of results observed in terms of farming productivity.

The SRA In the 2000s, three approaches have been tested by different donors:

- the Swedish aid (SIDA)-funded National Agriculture and Livestock Extension Programme, which, inter alia, encouraged a 'focal-area' approach in which available extension resources focused on one location within a district each year to achieve maximum impact;
- the Decentralised Agriculture Support Structures programme under the Danish aid (DANIDA)-funded Agriculture Sector Programme Support, which promoted multi-stakeholder forums at district level to help set priorities for government (including extension) support to farmers, and
- the World Bank-funded Kenya Agriculture Productivity Project (KAPP, which became KAPAP in 2010), which piloted demand-driven extension approaches creating space for multiple service providers.

The last programme (NALEP) has shifted from previous top-down approaches. It relies on:

- Participation
- Demand-driven extension
- Pluralism in the provision of services
- Transparency and accountability

These good principles are underpinned by the reality of the programme implementation:

- Lack of resources by extension services to pursue their mission
- Favouritism in the choice of service providers
- High costs for farmers (even though it is meant to be almost free)
- Room for corruption
- Etc.

As a result, the vast majority of small scale farmers have never access to this extension service. The government is thinking about renewing its approach once again, with brand new principles (see CAADP). We can expect the same results since the issues are in the structure of extension provision rather than in the principles and overall objectives.

The National Agricultural Sector Extension Policy (NASEP) takes a sector-wide approach and addresses key sectorial issues in the delivery of extension services. This is the revision of the NASEP made in 2001. It gives guidelines on addressing and devising funding modalities, packaging of technologies, technical capacity building and research– extension–farmer linkages, and ap-

plication of ICT in AKIS in general. It also offers guidance on the role of the private sector and its modalities of providing extension and other auxiliary services[32].

This sector-wide policy draws its strength from the ASDS principles. Its objective is to promote and guide the realization of demand-driven, sustainable and effective pluralistic extension system.

2.6 Maize farmers support towards food sufficiency

Kenya is important large amounts of maize every year to cope with its growing population and the insufficient domestic production. The situation is getting even more precarious in the occurrence of drought, leading to large scale distributions of food to the affected areas.

The measures to support the production of maize are targeting small scale farmers who produce about 70% of all maize produced countrywide. Such measures evolve from one year to another, based mostly on the international markets conditions (commodity prices, inputs prices, surplus from other countries).

The National Cereals and Produce Board is responsible for implementing most of the actions related to cereals production. Recent actions that have been used include:

- Increasing imports by the National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB) for the strategic grain reserve (in 2008 the Board was authorized to import 270,000 MT of maize);
- supply of maize to millers at fixed prices (in 2008, the price was fixed at Kshs 21 per kg, equivalent to a 50 percent subsidy);
- fixing the purchasing price of maize, which in 2011 reached Ksh 33/kg, equivalent to double the market price; and
- input subsidies on a continuous basis, mainly for fertilizer, in the form of direct payment to farmers or free distribution.

These measures are linked with national objective of ensuring food security and providing enabling environment for maize producers. They don't take into account the regional environment despite the political commitment of the Kenyan Government at the EAC level. The region seems to come second, after the food security of the country. Such situation makes difficult the actual application of a regionalisation of trade and food security[33].

2.7 Large scale projects

As part of its strategy of the Vision 2040, the ministry of agriculture has announced the revival of Galana irrigation project. The government has already invested in the initial infrastructure and was awaiting to sign with a private investor who would further build the model farm of 10 ac that would eventually lead to the development of the would project up to 1.5 million acre (that is 600,000 ha)[34].

In August 2014, a USD 165 million deal was signed with Green Arava, an Israeli horticulture crop export firm to build the model farm of 10,000 ac.

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[32] Republic of Kenya, National Agriculture Sector Expansion Programme, Agricultural Sector Coordination Unit, Government of Kenya, June 2012. P. 22.

[33] Kangethe, Maize Value Chain Analysis in Kenya - The Relevance of the Bulk Marketing Agri Business Model, February 2014

[34] http://www.irinnews.org/fr/report/99555/kenyan-irrigation-scheme-offers-solutions-but-raises-questions

Little information has been shared on this project but the promotional video gives some interesting insight of what is planned[35]. The speeches delivered by the Minister for Agriculture and the President[36] also show that, while food security is supposed to be the main objective of this project, there is no room for small scale farmers and very few jobs created in this project. One can question how such project could really improve the food security of mostly poor farmers. This question is crucial since large amounts of public money is invested in this project and not invested in support to small scale farmers[37].

Illustration from Construction review online[1]

In the most recent developments, it seems that members of Parliament are rejecting the deal with Green Arava due to lack of transparency in the bidding process[38].

2.8 Other policies

SACCOS[39] regulation

The SACCO regulatory Authority (SASRA) was established by the act of government in 2008 under the SACCO Societies Act of 2008 and came into effect in September 2009. The authority is mandated with the following mandate:

- License SACCO Societies to carry out deposit taking business;
- Regulate and supervise deposit taking SACCO Societies;
- Manage the Deposit Guarantee Fund under the trustees appointed under the Act;
- Advise the Minister on national policy on deposit taking SACCO Societies in Kenya.

SACCO sector has

[35] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7oqHb8pOP6w It is very interesting to see that almost no worker appear in the "model farm" depicted in the video. This quite contradictory with intentions of creating employment in the agricultural sector as stated in the ASDS.

[36] http://www.president.go.ke/galana-kulalu-project-must-succeed-president-kenyatta-says/

[37] According to GoK budget document, about Ksh 3-5 billion were invested in this project each year for the past two years. This is 10% of the annual agricultural budget.

[38] http://allafrica.com/stories/201409180231.html

[39] Savings And Credit Co-operative

3. Agriculture budget

For the year 2013/2014, official budget allocated to agriculture and rural development amounted Ksh. 38.1 million, out of a total budget of Ksh. 1.6 trillion, which is 2.3% of the budget for agriculture and rural development.

4. Trade and food reserve policies

Traditionally, Kenya has protected domestic wheat producers with rather high tariffs despite the recurrent deficit in production. These tariffs have benefited to the wheat producers who are mostly large-scale commercial farmers. Within the different regional integration processes (COMESA and EAC) and given the international price spikes, Kenya has started to reduce the import tariffs on wheat in the late 2000s.

> *Under the COMESA, Kenya's tariffs were harmonized with those of other members at 35 %for wheat and 60% for wheat flour. Despite efforts to harmonize these rates in the East African Community (EAC) in its agreement on a common external tariff in 2004, members of COMESA and the EAC have agreed to a process to vary these rates as circumstances require. Thus, Kenya reduced its wheat tariff from 35 to 25 percent in response to the wheat price spike of 2007-2008. In 2010 Tanzania and Uganda lowered their tariffs on wheat to 10% and zero, respectively, in 2010. Kenya's tariff was also reduced further to 10 percent in 2010. This was done by a duty remission scheme in which importers initially paid the 35 percent tariff and then applied for remission. This measure was implemented despite the unpopularity of the reduction of the tariff among large-scale farmers in some parts of the country. In 2011, a continuation of the "tariff-abatement" policy was announced. Under the new scheme, registered millers are allowed to import wheat duty-free for one year beginning July 4, 2011.*[40]

Most of farm products and inputs markets have little or no regulatory framework and mechanism despite the strong asymmetries faced by small scale farmers (Ogalo, 2012).

The only exception is for maize and grain which is a strategic sector for the food security of the population. The actor of the grain market regulation is the Kenyan agricultural policy is the Cereal and Produce Board. Unfortunately, this board is not able to meet its objective (Kangethe, 2014).

National Cereals and Produce Board of Kenya (NCPB)[41]

The NCPB is a Government Statutory marketing board. Before market liberalization of the maize sector in the 1980s, it played a significant role as the dominant player in the grain market, with an absolute control in the purchase, sell and movement of grain in Kenya. The role of NCPB has diminished in recent years, becoming only a price stabilisation agent in the grain market. NCPB is

[40] MAFAP, 2011

[41] Extract from Kangethe, 2014

very active in a high production year and inactive during the lean years.

Currently, the activities of the NCPB focus on four main areas:

Commercial Grain trading. After Liberalisation and in recent years this forms the core business of the board. The board is in competition with other players in the market. The board deals with different product like maize, wheat, beans, millet and sorghums. The Board holds storage capacities of more than 20 million bags by 90kgs which consists of conventional stores and silo bins in all rural districts in Kenya. It buys maize from certain maize surplus regions of Kenya and sells maize to retailers to bulk break to sell to consumers. The NCPB can also sell to commercial millers under government instructions. NCPB is also involved in the Warehousing Receipts System on grain future markets, which is in its pioneering stages in Kenya. It also provides commercial services related to storage (weighing, fumigation, grading, etc.).

Strategic Grain Reserve (SGR). The NCPB maintains the SGR on behalf of the government to be used in food security actions. The SGR is a 4million bags stock and the NCPB has been instructed to increase this to 8 Million bags. The SGR can be released into the commercial grain markets upon the instruction of the government to stabilise the market prices increases in the lean season. The management of the SGR stocks also entails periodic replacement of stocks to facilitate freshening of the grain stock to ensure that the SGR is of high quality always.

Famine Relief Supplies. The Board facilitates the procurement, storage, maintenance and distribution of famine relief food to deficit areas, under the National Famine Relief Program, on behalf of the Government.

Market Information. NCPB operates a web based market information services to producers and other stakeholders. The prices of maize, beans, seeds and fertilizers can be obtained from the Boards website (http://www.ncpb.co.ke/). While the board holds the SGR in the country, at no particular time is the quantity of grain available in its stores known to the general public. This is regarded as a national secret, which in a way increases the level of uncertainty in the grain trading in Kenya.

Since 2002, the Board has diversified into the marketing of various agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and certified seeds as part of the strategy of enhancing efficient cereal production through the use of affordable quality inputs. This move was undertaken in response to farmers' requirements and the need for the Board to take advantage of its extensive network to move these essential inputs closer to the farmer.

5. Nutrition policies

In 2009, to mitigate the effect of food shortage, a price control bill was passed to fix maximum retail and wholesale price for essential good (including maize, maize flour, cook fat or oil and sugar). Although reinforced in 2010 and 2011, the bill was never fully implemented (MAFAP, 2013).

5.1 Njaa Marufuku Kenya (NMK) ("Eradication of Hunger")

Within the context of Kenya's key government policies, the Agriculture Sector Ministries developed the Njaa Marufuku Kenya Programme (NMK) to spearhead the fulfillment of Millennium Development Goal number one (MDG-1). The programme was started in April 2005 as a nationwide government-led programme and has three components, namely:

- Component 1: Support to Community-Driven Food Security Improvement projects

- Component 2: Community Nutrition awareness support and School Meals Programmes
- Component 3: Support and Up-scaling of Private Sector food security Innovations

5.2 National Food and Nutrition Security Policy (FNSP)[42]

This is the long-term vision aligned on Kenya Vision 2030.

"Government's initiatives to revive the economy and the agricultural sector are fully in line with its international commitments and declarations to end hunger and extreme poverty, including the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP).

"The Government of Kenya is strongly committed to reducing hunger and malnutrition. This includes efforts to build self-reliance to reduce chronic food insecurity, as well as measures to assist those in need when emergencies occur. Linking relief with longer-term development efforts helps mitigate the potential impact of future emergencies".

The FNSP provides an overarching framework covering key dimensions of food and nutrition security, and addresses the synergy that links food and nutrition security with poverty eradication. It outlines the range of priority areas and principles for Government interventions to ensure all citizens' right and access to food, which are:

i. Food availability and access
ii. Food safety, Standards and quality control:
iii. Nutrition improvement:
iv. School nutrition and nutrition awareness:
v. Food security and nutrition information:
vi. Early warning and emergency management:
vii. Institutional and legal framework and financing:
viii. Strategic approaches for policy implementation, monitoring and evaluation:

There is a **focus on food trade**, "as trade in agricultural commodities is a major determinant for food security". Despite the liberalization of the market, and the fear that food imports from developed countries may displace local production, "government interventions may affect dynamics in the market and thereby affect the potential markets in ensuring food and nutrition security".

5.3 National Nutrition Action Plan 2012-2017[43]

It follows the **Health Sector Strategic and Investment Plan (KHSSP)[44]** that is the second medium plan for health. Framework for July 2013 to June 2017. The KHSSP's goal is "accelerating attainment of health impact goals". The sector aims to attain this through focusing on implementation of a broad base of health and related services that will impact on health of Kenya.

The purpose of the NNAP is to provide a framework for coordinated implementation of nutrition intervention activities by the government and nutrition stakeholders. The Plan has been developed at a time when the government of Kenya is stepping up efforts to realize Millennium Development Goals through implementation of High impact Nutrition interventions (HiNi).

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[42] Republic of Kenya, National food and nutrition security policy, Agricultural Sector Coordination Unit (ASCU), 2011.

[43] Ministry of Public Health and Sanitation, *National Nutrition Action Plan 2012-2017*.

[44] Republic ok Kenya, *Health Sector Strategic and Investment Plan, July 2013-June 2017*, The second medium term plan for health.

It also provides an estimation of the total resources required to achieve the goals outlined in the FNSP. The cost estimates for the 5 years implementation is KSH 69 billion.

III. CIVIL SOCIETY ACTORS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN AGRICULTURAL POLICY PROCESSES

1. Farmers' representation

1.1 Policy consideration of farmers' organisations

Due to the rather liberal orientation of the Kenyan governments since independence, the emergence of strong social organisations was never a priority. Some cooperatives have emerged to deal with commercial crops but they hardly cover the interest of the majority of small scale farmers.

The recent ASDS offers some room for participation, at least in the texts:

> *Farmer organizations include cooperatives societies, farmers' unions and federations, commodity associations, enterprise-based groups and community based organizations. These organizations are important economic entities established to enhance representation of the farmer membership as well as lobby and advocate on their behalf at various levels. Their other role has been seen as enabling individual members to articulate demand and direct the same to the relevant sources of supply.*
>
> *Actual demand articulation and requisite interventions in shaping the sector policy environment have been key challenges faced by most of the organizations thus requiring commensurate capacity enhancement. The organizations have to be clearly updated on the issues affecting the agricultural sector, which have an impact on the livelihoods of the membership. They also have to clearly articulate the concerns of their constituencies' elaborate systems and procedures, which enable them to collect, collate and update such concerns for purposes of engaging the relevant functions.*
>
> *Representation occurs at various levels and so does the demand for precision in information gathered on the relevant issues at those levels. Effective management strategies shall be put in place to enable these organizations to play a key role in empowering farmers by pooling them together so that they are able to benefit from economies of scale*[45].

This paragraph is included at the end of the ASDS in the section dedicated to "organisational structures". It is interesting to see that the government acknowledges the fact that these organisations are relevant to conduct advocacy based on their members' demands. This paragraph also makes the effort to give a list of what is included under the term "farmers' organisations".

Farmers' organisations appear in other sections of the document:

- **On marketing**: "Farmer organizations will be supported and empowered to play their role in providing market support services."

[45] Republic of Kenya, ASDS, 2009, p. 114-115.

- **On extension services**: "The sub-sector […] will in particular, empower farmer organizations and communities to provide these services at the grassroots level".
- **Private sector participation**: Small scale farmers are comprised into the "private sector". The umbrella organisation for farmers is KENFAP (see below). However, it is still not very clear who is doing what since the document that the private sector will carry: "Facilitation of organization of smallholder producers at all levels" and "Development and implementation of a framework and instruments for strengthening institutional capacity of producer organizations". We would imagine that these duties are done also by the public sector since farmers' organisations need support to be fully effective.
- **On irrigation and drainage: "**The policy on irrigation and drainage seeks to achieve the following: […] creation of an enabling environment for effective farmers' organization and participation".
- **Monitoring and evaluation of the Policy**: "At the local level, producer organizations will be enabled to participate in regular feedback mechanisms (e.g. customer satisfaction surveys that validate access to use of and satisfaction with services) on agriculture-related public services."

In fact, the situation is very different from one organisation to another, from one topic to another and from one district to another. People met during the mission (officials from MoA, academics, district level officials) admitted that often, the effective participation of SSF is difficult to organise.

The legal framework for civil society organisations has recently evolved with the new constitution and elections. The Public Benefits Organisation (PBO) Act of 2013 is now the main legal instrument for CSOs in Kenya (EACSOF, 2013). This act replaces the myriad of different laws that created difficulties for the CSOs to register and operate.

The new constitution indicates extensive participation from the public that must irrigate all actions by the government and institutions. But this orientation of the Constitution hasn't been translated into the legal framework and thus remains idle. Some observers say that public participation has decreased in the recent years (EACSOF, 2012).

1.2 Farmers' organisations

Kenyan Small Scale Farmers Forum (KESSFF)

KESSFF was initiated by Pelum in Kenya with a group of pioneer farmers from a network of Anglican Churches, brought to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 in Johannesburg.

Since then it has mobilised 22 district farmer associations from Kenya's 210 districts to join it. It is registered under the relevant Act, and has always had a functional National Committee and has facilitated the registration of its district farmer associations. Furthermore, it has also offered members training on various themes including livestock, agricultural techniques and climate change. The National Committee attended various international workshops and conferences which developed their capacities to interact with others.

In the area of policy influence, it has lobbied government against signing Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with Kenyan Human Rights Committee; and is fighting hard against the im-

portation of Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO) seed and grain, some of which was destroyed at the point of entry.

Through being members of KESSFF, some district farmer groups have been able to organise themselves into groups for bulking produce for sale meeting buyers demand. This increased their bargaining power and reduced their transport and storage costs. Other farmer groups have organised themselves to access quality seed from the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI) and to market their crops at better prices than was possible in the past. KESSFF youths were reported to have accessed government Youth Fund and use it for commercial chicken production.

At district level, KESSFF members' participated in and contributed to district development structures such as District Agriculture Committee; District Livestock Committee; Land Control Board and Poverty Eradication Committee.

KESSFF intends to create a more integrated structure with a stronger secretariat that would increase the contribution of all members to the governance and the strategy of the organisations. In the meantime, KESSFF wants to provide further services to its members such as credit, advisory services and support in irrigation and water collection.

KENAFF

According to its mission, KENAFF (formerly known as KENFAP) is representing all kinds of Kenyan farmers. However, it was not possible to meet them during the study to know more about the services and the advocacy they are conducting for small scale farmers. The organisation bears an important political role and was always referred as the key actors when dealing with farmers' representation at the political level.

Social organisations gathering farmers have mostly materialized according to tribal or narrow professional interests (similar to cooperatives).

- KENYA LIVESTOCK PRODUCERS ASSOCIATION (KLPA), member of EAFF, http://www.klpakenya.org

Pastoralist Development Network of Kenya

2. Cooperatives

Agricultural cooperatives have 3 million members. The Government took cognizance of the role played by cooperatives in the development of the economy and has emphasized the need to revitalize the cooperative sector to play a significant role in the revival strategy of the economy through improved governance and management capacity.

Commercial crops oriented cooperatives are gathered in Cooperation Alliance of Kenya (CAK). CAK is on the three Kenyan members of EAFF. ASDS recognizes that the cooperatives are playing an important role in agricultural development and in the economy[46]. They have 3 million members. Due to the enormous growth of the cooperatives, and to ensure that they continue to be

[46] Republic of Kenya, ASDS, 2009.

operating properly, the Ministry of Cooperative Development has proposed the development of new legal and regulatory regime to guide their development.

Consequently, the Government has reviewed the Cooperative Societies Act and formulated a new Cooperative Development Policy in addition to Cooperative Investment Policy to guide the cooperative movement in the medium term.

Due to the enormous growth of the SACCOs in the recent years and to ensure that they continue to be relevant in the financial sector, ASDS also proposed the development of new legal and regulatory regime to guide the development of SACCOs in the country. This would entail the establishment of a SACCO Regulatory Authority.

3. Other organisations (CSOs, NGOs)

Civil society organisation (CSO) and Non-governmental organisation are a very vague terms. They are sometimes synonymous, sometimes antonymic, depending to the speaker. The objective here is not to get elaborate on their definition. We will use CSO more for organisation who tend to have a local base of members or supporters, and NGO for more operation-oriented organisations who tend to deliver services, either from local or international funding. We can understand that the differentiation will be sometimes difficult since some organisations will combine these two features.

Outside farmers' representation, the civil society as well as International and local NGOs has been able to mobilise on specific topics related to food security: EPAs, land policy, GMOs. But there is no habit for regular advocacy nor consultation. The civil society hasn't come up with a broad platform to accommodate for its internal debates and bring common message to the public.

Kenyan Human Rights Committee (KHRC).

They helped KESSFF to prepare and conduct the complaints against the EPAs. They are also involved in supporting agricultural workers in commercial farms or contractual farmers that are abused by large companies to force these to respect their contracts.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMANDATIONS

The fast increase of the urban population will put more pressure on the government to supply inexpensive food. The preferred solution in Africa for a long time to get cheap food was to rely on international commodity markets. With the price spikes of 2008 and 2011, African governments are getting more cautious on international market. There is a room here to claim that small scale farmers can feed the urban population at affordable and stable prices, but only if some conditions of support to farmers are fulfilled.

Persons met

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To be completed

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Acronyms

Conversion

1,000 Kenyan Shillings (KES) = 8.5 Euros (September 2014)

1 Euro = 117 KES