

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**EXAMINING THE IMPACTS OF TRADE LIBERALISATION POLICY OF THE
WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION (WTO) AND FOOD SECURITY IN AFRICA: A
CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

BY

ASMAHAN MOHAMED POGAL

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SUPERVISOR:

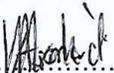
DR. CHAUDHRY SHAZIA

**A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of
Master's Degree in International Studies at the Department of Diplomacy and
International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi.**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented before to any university for academic award.

Signature.....

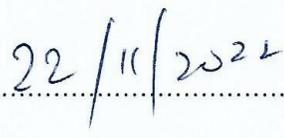
Date.....

Asmahan Pogal

R50/37406/2020

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university supervisor.

Signature.....

Date.....

Dr. Chaudhry Shazia

Senior Lecturer

Department of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS)

DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated with love and gratitude to my family.

ABSTRACT

With a primary focus on examining the World Trade Organization's trade liberalization policy and food security in Africa: a case study of Kenya, the study aims to evaluate the impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on food security in Africa, evaluate the impact of trade liberalization on food security in Kenya, and finally, examine the challenges presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on food security. The research will use a case study design and a mixed-approaches strategy that blends qualitative and quantitative methods. To gather and arrange descriptive data, a qualitative technique will be employed. Quantitative techniques will be used to make it possible to collect and manage numerical data that will be used to measure changes, forecast relationships, and characterize features, as opposed to this method, which will be used to investigate qualitative variables that cannot be measured in the conventional sense. As an analytical tool for the study, liberalism theory will be used. The analysis found that the state of food security in Africa paints a gloomy picture of the future and is not conducive to reaching the targets outlined in the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) — to end hunger, give everyone access to enough food, always — and to end all kinds of malnutrition. In 2020, approximately 281.6 million Africans, 20 percent of Africa's total population, faced hunger, which was more than the 2019 figure by 46.3 million. 2014 marked the onset of this declining trend after great long-standing improvements in the food security of the continent. Other than hunger, many Africans are victims of pervasive micronutrient deficiencies, while obesity and overweight already pose substantial public health concerns in various African nations. According to the analysis, Kenya is subject to domestic support reductions and is prohibited from adopting new export subsidies as a WTO member. The WTO Agreement on Agriculture put an end to the historical disparity in the use of export subsidies between industrialized and poor countries. While developed nations were allowed to use existing export subsidies subject to reduction commitment, developing nations were barred from introducing new forms of export subsidies thus resulting in unfair competitive advantage in favor of developed nations. The WTO policies of trade liberalization aiming to reduce domestic support such as export subsidies expose local farmers and producers to increased cost of farm inputs that were originally subsidized. The study found that Kenya's actions to combat the threat of food insecurity are constrained by the WTO's rules regarding the liberalization of the food trade, which the country must abide by as a member of the organization that controls international commerce. These rules encompass the AoA-mandated public stockholding as well as policy issues like sanitary and phytosanitary measures, market access, export prohibitions and limitations, supply of export subsidies and domestic assistance, and export prohibitions and restrictions. The WTO is made up of various countries within unequal capacity in the decision-making process a condition worsened by limited transparency in the key operations of WTO. The effective participation of Kenya and other developing as well as LDCs in the deliberations of WTO is limited by understaffing. Therefore, few developed nations dominated the WTO's decision-making process. The study recommends that there is need to refine the policies of WTO to adequately address the current menace of food insecurity in Africa this is because the implementation of WTO trade liberalization policies in Africa further exposes the continent to more challenges in the quest to have a long-lasting solution to its food security menace. The results of the analysis show a strong correlation between food insecurity and WTO liberalization policy. Therefore, research should be done to determine whether there is a connection between food insecurity in Africa and WTO trade liberalization policies in the agriculture sector.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AoA	:	Agreement on Agriculture
AU	:	African Union
CFTA	:	Continental Free Trade Area
EAC	:	East African Community
ECOWAS	:	Economic Community for West African States
GATT	:	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IGAD	:	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
LDCs	:	Least Developed Countries
NACOSTI	:	National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation
SPSS	:	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
USAID	:	United States Agency for International Development
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Programme
WTO	:	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background of the study

Food security refers to the measure of an individual's capability to access food of adequate quantity and nutrition. Dietary needs and preference of an individual are key components of food security. Food security is measured through an array of methods some of which include calorie per capita estimation, surveys of household expenditures and income, estimation of dietary intake of an individual, estimation of individual's body composition, weight, and height.¹ Accessibility, availability, utilization, and stability are the four major tenets of food security. The term "food access" refers to both economic and physical access, and it is crucial for this aspect of food security that a person's income or purchasing power and local infrastructure, such as roads, be considered. The second component entails having adequate food quantities at minimal notice. Food utilization deals with safety and hygiene practices throughout the entire supply chain to establish nutritional awareness maintain quality and ensure efficient food usage. Lastly, food stability calls for roughly steady food availability, access, and consumption over time.²

Global population growth, climate change, political unrest, and armed conflicts all pose serious threats to food security.³ By 2050, the world's population is projected to reach 9 billion, placing increasing strain on the diminishing resources utilized to produce food.⁴ United Nations

¹ Fahy, Austin. (2021). What is food security? Accessed on April 1, 2022 from <https://www.concern.net/news/what-is-food-security>

² Aborisade, B. and Bach, C. (2014). Assessing the Pillars of Sustainable Food Security. *European International Journal of Science and Technology*.

³ Mc Carthy, Ultrán; Uysal, Ismail; Badia-Melis, Ricardo; Mercier, Samuel; O'Donnell, Colm. P.; Ktenioudaki, Anastasia (2018). Global Food Security- Issues, Challenges and Technological Solutions. *Elsevier* doi: 10.1016/j.tifs.2018.05.002

⁴ Maggio, A., Crieckinge, T.V and Malingreau, J.P (2015). Global Food Security 2030- Assessing trends with the view to guiding future EU policies. In Reports, J.S.A.P. (ed.)

approximated that 768 million people were undernourished in 2020 in the world: 60 million from the Caribbean and Latin America, 418 million from Asia, and 282 million from Africa.⁵ Approximately one out of three individuals in the world had no access to sufficient food in 2020. According to the 2021 Global Hunger Index rankings, the 10 hungriest countries in the world are: Sierra Leone, Somalia, Yemen, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Madagascar, Liberia, Haiti, and Timor-Leste.⁶ Africa is home to seven of the top 10 hungriest countries.

Trade liberalization is the process of removing all qualitative and quantitative barriers to the unrestricted flow of goods and services between economic actors.⁷ Quantitative restrictions deals with restrictions relating to quotas, or explicit limits, on quantities of exported or imported goods over a period of time while qualitative restrictions entails the restrictions on the quality of products exported or imported within a specified period of time.⁸ Some forms of trade restrictions include; total ban on imports of certain goods or services, subsidy removal, system of import quota, tariff barriers, licensing rules such as specification of product standard and exchange control mechanism.⁹ Trade liberalization proponents contend that free trade ensures the integration of Least Developed Countries (LDCs) into the World Trade Organization (WTO) framework, promotes the inflow of foreign capital, and ensures efficiency in resource allocation through

⁵ United Nations. "Global Issues: Food." *United Nations*. Accessed on May 18, 2022 from <https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/food>

⁶ Global Hunger Index. "Global Hunger Index Scores by 2021 GHI Rank." *Global Hunger Index*. Accessed on May 18, 2022 from <https://www.globalhungerindex.org/ranking.html>

⁷ Acharya, S. (2015). Trade Liberalization. In: Holscher, J., Tommann, H. (eds) *Palgrave Dictionary of Emerging Markets and Transition Economics*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-37138-6_21

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

competitive advantage and comparative advantage.¹⁰ Trade liberalization is crucial in spurring competition and overall economic growth.¹¹

Africa is home to approximately 30 multilateral and bilateral trade agreements.¹² Major trade agreements in Africa include the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), and the East African Community.¹³ At least one regional trade pact includes African nations. Additionally, the African Union Summit of 2015 included a proposal for a Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA).¹⁴ Kenya is a signatory to numerous bilateral, regional, multilateral, and preferential trade agreements such as Lome Convention, EAC, COMESA, IGAD, AU among others. Kenya joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) on January 1, 1995 and has belonged to GATT since February 5, 1964. To restructure its economy in line with WTO standards, Kenya has also removed most of its trade prohibitions. Among these economic reforms are the rationalization and reduction of tariffs and non-tariff trade restrictions, as well as the liberalization of price and foreign exchange controls.¹⁵

A contentious topic is how commerce affects food security on a global, continental, and national scale. An insight into the current outline of WTO reveals that; WTO classification of countries is not based on food security indicators that are objective in nature, developed nations are accorded enough legal framework to subsidize their agricultural production while many LCDs though not

¹⁰ Krueger, Anne. (1998). Why trade liberalization is good for growth. *The Economic Journal* 108 (450), 1513-1522

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Wook, JUNG Jae. (2017). The Impact of Trade Liberalization in Africa. *Korea Institute for International Economic Policy Working Paper* 17-05

¹³ AU, AfDB, and UNECA. (2016). Africa Regional Index Report 2016

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Republic of Kenya (2007a). *Kenya Vision 2030*, Ministry of Planning and National Development and the Kenya National Economic and Social Council, Office of the President, Nairobi: Government Printers.

legally limited, are insufficient in institutional, human, and financial resources to do so. The pay of for trade liberalization is therefore skewed to the benefit of industrialized nations.¹⁶

The binding commitments of developing countries to World Trade Organization through Agreement of Agriculture (AoA) pose massive challenge to their efforts in eradicating hunger. The constraining provisions in the AoA pertaining farmers price support schemes further aggravates the daunting challenges developing countries face such as fluctuations of food prices at the global market, insufficient domestic stocks of food and low purchasing power among the poor.¹⁷ WTO's Bali Ministerial Conference of 2013 drafted a partial resolution to address the challenges of WTO rules in achieving food security. A permanent solution would be necessary given the skewed nature of WTO policies to the different economies in the world. These policies have had favorable effect of the economies of developed nations while constraining the development of LCDs especially in addressing the challenges in agriculture and manufacturing sectors of their economies.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Trade sector in the developing countries face numerous risks; the terms of trade are declining, as global prices of primary goods exported tend to decline over time relative to the prices of imports. There is high volatility in the global prices of agricultural products. The influence of any specific developing countries on the global market prices is very minimal. Climatic variability is also a prominent supply side risk on agricultural production. For most of the African countries there is overreliance on local production of agricultural products. In 28 of the 38 African states, primary

¹⁶ Sharma, Sachin K. (2016). WTO and food security. *Springer*

¹⁷ Ibid

commodities make up at least 60% of the exports of goods.¹⁸ This is a blatant example of Africa's excessive reliance on exporting basic goods. Food security is a global concern. Approximately 1.3 million Kenyans were facing severe food insecurity in 2019.¹⁹

The shift in trade policies from protectionism to trade liberalization has received divergent views on its impact on food security. Trade liberalization in Africa has enhanced interconnectedness of Africa with the global market. While this initiative has resulted in reduced barriers to trade, it has also exposed African countries to global fluctuations in prices of commodities that sometimes are beyond their control.²⁰ Many nations hoped WTO policies will enhance fairness, equity and equality to every nation and region. This is however not the case. The positive impacts of trade liberalization are skewed in favor of the developed nations while the developing nations, who are heavily reliant on local agricultural production to combat food insecurity, have to contend with limited policy space to effectively implement public stockholding program.²¹ Kenya in particular has been negatively impacted by WTO rules like the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA), which have failed to address the threat of agricultural dumping, while the agricultural sector serves as the foundation of Africa's food security.²² This has made many African countries more susceptible to food insecurity. Impasses and peace clauses have frequently been used as a solution to these unexpected events.²³

¹⁸ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). 2016. Primary Commodity Booms and Busts: Emerging Lessons from Sub-Saharan Africa

¹⁹ USAID. Food Assistance Fact Sheet-Kenya. Accessed on April 5, from <https://www.usaid.gov/kenya/food-assistance>.

²⁰ Kaplinsky, R. (2000). Globalization and Unequalisation: What Can be Learnt from Value Chain Analysis. *Journal of Developmental Studies*, 37(2), 117-146

²¹ Ibid

²² Sunge, Regret, and Nicholas Ngepah. "Agricultural trade liberalization, agricultural total factor productivity growth and food security in Africa." *Agrekon*, (2022): 1-22.

²³ Ibid

Both critics and proponents of trade liberalization have come up with valid proposals on their views hence an examination into benefits and shortcomings of trade liberalization in Africa's food security are warranted. These reasons serve as the foundation for the current study, which examines the impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on food security in Africa using Kenya as a case study.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the key impacts of WTO trade liberalization Policies on Africa's Food Security?
2. How has trade liberalization affected Kenya's food security situation?
3. What are the challenges presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on its food security?

1.4 Research Objectives

The study's main objective was to evaluate the impact of trade liberalization on food security in Africa, specifically through a case study of the impact of WTO policies on food security in Kenya.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

1. To assess the impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on food security of Africa.
2. To assess the effect of trade liberalization on the food security of Kenya.
3. To examine the challenges presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on food security.

1.5 Literature Review

This section reviewed both theoretical and empirical literature.

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review

This section examines theories that are pertinent to the study.

1.5.1.1 Liberalism Theory

A core tenet of liberalism is the equality of all people before the law, the right to personal freedom, and the consent of the governed. Liberalism is a moral, political, and economic philosophy.²⁴ The liberals advocate for a broader scope of views but are general supportive of market economy, human and civic individual rights, secularism, political and economic freedom, rule of law and liberal democracy. Major proponents to the ideals espoused in liberalism include Adam Smith, John Locke, Immanuel Kant, Jean-Baptiste Say, David Ricardo and Voltaire.²⁵ This theory in advocating for application of rule of law and representative democracy sought to replace traditional conservatism, absolute monarchy, state religion, and hereditary privilege norms. The theory also promoted free markets and trade and open competition as opposed to the barriers to trade and protectionist tendencies of mercantilist policies.²⁶

The key tenet of liberalism is the laissez-faire economics and free market where political freedom, economic freedom, and civil liberties in accordance to the law are promoted, albeit with limited government intervention. The government's functions were to be restricted to: providing public goods and services, enacting laws to preserve individual rights, including as property rights, developing and promoting public institutions, and defending the country and its residents against foreign invasion.²⁷ These interventions by the government were only aimed at solving market failures and protecting property rights. Core concepts and ideal of liberalism are still existent in

²⁴ Gould, Andrew. *Origins of liberal dominance*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999

²⁵ Dworetz, Steven M. *The Unvarnished Doctrine: Locke, Liberalism, and the American Revolution*. (1994).

²⁶ Gray, John. *Liberalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

²⁷ Hunt, E.K. "Property and Prophets: The Evolution of Economic Institutions and Ideologies." New York: M.E Sharpe, Inc. (2003)

the contemporary society as evidenced through constitutional government and authority of parliaments, advocacy for gender and racial equality, and liberalization of trade among other applications in other fields.²⁸

1.5.1.2 Hecksher Ohlin (H-O) Theory

This theory is the brainchild of Eli Heckscher and Bertil Ohlin and is also referred to as the General Equilibrium Theory. The theory was developed in response to the inadequacies of Comparative Advantage Theory and Absolute Cost Advantage Theory in identifying the product that yield maximum returns to a nation.²⁹ H-O theory focusses on factor prices and factor endowment which are key international trade determinants. Hecksher and Ohlin postulate that abundant factors in comparison to their demand yield are relatively cheaper than the factors whose demand surpass supply. Nations are therefore inclined to export services and goods which utilize relatively cheap and abundant production factors and import products whose factors of production are relatively scarce.

The Hecksher Ohlin theory is divided into Factor Price Equalization Theorem and H-O Theorem. Factor price equalization theorem deals with impacts of global trade on prices of factors.³⁰ The H-O Theorem focusses on forecasting patterns of trade and is further divided into: factor abundance and intensity of factor. This theory assumes that; there is perfect internal competition, two nations are identical except in endowment of resources, prices of commodities are identical everywhere, immobility of factors exists between nations, mobility of factors exists within nations, the production system exhibits constant returns to scale, and identical conditions of long run industrial

²⁸ Freeden, Michael, Javier Fernandez-Sebastian, et al. "In Search of European Liberalisms: Concepts, Languages, Ideologies." (2019)

²⁹ Feenstra, Robert C. "The Heckscher-Ohlin Model." *Advanced International Trade: Theory and Evidence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, (2004): 31-63

³⁰ Ohlin, Bertil. *Interregional and International Trade*. Harvard Economic Studies. Vol. 39. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

production between nations. The main criticisms of this theory include the model has a low predictive power, the model excludes unemployment from its formulation, the model ignores technological gap between developing and developed nations and the distortions arising from treatment of capital as a natural endowment.³¹

1.5.1.3 New Trade Theory (NTT)

Various economic models developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s are included in the new trade theory, a subset of international trade theory. In this theory, the importance of network effects and rising returns to scale are emphasized. Paul Krugman is regarded as the main proponent of new trade theory having proposed original works in the development of the theory including Helpman-Krugman model and Dixit-Stiglitz-Krugman trade model.³² Assumptions made by Krugman but later relaxed by Shiozawa to produce a more comprehensive model explaining the spikes in trade volume of intermediate goods with decreasing cost of transportation include increasing returns to scale, monopolistic competition, and firms have identical production coefficients (firms are symmetrical).³³

Contrary to what the previous trade theories would have you believe, there is a large amount of current international trade between countries that are identical in terms of factor endowments, structure, and development.³⁴ New trade theorists revealed that increasing returns could amplify trade flows between identical nations without factor endowment or productivity differences.

³¹ Leamer, Edward E. "The Heckscher-Ohlin Model in Theory and Practice." Princeton Studies in International Finance. Vol. 77 Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.

³² Neary, J. Peter. "Putting the "new" into new trade theory: Paul Krugman's Nobel Memorial Prize in economics." *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 111, no. 2 (2009): 217-250.

³³ Krugman, Paul. "How to be a crazy economist", In S. Medema and W. Samuels, eds., *Foundations of Research in Economics: How do Economists do Economics?*

³⁴ Deriniyagala, Sonali, and Ben Fine. "New trade theory versus old trade policy: a continuing enigma." *Cambridge journal of economics* 25, no. 6 (2001): 809-825

According to Martin and Sunley, the new trade theory is limited by its treatment of orthodox neoclassical economics and technological externalities.³⁵

1.5.2 Empirical Literature Review

This part includes a review of the relevant literature along the three study objectives.

1.5.2.1 Impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on food security of Africa

WTO is a multilateral organization formed in January 1995.³⁶ This organization has the key mandate of regulating global trade. WTO provides a framework through which member countries negotiate trade agreements and solve disputes arising from such transactions in accordance to its stipulated rules. The Uruguay Rounds of trade negotiations, which attempted to control the world's agricultural commerce, resulted in the WTO Agreement on Agriculture. The implementation of WTO trade liberalization policies, particularly on domestic agricultural production and, as a result, on food security in Africa has had a significant impact on the agricultural sector of developing countries.³⁷

Gonzalez claims that the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) has two effects on the food security of LDCs.³⁸ First, AoA amplify food insecurity by intensifying inequality and poverty of the rural people. Second, AoA impedes the capability of LDCs to implement strategies that enhance food security. He further posits that trade agreements relating to agricultural sector whether bilateral or multilateral resulted in land withholding, increased imports of foods such as

³⁵ Martin, Ron, and Peter Sunley. "Paul Krugman's geographical economics and its implications for regional development theory: a critical assessment." *Economic geography* 72, no. 3 (1996): 259-292.

³⁶ WTO. "The GATT years: from Havana to Marrakesh." *WTO*. Accessed on June 24, 2022 from https://www.wto.org/English/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/fact4_e.htm#rounds

³⁷ Gonzalez, Carmen G. (2002). Institutionalizing inequality: the WTO Agreement on Agriculture, food security, and developing countries. *Colum. J. Envtl. L.* 27,433

³⁸ Ibid

dairy products and meat, increased poverty and rural unemployment and decreased food prices due to importation of cheap food products. All these factors aggravate food insecurity in LDCs. Gonzalez posit that policy options at the disposal of LDCs were restrictive in nature while their industrialized counterparts were able to 'legally' maneuver their way into evading WTO's AoA. He notes that differential and special treatment accorded to industrialized nations by WTO policies were detrimental to the efforts of LDCs in combating food insecurity.

Fusco, Coluccia, and De Leo's analysis found that trade liberalization in EU member states had a large net beneficial impact on the food security of the EU.³⁹ In this work, the generalized method of moments was combined with dynamic panel analysis (GMM). The impact of trade openness (globalization, tariff, trade openness) was examined on indicators of food security such as mean supply of protein and adequacy of mean dietary energy supply. The findings indicated that economic growth, particularly in the agricultural sector, can raise the level of food security.

Ly, Dong, and Anh studied how international commerce affected the availability, stability, and access to food in Southeast Asian nations and discovered that each nation's access, stability, and availability of food were all positively impacted by trade.⁴⁰ The study utilized panel data methods of regression (model of generalized least squares, model of random effects, and model of fixed effects) to examine panel data obtained from ten countries of Southeast Asia for the period between 2000 and 2015. The study also showed that other factors such as inflation, agricultural productivity, amount of land allocated for agricultural purposes, and population of farmers, affected food security of the nations.

³⁹ Fusco, Giulio, Benedetta Coluccia, and Federica De Leo. "Effects of Trade Openness on food security in the EU: A dynamic panel analysis." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 17, no. 12 (2020): 4311

⁴⁰ Ly, TRAN DINH, PHAM XUAN Dong, L.H Anh, and P.T.H. An. "The effects of international trade on food security at Southeast Asian countries." *WSEAS Transactions on Environment and Development* 16 (2020): 180-188

Using a general equilibrium model based on the social account matrix of Iran, Mostajeran, Zibaei, and Farajzadeh investigated the effects of trade liberalization on the welfare and food security of the country.⁴¹ Removal of tariff and non-tariff trade barriers was found to significantly alter output combinations by decreasing agricultural sector output and industries that are related to agriculture, and by reducing prices and increasing GDP as well as increased consumption and welfare, especially for higher income earner groups. The study concluded that trade liberalization enhanced access to food but increased a country's dependence on imports for its food supply. It was also discovered that indicators of food security declined as trade barriers were lifted and imports of food products likewise increased.

The study by Fatherlrahman, Davies, and Muhamad examined the impact of trade liberalization in United Arab Emirates (UAE), India, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Egypt on food security.⁴² The study employed partial equilibrium model in the analysis. The simulation results showed that Pakistan, Egypt, India, UAE, and Saudi Arabia had annual welfare gains of 25, 340, 2571, 17, 14 million USD, respectively. Furthermore, it was found that the removal of tariffs had a variety of effects on the welfare of food goods in these nations. In addition, tariff reductions for goods directly related to the supply of protein and food energy had a significant negative effect on the poor.

The impact of agricultural trade liberalization on the pricing of agricultural commodities on the world market was approximated by Nuetah using the model of Agricultural Trade and Policy Simulation.⁴³ The derived price change was then applied to analyze the impact of liberalization on

⁴¹ Mostajeran, F., M. Zibaei, and Z. Farajzadeh. "Trade Liberalization Consequences with an Emphasis on Food Security in Iran: Computable General Equilibrium Analysis." *Agricultural Economics and Development* 26, no.1 (2018): 145-180.

⁴² Fatherlrahman, Eihab, Stephen Davies, and Safdar Muhammad. "Food trade openness and enhancement of food security- Partial equilibrium model simulations for selected countries." *Sustainability* 13, no. 8 (2021): 4107

⁴³ Nuetah, J. Alexander. "Global Agricultural Trade Liberalization and its Implications for Sub-Saharan Africa." (2018)

net food importers as well as other Sub-Saharan African countries that have approved preferential trade agreements with the US and EU. The study discovered that while the prices of the Sub-Saharan region's exports either decreased in price or remained constant, the prices of the things they imported on the global market climbed. The increase in the prices of the imports would result in welfare loss and food insecurity due to increased bill of imports to the net-importers of food. The study thus concluded that the modalities of WTO reforms made the Sub-Saharan nations net-losers

The productivity of all agricultural factors and trade liberalization, in accordance with Sungeh and Ngepah, have a considerable favorable effect on food security.⁴⁴ Moreover, decline in agricultural support below distortion point improves food security. The panel data used in this study, which covers the years 2005 to 2016, was collected from 13 African countries. To make sure that the estimations were accurate and consistent, the study employed Panel-Corrected-Standard-Errors in the analysis.

Assoumou-Ella and Eba-Nguema assert that trade liberalization generally has a detrimental effect on food security in Africa.⁴⁵ Utilizing data from the countries of the West Africa Economic Monetary Union (WAEMU) and the Communauté économique et monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC), the study used a comparative analysis to examine the effects of trade liberalization on food security. Trade liberalization had the biggest impact on the part of food security that dealt with availability. It was also noted that adverse terms of trade neutralized the positive gains of

⁴⁴ Sungeh, Regret, and Nicholas Ngepah. "Agricultural trade liberalization, agricultural total factor productivity growth and food security in Africa." *Agrekon*, (2022): 1-22.

⁴⁵ Assoumou-Ella, Giscard, and Ismaelline Eba-Nguema. "Trade openness and food security in Africa: A comparative study of CEMAC and WAEMU countries." In *The External Sector of Africa's Economy*, pp. 119-135. Springer, Cham, 2019.

trade liberalization thus leading to food insecurity. The findings were robust for both samples of WAEMU and CEMAC.

Iloh, Nwokedi, Onyebukwa, and Ekeocha postulate that increased reliance on global trade as advocated for by the WTO exposes both consumers and producers of food commodities in West Africa to the vulnerabilities associated with volatility of commodity prices and deteriorating terms of trade hence food insecurity.⁴⁶ Intensified competition coupled with agricultural dumping of relatively cheap products harms domestic production and reduces farmers' incomes and other investors in the chain of food production. The influence of trade liberalization on food security was examined in this study using documentary evidence. The World Bank, FAO, UNCTAD, WTO, and ECOWAS all produce annual publications and documents from which the data were compiled.

1.5.2.2 Impacts of Trade liberalization on the food security of Kenya

Nyangito, Nzuma, Ommeh and Mbithi postulate that policy reforms aimed at making Kenya a free market for agricultural products has aggravated food insecurity in the country.⁴⁷ Nyangito et al. analyses the impact of policy reforms implemented between late 1980s and early 1990s covering agricultural sector liberalization. This study analyzed secondary data obtained from KNBS and Agriculture Ministry as well as from surveys of welfare monitoring of 1997, 1992, and 1982. The findings of their study reveal that there was a general drop in agricultural production and prices. Low agricultural production was also found to be correlated with low household incomes. The

⁴⁶ Iloh, Emeka C., Michael Nwokedi, Chijioke Francis Onyebukwa, and Quueeneth Ekeocha. "World Trade Organization's Trade Liberalization Policy on Agriculture and Food Security in West Africa." In *Regional Development in Africa*, p. 125. IntechOpen, 2020.

⁴⁷ Nyangito, Hezron; Nzuma, Jonathan; Ommeh, Hellen and Mbithi, Mary (2014). Impact of agricultural trade and related policy reforms on food security in Kenya.

Republic of Kenya is now food insecure even though policy reforms have enhanced market access for imports.⁴⁸

Sadauskaite posit that the food security situation in Kenya has not improved due to agreements of trade liberalization in line with the WTO policies.⁴⁹ Although the domestic agricultural sector provides jobs for many Kenyans and is a significant contributor to the country's GDP, it is observed that the influx of relatively inexpensive food imports into the country hinders the expansion of domestic agriculture. Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) limited the ability of the Kenyan government to subsidize sectors deemed vulnerable or adequately fund policies of food security. According to Sadauskaite trade liberalization has exposed Kenya to exploitative and unequal relations that curtail its efforts of enhancing food security condition in the country.

Igesa, Okiyama, and Tokunaga assert that applying mixed fiscal and tariff reduction strategies to the food manufacturing and processing sectors, such as the tea and coffee industries, will improve household welfare.⁵⁰ The study employed Macro Computable General Equilibrium Model to analyze the 2009 Social Accounting Matrix of Kenya.

According to Nzuma, the implementation of URAA market access policies of WTO in Kenya's maize sector led to fall in domestic prices of maize, increased consumption accompanied by intensified variability of prices eroding welfare gains achieved and decline in domestic production.⁵¹ Complete tariff removal was found to result in lower maize prices at the farm, retail, and wholesale levels as well as an increase in consumption of 5% despite a 20% decrease in domestic production, a 3% increase in consumer surplus, a 25% decline in producer surplus, and

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Sadauskaite, Urte (2016). The issue of food insecurity in Kenya.

⁵⁰ Igesa, Benson Senelwa, Mitsuru Okiyama, Suminori Tokunaga. "Impacts of Tariff reduction and Mixed Fiscal Policy on the Kenyan Agricultural and Food Industry: Using the Macro CGE Model." *Japanese Journal of Agricultural Economics* 20, (2018): 51-56.

⁵¹ Nzuma, Jonathan Makau. "An economic analysis of the impacts of trade liberalization on Kenya's Maize sector." PhD diss., University of Guelph, 2007

a 6% decline in social surplus. The loss in produce surplus outweighed the gains into the consumer segment hence without a compensation scheme to the producers the local production of agricultural product for food security purposes are worse off. This study utilized partial equilibrium model to examine the impact of trade liberalization.

1.5.2.3 The challenges presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on food security

According to Nakuja, de minimis limits of WTO reduce policy space for nations using stockholding programs to advance and achieve their food security goals.⁵² G-33 countries were found to be most restricted by de minimis limits.⁵³ As a result, the G-33 nations are less able to put stockholding plans into place for their needs in terms of food security. In another study conducted by Nakuja and Kerr, found that nations highly vulnerable to food insecurity need stockholding programs to combat food insecurity yet WTO rules constrain acquisition of stock for food security purposes.⁵⁴ The impact of employing public stockholding as a strategy to achieve food security is examined using the spatial-temporal trade model. According to the study's findings, when all G-33 members and all countries that import food implement stockholding systems, commerce in developing countries will be positively benefited during the stage of acquisition but negatively impacted at the stage of disposal. Restriction of stockholding program to a small number of food insecure countries is beneficial without necessarily causing havoc to the whole system.⁵⁵

According to OCHCR, the framework for agricultural liberalization impede realization of international law on human right to food globally.⁵⁶ OCHCR posit that AoA negatively impact

⁵² Nakuja, Tekuni (2018). Do WTO commitments restrict the policy space of countries wishing to provide food security through stockholding programs? *Journal of World Trade* 52 (6)

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Nakuja, Tekuni, and Kerr, William (2018). Food security through public stockholdings and trade distortions. *British Food Journal*.

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ OHCHR, "Globalization and its Impact on the Full Enjoyment of Human Rights: Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights Submitted in Accordance with Commission on Human Rights Resolution

the rights of individuals to food due to intensified vulnerability to fluctuations of market prices of agricultural products at the international market, increased marginalization of the rural dwellers and small scale farmers, consolidation of farms due to increased competition, all of which critically worsened food security of some individuals.⁵⁷

WTO policies have failed to effectively combat agricultural dumping especially within Net Food Importing Developing (NFID) nations. This leads to the collapse of domestic agriculture-based industries due to surplus of relatively cheap imports from other nations. Inadequacies of the Special Safeguard Mechanism (SSM) implementation resulted in an impasse at the Doha Round in 2008. The impasses and lack of consensus over food security issue and implementation of a permanent peace clause further highlight the inadequacies of prevailing WTO policies in responding to the dynamic food security challenge.⁵⁸

According to Thow, Sharma, and Rachmi, trade liberalization under the policies of WTO limit policy space for Indonesia and other low- and middle-income nations to fully implement policies that advance their food security.⁵⁹ This study compares the Indonesia's policy of food security such as the food procurement expenditure mainly aimed at stabilizing prices of food for both consumers and producers and the stipulations within the AoA. The found that the applicable permitted procurement limit for Indonesia has been shrinking in terms of volume limiting the nation's policy space of providing support to specific products hence the ability of Indonesia to combat food security is reduced.

2001/32, (Geneva: OHCHR, 2002), p. 13.

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸Gawain Kipke, "Food Fight: What the Debate about Food Security Means at the WTO", (2015) 2 Canadian Food Studies (forthcoming)

⁵⁹Thow, Anne Marie, Sachin Kumar Sharma, and Cut Novianti Rachmi. "An analysis of Indonesia shrinking food security policy space under the WTO." *Food Security* 16, no. 6 (2019): 1275-1287.

A historical case study by Houser and Rosenberg-Carlson shows that application of reforms relating to neoliberal policies had worsened the food security situation in Kenya.⁶⁰ The policies implemented were also less responsive to the prevailing environmental conditions in Kenya hence intensified land degradation reducing the productivity of the agricultural sector. Reduced agricultural production could not meet the food demand of Kenyans resulting in food insecurity. Sharma estimated product particular assistance for maize, a key crop in Kenya, and discovered that WTO regulations governing product specific support placed restrictions on price support-based procurement intended to address food insecurity in Kenya.⁶¹ The study used data for the period between 1995 and 2008. Product specific support for maize was beyond the limits stipulated by WTO during 2006, 2004, and 2000. The study showed that the role of NCBP to provide consumers with affordable maize aimed at combating food insecurity were limited by the WTO policies

Musa postulate that AoA of WTO weaken the comparative advantage and productive capacity of developing nations in the agricultural sector as well as marginalize local farmers at the expense of large corporations.⁶² He further posit that the intellectual property rights held by large corporations limit the access and transfer by local farmers who find the seeds expensive. In conclusion, AoA discourage local production of food, increase reliance on food imports thus increases the food insecurity.

⁶⁰ Houser, E. and Rosenberg-Carlson, Elena (2012). Modeling Food Security in Kenya: Interactions Between Neoliberal Policy Reforms, Environmental Factors, and Food Security. *Environmental Studies*.

⁶¹ Sharma, Sachin Kumar. "Kenya: Product Specific Support to Maize Under WTO regime." *The WTO and Food Security*, (2016): 105-114

⁶² Musa, Siti. "The Relationship Between Food Security and Trade Liberalization: Assessing the World Trade Organization's Agreement on Agriculture and the Role of Transnational Corporations." *International Corporate Responsibility Series 4*, (2009): 191-208.

1.6 Research Gap

The measures intended to improve market access for agricultural products from developing countries have not been fully addressed, according to a review of the body of literature on the topic of this study. Increasing domestic production without adequate market access is counterproductive. Market access is a major concern to the developing nations. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the WTO's trade liberalization strategy and food security in Africa, with a particular emphasis on Kenya.

1.7 Justification of the study

1.7.1 Academic Justification

The study adds two things to the academic field: first, even while it concurs with earlier studies on some of the same subjects, it is significant since it will enhance current academic research and build on the findings of earlier scholars. The study will also include recommendations for future research in the field of food security in Africa and WTO trade liberalization policy. In addition, the analysis of the literature shows a lack of knowledge regarding the relationship between food security in Africa and WTO trade liberalization policies. Therefore, this study's goal is to aid in the gap's closure.

1.7.2 Policy Justification

The WTO's trade liberalization strategy has had a negative impact on food security in Africa, but policymakers have been slow to acknowledge this. Detailed information about the effects of WTO trade liberalization policies and food security in Africa will be made available to policymakers through this project. Finally, only the application of the study's findings will determine its

significance for policy. Policy development, planning, and implementation by decision-makers will be based on the study's findings.

1.8 Hypothesis

H1: There exists an impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on food security of Africa.

H2: There are effects of trade liberalization on the food security of Kenya.

H3: There are challenges presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on food security

1.9 Theoretical framework.

Liberalism is a subset of international relations theory. Major proponents of this theory include Adam Smith, John Locke, Immanuel Kant, and Voltaire. Central tenets of liberalism include; international cooperation and mutual benefits, international organization's role in influencing policy choices and preferences of a nation and diverse outcomes from international relations other than power politics. Liberals believe that countries can maximize prosperity and minimize conflict through cooperation.⁶³ According to liberalism international cooperation is enhanced through spread of democracy, international trade, and international institutions.⁶⁴ This study, which is founded on liberalism, examines how the World Trade Organization affects the national trade policy of various nations. This study focuses on interdependence among nations due to globalization, international trade, and WTO policies of trade liberalization and how these policies impact nation's responsiveness to the menace of food insecurity.

In the contemporary world, many African nations, including Kenya, apply liberalist views in governance. The laissez-faire notion of free market economy is promoted rather than

⁶³ Shiraev, Eric B., and Vladislav M. Zubok. (2014). *International Relations*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

⁶⁴ Shiraev, Eric B. (2014). *International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press. p.78

protectionism. African governments also promote political and economic freedoms, and civil liberties of individuals in accordance to the rule of law. The relevance of liberalism to this study therefore lies in the role WTO plays in enhancing free market economy and international cooperation in food trade and how the rules of WTO influence the right of individuals to food. According to Liberalists, African countries have the potential to maximum prosperity through cooperation enforced by multilateral organizations such as WTO, spread of democracy and international trade.

Labor in Africa is plentiful while capital is scarce.⁶⁵ Under such conditions the continent is bound to venture in the production of labor-intensive commodities rather than those that are capital intensive as per the assertions of H-O theory. The European Union, China, and the United States, which together account for around half of all exports from the region, are key commercial partners for several Sub-Saharan African countries.⁶⁶ Trade with developing nations such as Brazil, Indonesia, India, and Turkey are on an upward trajectory.⁶⁷ While many African nations are almost identical in factor endowment, this is not the case in north-south or even Africa – ‘Asian Tigers’ comparison. Under these differences in factor endowment, H-O theory is relevant to examination of Africa’s domestic agricultural production, food trade and their implications on the food security of the continent.

⁶⁵ Ndikumana, Leonce, and Kaouther Abderrahim. “Revenue mobilization in African Countries: does natural resource endowment matter?” *African Development Review* 22, no. 3 (2010): 351-365

⁶⁶ Gandhi, Dhruv. “Figure of the week: Africa’s new trading Partners.” *Brookings*, 2018.
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2018/03/07/figure-of-the-week-africas-new-trading-partners-/amp/>

⁶⁷ Drummond, Montfort, Gonzalo Mlachila, Hui Jin, Alexis Meyer-Cirkel, and Cleary Haines. “3. Sub-Saharan Africa’s Engagement with Emerging Partners: Opportunities and Challenges.”

1.10 Methodology of the Study

1.10.1 Research Design

The study's mixed-approaches methodology, which integrates qualitative and quantitative methods in a case study design, was used. To gather and arrange descriptive data, a qualitative technique was employed. In contrast to quantitative techniques, which were used to facilitate the collection and processing of numerical data used to identify features, anticipate relationships, and measure changes, this approach was used to examine qualitative variables that lack conventional measurements.

1.10.2 Study Site

Kenya served as the research project's study location. East African country Kenya is officially referred to as the Republic of Kenya. With a total land area of 48 million square kilometers, Kenya is the world's 48th largest nation. More than 47.6 million people will reside in the country in 2019, according to the census.⁶⁸

1.10.3 Target Population

Respondents of the study were drawn from ministry of agriculture, WTO, Academia, and USAID.

1.10.4 Sample and Sampling Procedure

To calculate populations larger than 10,000, Mugenda & Mugenda (1999) created the method below. This formula will be used to determine the sample size for this investigation.

$$n = \frac{Z^2 pq}{d^2}$$

Where:

⁶⁸ World population review. Com. Retrieved 26 November 2021.

n = required sample size

Z stands for standard normal deviation.

P = Expected Measurement of Characteristics of the Target Population

q =1-p

d is the degree of statistical significance.

n = (1.96)

2 (.50) (.50) (0.5)

2 = 384

1.10.5 Sample Size and Distribution of Respondents from Categories of the Target Population

Table 1.1: Proposed sample size and distribution of the target population of Kenya

Category of actors (Target Population)	Actual number of respondents	Percentage distribution of the sample (%)	Sampling Procedure
Ministry of Agriculture	25	15.9	Purposive Sampling
World Trade Organization	30	19.1	Simple Random Sampling
Academia	82	52.2	Purposive Sampling
USAID	20	12.7	Purposive Sampling
Total	157	100	

Source: Researchers proposed model

The sample consists of the four groups shown in Tables 1.1 above. Purposive sampling and a simple random approach will be the two sample techniques used in the investigation.

1.10.6 Data Collection Procedures and Instruments

The study's data came from both secondary and primary sources. By reading through pertinent research journals, books, essays, policy papers, government reports, conference proceedings, and other publications, secondary data was obtained. Primary data was gathered using in-person interviews, online questionnaires, email, and self-administered surveys.

1.10.6.1 Self-Administered Questionnaires

To gather primary data, questionnaires that the target group could complete themselves were created and distributed. The ability of respondents to properly articulate themselves in both open-ended and closed-ended inquiries will aid researchers in acquiring guided responses. The questionnaires were sent by mail to the chosen respondents, who had the option of responding online.

1.10.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Most methods for data processing and analysis followed the editing, coding, sorting, and formatting steps. Using largely descriptive and narrative methodologies, most of the data analysis was qualitative. Finding patterns in the relationships between the data groups required the calculation of indices. The data processing was confirmed by using carefully thought-out approaches and methods. For the research's data analysis, SPSS and an Excel spreadsheet will be employed. The study made use of graphs, pie charts, and tables to present and analyze quantitative data.

1.10.8 Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained verbal and written consent from the respondents before to data collection and analysis. A consent form and an introduction letter outlining the ethical foundation of the study

were also provided. To protecting the privacy of each response, the researcher developed a secret declaration form. The researcher applied for study permission from NACOSTI and ran checks for plagiarism.

1.11 Chapter Outline

The study will be comprised of six chapters:

Chapter one gives a general introduction to the study. It provided the study's background, the problem statement, research questions, objectives, Empirical literature, theoretical review, hypothesis, study justification and significance, theoretical framework, and methodology.

Chapter two assessed the impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on food security of Africa.

Chapter three assessed the effect of trade liberalization on the food security of Kenya.

Chapter four examined the challenges presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on food security

Chapter five focused on analysis and interpretation of the data. The chapter analyzed in detail the outcome of the data collected in the field.

Chapter six focused with conclusion and recommendation of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

IMPACTS OF WTO TRADE LIBERALIZATION POLICIES ON AFRICA'S FOOD SECURITY

2.0 Introduction

The implementation of WTO trade liberalization policies in various African countries reflects myriad constraints, and opportunities on food security issue. The current chapter evaluates the effects of WTO trade liberalization policies on African food security.

2.1 Africa's Food Security Situation.

The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) is to end hunger, ensure that everyone has access to enough, safe, and nutritious food always, as well as to eradicate all forms of malnutrition. The current state of food security in Africa paints a bleak picture of the continent's future and is not in line with achieving these goals. In 2020, approximately 281.6 million Africans, 20 percent of Africa's total population, faced hunger, which was more than the 2019 figure by 46.3 million.⁶⁹ 2014 marked the onset of this declining trend after great long-standing improvements in the food security of the continent. Other than hunger, many Africans are victims of pervasive micronutrient deficiencies, while obesity and overweight already pose substantial public health concerns in various African nations.⁷⁰ There is little progress made thus far towards achievement of the worldwide nutrition targets by 2030.

Southern Africa had the fewest undernourished people (6.8 million), followed by Northern Africa (17.4 million), Central Africa (57.1 million), Western Africa (75.2 million), and Eastern Africa. Prevalence of undernourishment (PoU), one of the FAO's indicators of food insecurity,

⁶⁹ Reliefweb. "Africa Regional Overview of Food Security and Nutrition 2021." *Reliefweb* (2021). Accessed from <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/africa-regional-overview-food-security-and-nutrition-2021>

⁷⁰ Ibid.

demonstrates that food insecurity varies for the different regions of Africa (125.1 million).⁷¹ The FAO claims that persistent conflicts in certain of Africa's areas, economic downturns, and climate change are major contributors to food insecurity.⁷² Conflicts are prevalent in many African countries such as Somalia, Ethiopia Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Central Africa Republic, Niger, Chad, Mali, and Democratic Republic of Congo.⁷³ A severe drought is a common adverse weather situation in the Sub-Saharan region, as it is in various areas of the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Northern Kenya, and Somalia), Madagascar, and Mozambique, among other countries.⁷⁴ Shifts in farming systems due to climate change have a ripple effect of increasing food insecurity of such areas.⁷⁵ Climate change, overreliance on rain water, and dependence on farming systems with less application of modern technology further compounds the challenges faced in agricultural sector hence amplifying food insecurity especially for sub-Saharan Africa. Economic downturns in Africa are also a challenge to many African nations, especially nations extensively reliant on commodity export earnings.⁷⁶ The decline in prices and demand for commodities slow economic growth of many African nations especially those exporting oil.

Persistent drought, conflict and economic downturn in Africa lead to reduced food production within the continent causing spikes in food prices since the demand exceeds supply of food.⁷⁷ Among the many signs of the continent's food crisis and insecurity are food riots and spiraling food costs.⁷⁸ For example, during the 2007–2008 global food crisis, food riots occurred in 14

⁷¹ Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations. “2021 Africa: Regional overview of food security and nutrition.” *FAO*, 2021.

⁷² *Ibid*

⁷³ Sasson, Albert. “Food security for Africa: an urgent global challenge.” *Agriculture and Food Security*, no.2 (2012)

⁷⁴ *Ibid*

⁷⁵ *Ibid*

⁷⁶ *Ibid*

⁷⁷ *Ibid*

⁷⁸ Berazneva, Julia, and David R. Lee. “Explaining the African food riots of 2007–2008: An empirical analysis.” *Food Policy* 39, (2013): 28-39, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2012.12.007>.

African nations, including Somalia, Mozambique, Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Cameroon, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Zimbabwe, Tunisia, Cote di'Voire, Guinea, and Mauritania. This forced policymakers to find a solution to political unrest, hunger, and poverty all at once.⁷⁹ The condition of food insecurity on the continent is largely caused by inadequate food production.

2.2 Historical Survey

The International Trade Organization (ITO), which was intended to regulate and foster international trade cooperation, was unsuccessfully established, and this led to the creation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).⁸⁰ The first five Rounds of GATT (Geneva, Annecy, Torquay, Geneva II, and Dillon) consultation focused of reduction of tariffs; These Rounds were followed by the Kennedy Round majorly attributed to the anti-dumping agreement; then came the Tokyo Round where non-tariff barriers were discussed; In the Uruguay Round, agriculture among other issues were discussed bringing to an end the GATT era with the formation of WTO.⁸¹ Agriculture formed the central theme in the GATT Uruguay round of consultations. This was in complete contrast to the previous rounds of negotiations.

Continued reduction in tariffs coupled with economic recessions in the 1970s to 1980s prompted a reaction by various governments to protect certain sectors of their economies facing immense foreign competition.⁸² Additional difficulties including rising unemployment and the ongoing closure of several industries, particularly in North America and Europe, reinforced the necessity for subsidies and bilateral market-sharing agreements with rivals. These challenges undermined the effectiveness and credibility of GATT. The issue was not only the worsening trade policy

⁷⁹ Ibid

⁸⁰ WTO. "The GATT years: from Havana to Marrakesh." *WTO*. Accessed on June 24, 2022 from https://www.wto.org/English/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/fact4_e.htm#rounds

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² Ibid

environment but also the changing realities of global trade. The desire to incorporate other economic sectors, such as trade in services and agriculture, which were not previously covered by WTO rules, arose as a result. These challenges coupled with weak dispute settlement system and institutional structure thus prompted the Uruguay Rounds to further enhance the multilateral system.⁸³ To this effect, GATT was provisional and had limited authority, albeit its success in enhancing trade liberalization is undisputable.

Ministers representing 124 nations met on 15th April 1994 in Morocco's town of Marrakesh marking the climax of Uruguay round of consultations.⁸⁴ The Marrakesh declaration paved way for the formation of WTO ushering a new global era of economic cooperation for shared prosperity. The ministers in attendance further assured least developed economies of favorable treatment, trade expansion and investment opportunities.⁸⁵ WTO's Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) was a culmination of a series of negotiations in the Uruguay Round to spur global stability in agricultural markets. One of the thirteen agreements, including the ones related to structural surpluses, was established during the Uruguay round of discussions to improve stability and predictability in the international food trade.

2.3 Impacts of WTO trade liberalization policies on Africa's food security

The assessment of how WTO trade liberalization policies impact the food security of Africa takes cognizance of the role both producers (small scale and large scale) and consumers in agricultural production and their link to food security and trade. One of the study respondents argued that "the WTO policies may be favorable, unfavorable, or neutral to the consumers and/or producers. It is also vital to note that the link between food security and WTO trade liberalization policies may be

⁸³ The world Trade Organization Agreement Series, Agriculture, WTO secretariat, Geneva (2015)

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Paragraph 21 of the GATT, Ministerial Declaration of the Uruguay Round, Doc. 1396.GATT. Geneva

direct or indirect, as is the case most of the time”.⁸⁶ Trade liberalization policies proposed by WTO indirectly influences food security by enhancing or limiting other factors such as domestic production of food, incomes, global, local, or regional food prices, economic growth, export earnings, and market accessibility, among other factors.⁸⁷

It is extremely difficult to increase the food self-sufficiency of many LDCs because of trade liberalization under WTO regulations, which includes the reduction of domestic support and export subsidies and increased competition from relatively cheap food imports. As a result, local agricultural production of food declines.⁸⁸ Global spikes in prices, for instance in 2011/2012 and 2007/2008, highlights the market instability associated with trade liberalization as net exporting nations in eastern and southern Africa declared restrictions of exports.⁸⁹ Trade liberalization in Africa has enhanced interconnectedness to the outside world and free movement of food in and out of the continent. While all nations sometimes rely on food imports, it is not automatic that their food security is improved by trade especially for the rural populations among the developing and LDCs.⁹⁰ Moreover, agricultural produce from developed countries have gained more market access to the continent than the access African produce have gained thus far in the global market. Inadequate local production is hampered by the disparity in market access, which results in both unfavorable trade conditions and low foreign exchange revenues for the African nations.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Study Respondent, Nairobi. 21st July August.

⁸⁷ Trueblood, Michael A., and Shahla Shapouri. *Implications of trade liberalization on food security of low-income countries*. No.1474-2016-120811. 2011

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Morrison, J., & Sarris, A. *Food Staple Market Volatility and Food Security in Eastern and Southern Africa: What role for trade and market policy?* Food and Agriculture Organization Publications (2016)

⁹⁰ OECD. “The changing landscape of agricultural markets and trade: prospects for future reforms.” *OECD Food, Agriculture and Fisheries Papers*, no. 118 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.1787/7dec9074-en>

⁹¹ Ibid

Seasonal fluctuations akin to domestic agricultural production also trigger importation of food from other countries to offset food shortages.⁹² Despite the fact that the supply of food is now greater, there may still be problems with access to and the quality of the food. Most of the local African farmers have low purchasing power caused by declining incomes arising from adverse terms of trade.⁹³ The low purchasing power due to unfavorable balance of trade and fluctuations in the global supply of food, coupled with volatilities in the global prices of food massively affect the ability of the locals to access food imports thus exposing them to intensified food insecurity.⁹⁴ The role of international trade in enhancing economic growth by permitting nations to efficiently utilize its resources through specialization in services and products it can competitively produce is much supported by historical evidence.⁹⁵ Economic growth is assumed to reduce poverty by creating opportunities of employment and reducing prices, among others for food, which are beneficial to all consumers. According to this viewpoint, trade liberalization has a positive impact on all four aspects of food security; increased trade increases food availability by allowing imports to fill the gap left by insufficient domestic production, significantly assisting in meeting food demand in countries with food deficits; trade increases food access by accelerating economic growth, which raises income and purchasing power and lowers consumer prices; and trade increases food access by facilitating increased trade; Free trade also improves food stability by balancing food deficits and surpluses, by reducing seasonal variations in the availability of food locally, and by reducing the vulnerability of local markets to weather and policy changes. Trade

⁹² Fader, Marianela, Dieter Gerten, Michael Krause, Wolfgang Cramer. "Spatial decoupling of agricultural production and consumption: quantifying dependences of countries on food imports due to domestic land and water constraints." *Environmental Research Letters* 8, no.1 (2013): 014046

⁹³ Sunge, Regret, and Nicholas Ngepah. "Agricultural trade liberalization, agricultural total factor productivity growth and food security in Africa." *Agrekon*, (2022): 1-22.

⁹⁴ Martin, W., & Laborde, D. Trade: The free flow of goods and food security and nutrition, Chapter 3. In International Food Policy Research Institute (Ed.), *Global Food Policy Report*. (2018) https://doi.org/10.2499/9780896292970_03

⁹⁵ Ibid

has the potential to improve utilization of food because of improved demand of food (arising from higher incomes and economic growth), and because larger share of income can facilitate buying of nutritious food that may not be available locally.⁹⁶

Increased trade due to WTO policies of trade liberalization massively affect food systems of low-income food-deficit African nations. These nations must contend with increased dependency on food imports. Local producers face intensified competitive pressure from foreign producers leading to the collapse of some local agricultural industries. The consumers therefore must rely on external food supply which exposes them to fluctuations in global availability of food.⁹⁷ Recent disruption to global food supply chain by coronavirus pandemic is evidence of how trade openness can be unreliable in meeting food needs of consumers.⁹⁸

Trade liberalization increases access to a wider variety of reasonably priced foods, but this does not always translate into improved dietary nutritional quality. Trade liberalization can also increase availability to bad foods and, as a result, increase the prevalence of disorders like obesity and overweight as well as other conditions linked to unhealthful diets. This is known as encouraging "nutritional transition".⁹⁹

2.4 WTO trade liberalization policies and food security of Africa- a special focus

Africa has a wide variety of WTO trade liberalization policies. A few of these regulations include the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA), the Anti-Dumping Code, the Agreement on Import

⁹⁶ Van Berkum, S. "How trade can drive inclusive and sustainable food system outcomes in food deficit low-income countries." *Food Sec.* 13, (2021): 1541–1554. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12571-021-01218-z>

⁹⁷ De Schutter, O. "The World Trade Organization and the post-global food crisis agenda." Activity Report. *United Nations Special Rapporteur of the Right on Food* (2011); Koning, N., & Pinstrip-Anderson, P. (Eds.). "Agricultural trade liberalization and the least developed countries." *Wageningen*. Springer (2007)

⁹⁸ Global Panel on Agriculture and Food Systems for Nutrition (Global Panel). 2017. "Policy actions to support enhanced consumer behavior for high-quality diets." Policy Brief No. 8. London, UK: Global Panel on Agriculture and Food Systems for Nutrition (2017).

⁹⁹ IFPRI. "Covid-19 and the global food security." Swinnen and McDermott (eds.). IFPRI, Washington D.C. (2020)

Licensing Procedures, the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade, the Agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures, and the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures. If there is a disagreement between the terms of the Agreement on Agriculture and those of other accords, the provisions of the AoA take precedence.¹⁰⁰

2.4.1 Agreement on Agriculture

This agreement provides a fundamental approach to the transformation of agriculture under the international rules of trade. AoA includes extensive agricultural measures relating to limitations and pledges on domestic assistance, export subsidies, and market access.¹⁰¹ The interests of net food importers and LDCs are likewise protected by unique measures in this agreement. AoA prohibits measures that limit the market access of foreign producers to domestic market of another nation, which includes both qualitative and quantitative restrictions of imports and exports. Nations are also required to reduce domestic support provided to local producers due to its trade distortion effects.¹⁰² These reduction commitments are however not applicable in the blue, amber, and green box policies.

Food insecurity is becoming more prevalent in several of the countries who are party to the WTO Agreement on Agriculture.¹⁰³ Africa is hugely dependent on agriculture as a source of livelihood for most of its population, export earnings, and growth of real output. The AoA provisions are constraining in terms of price support schemes for farmers aimed at addressing food security. One study respondent stated that “the provisions in AoA constrain the policy space of African countries to pursue measures that combat food insecurity. All WTO members must convert all non-trade

¹⁰⁰ Article 21 of the WTO Agreement on Agriculture.

¹⁰¹ WTO. “Agreement on Agriculture.” *WTO*. Accessed on June 8, 2022 from https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/14-ag.doc

¹⁰² Gonzalez, Carmen G. (2002). Institutionalizing inequality: the WTO Agreement on Agriculture, food security, and developing countries. *Colum. J. Envtl. L.* 27,433

¹⁰³ *Ibid*

barriers into tariffs as part of agriculture tariff liberalization, and all agricultural tariffs must be reduced and bound over a set period of time.¹⁰⁴ The highly lopsided preference of agricultural tariff reduction toward agricultural exporting developed countries, which increases developing countries' dependence on cheap food imports as a result of developed countries' reduced tariffs, is a serious drawback.¹⁰⁵ This dis-incentivized domestic production of food.¹⁰⁶ The WTO rules from this perspective, bind nations to policy reforms, some of which negatively impact food security of various African countries.¹⁰⁷

One of study respondent stated that AoA greatly reduce policy options or state interventions in response to unfavorable conditions of agricultural trade and markets.¹⁰⁸ This perspective presumes that enhancing food security is synonymous with unlimited policy space. The scope of state intervention and domestic policy is massively regulated to conform to the provisions of AoA. The dumping of subsidized and cheap imports of agricultural products has a substantial, long-term destabilizing impact on domestic production of food. These import surges threaten the livelihoods or incomes of small-holder farmers in Africa. While most food in developing nations are produced by small-holder farmers, they are insufficiently supported, both institutionally and financially, to cope with economic hardships amid influx of cheap imports compared to farmers in developed

¹⁰⁴ Study Respondent, Nairobi. 22nd July 2022.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

¹⁰⁶ Clapp, Jennifer. "Food Security and Contested Agricultural Trade Norms." *Journal of International Law and International Relations* 104, no. 11(2015)

¹⁰⁷ Orford. Anne. "Food Security, Free Trade, and the Battle for the State" *Journal of International Law and International Relations* 1, no. 11 (2015): 52-55.

¹⁰⁸ Study Respondent, Nairobi, 21st July 2022.

nations.¹⁰⁹ According to Gonzalez, AoA intensify inequality and poverty of the rural people thus increasing vulnerability to food insecurity in LDCs.¹¹⁰

According to current WTO regulations, even during import peaks, most Africa's developing countries are not permitted to unilaterally raise agricultural tariffs above the amounts specified. This is in opposition to the policy latitude given to industrialized countries that have access to Special Agricultural Safeguard. This asymmetry in the AoA provisions in the treatment of countries faced with import surges highlights the limited policy space of developing nations and LDCs to implement measures aimed at combating food insecurity. Gonzales dubbed this situation “institutionalized inequality” of AoA.¹¹¹

2.4.2 Public stockholding

Public food stockholding refers to government-initiated programs focusing on purchases, storage, and distribution of agricultural produce. These programs are also known as domestic aid or public food reserves. Article 1 of AoA permits nations to implement public stockholding for the purposes of food security.¹¹² The only constraint in the application of this program is that the program must meet WTO’S criteria of not affecting production or distorting trade in agricultural products. AoA in Article 3, Annex 2 requires nations to clearly state the costs and fixed food security targets of implementing public stockholding program in national legislation.¹¹³ If WTO requirements are

¹⁰⁹ Gonzalez, Carmen G. “International Economic Law and the Right to Food.” In Nadia C. S. Lambek and others (eds), *Rethinking Food Systems: Structural Challenges, New Strategies, and the Law*. Springer, Netherlands (2014):165-193

¹¹⁰ Gonzalez, Carmen G. (2002). Institutionalizing inequality: the WTO Agreement on Agriculture, food security, and developing countries. *Colum. J. Envtl. L.* 27,433

¹¹¹ Gonzalez, Carmen G. (2002). Institutionalizing inequality: the WTO Agreement on Agriculture, food security, and developing countries. *Colum. J. Envtl. L.* 27,433

¹¹² Article 1, Annex 2 of *Agreement on Agriculture*.

¹¹³ Article 3, Annex 2 of *Agreement on Agriculture*.

met, there is no restriction on the scope and volume of public food stockholding to increase national food security.

Public food stockholding is utilized by various government both in Africa and worldwide to enhance realization of a mix of policy objectives, including food subsidization to targeted vulnerable populations, stabilization of domestic prices of food and supplies, and supporting livelihood of rural dwellers. In the wake of 2007-2008 global food crisis, public food stockholding was revived to correct the increased prices of agricultural products, increased number of people vulnerable to food insecurity and cases of food riots. Many African nations such as Rwanda, Malawi, Kenya, among other have utilized this provision to meet their national food security goals.¹¹⁴ In 2013, ECOWAS formed regional food reserve to enhance the region's response to crises of food. The north-eastern Nigeria became the first beneficiary after the program was implemented in 2017, receiving cereals to combat food crisis in the region.

The continued use of public food stockholding in the measure of Aggregate measure of Support (AMS) however restrains the full usage of this program to meet food security goal as African nations must worry about contravening the permissible levels of domestic support stipulated in the WTO rules.¹¹⁵ Low public food stocks negatively affect the levels of food aid available to help nations faced by adverse food shortages. Nonetheless net food importing nations in Africa are still dependent on this provision to meet their food requirements.

2.4.3 Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) measures

Market accessibility of agricultural produce from Africa is limited by health, quality, and safety standards set up by WTO sanitary and phytosanitary measures. Many African nations have failed

¹¹⁴ Fougère, Eve, Nicolas Bricas and Arlène Alpha, "Feeding 9 billion People": Global Food Security Debates and the Productionist Trap." *Journal of European Public Policy* 1658, no. 24 (2017).

¹¹⁵ Ibid

to invest in food safety and quality hence face restricted market accessibility to capitalize on global agri-food trade.¹¹⁶ SPS measures associated with conformity evaluation impede market entry, while SPS Standards related to characteristics of products improve bilateral trade flows provided the set standards are met.¹¹⁷ Establishing and maintaining a system for food safety is difficult since it involves rules, cold storage facilities, ICT networks and management systems, infrastructure like labs, and institutions for risk assessment like accreditation and inspection bodies. Most of the LDCs and developing nations in Africa are insufficiently endowed with human capacity, technology, among other resources to establish such a system to meet the requirements of international standards.¹¹⁸

Small-scale farmers in the food supply chain suffer the most since they lack the funding for local institutions to monitor compliance with standards and invest in local surveillance. The level of compliance among the small holder African farmers and agro-processors to the SPS measures is very low.¹¹⁹ This presents a major challenge in accessing external markets especially Europe which is one of the main markets of Africa's agricultural produce. SPS standards therefore limit access of local produce to international markets, reduce the level of export earnings, reduce a country's national income which would have been used to import enough foods to combat food insecurity. A study respondent argued that the dependency on food imports adversely affects the food security of nations with insufficient finances to make food purchases that meet the domestic demand of

¹¹⁶ OECD. (2019b). "Food systems and the challenge of coherent policies." Draft paper December 2019 for discussion in the Working Party on Agricultural Policies and Markets, TAD/CA/APM/WP (2019)29

¹¹⁷ Crivelli, P., & Gröschl, J. (2016). The impact of sanitary and phytosanitary measures on market entry and trade flows. *The World Economy*, 39(3), 444-473.

¹¹⁸ AGRA. (2020). Africa Agriculture Status Report. Feeding Africa's Cities: Opportunities, Challenges, and Policies for Linking African Farmers with Growing Urban Food Markets (Issue 8). Nairobi, Kenya: Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA).

¹¹⁹ Babatunde, Musibau Adetunji. "Conforming to sanitary and phytosanitary measures by African smallholder farmers: Challenges and constraints." *Growth without development: A trajectory analysis of Africa's development path since independence* (2018): 1-28.

food.¹²⁰ When a country is substantially dependent on the import and/or export of commodities, the situation is considerably worse. Meeting the SPS requirements may not be advantageous for all aspects of the food security of the continent of Africa. While strict adherence to SPS measures reinforce health, safety and quality standards of food improving food utilization component of food security, it also impedes food availability by limiting supply of food that fail to meet the required standard.¹²¹

2.5 Chapter Summary

The current chapter has evaluated the effects of WTO trade liberalization policies on Africa's food security. As Africa strives to find a long-lasting solution to the threat to its food security, the implementation of WTO trade liberalization rules exposes the continent to new difficulties. While there are positive impacts on some component of food security such as availability, other components such as stability and accessibility are negatively impacted given the volatilities in global prices, and fluctuations in global food stocks, which are amplified by the skewed historical favoritism of the developed nations. In conclusion, there is need to refine the policies of WTO to adequately address the current menace of food insecurity in Africa.

¹²⁰ A Study Respondent, Nairobi, 27th July 2022.

¹²¹ Aworh, O. Charles. "Food safety issues in fresh produce supply chain with particular reference to sub-Saharan Africa." *Food Control* 123 (2021): 107737.

CHAPTER THREE
EFFECTS OF WTO TRADE LIBERALIZATION POLICIES ON THE FOOD
SECURITY OF KENYA

3.0 Introduction

The current chapter investigates the impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on Kenya's food security. To establish a connection between trade liberalization policies and the four elements of food security—accessibility, availability, utilization, and stability—this analysis considers how Kenya's market accessibility, domestic production, export earnings, economic growth, incomes, and food prices are affected by such policies.

3.1 Food security situation in Kenya

The Global Food Security Index of 2021 placed Kenya 90th out of 113 nations.¹²² This index ranks countries based on factors such as natural resources and resilience, quality and safety, availability, and affordability. According to World Food Programme, Kenya is facing acute food insecurity with several millions of people in the brink of starvation, a situation which has been intensified by multi-season drought, large-scale invasion of desert locust, COVID-19 pandemic and conflicts arising from competition for limited water and pasture among the pastoralists.¹²³ There is a lot of hope that improved nutrition and hunger can be achieved in Kenya thanks to the government's inclusion of food and nutrition security in its "big four" strategy, steady economic growth over the past ten years, and devolution.¹²⁴ However, the status of lower-middle-income nation signifying increased wealth is not of benefit to all Kenyans. Approximately 35.6 percent of Kenyans are still

¹²² Economist Impact. "Global Food Security Index." *Economist Impact*. Accessed on June 25, 2022 from <https://impact.economist.com/sustainability/project/food-security-index/Coutry/Kenya>

¹²³ World Food Programme. "Kenya." *WFP*. Accessed on June 25, 2022 from <https://www.wfp.org/countries/kenya>

¹²⁴ Ibid

living below the global poverty line while gender, economic and social disparities remain unaddressed.¹²⁵

Access to food of adequate nutrition and quantities continue to be a challenge to many Kenyans, particularly in semi-arid and arid areas which accounts to approximately 80 percent of total land area of the country.¹²⁶ The majority of Kenyans, especially those who reside in rural areas, still rely primarily on agriculture for their living, making them extremely sensitive to climatic shocks like persistent droughts and erratic rains.¹²⁷ Kenya is therefore faced with a situation in which; there is a 2.9 percent annual population growth rate exerting pressure on the existing 27.63 million hectares of agricultural land; inefficient food systems which is unable to secure efficient production and supply of food resulting in high food prices limiting access to and availability of food; and declining agricultural production to feed its 48.5 million citizens.¹²⁸

In Kenya, food insecurity is widespread in the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) counties that are primarily populated by pastoralists.¹²⁹ In Kenya, the ASALs are divided into five clusters based on livelihoods; Pastoral North-West, covering Marsabit, Samburu and Turkana; Pastoral North-East, including Mandera, Tana River, Isiolo, Garissa and Wajir; South-East Marginal Agriculture, comprising of Meru, Embu, Tharaka Nithi, Makueni and Kitui; Coastal Marginal Agriculture, entailing Lamu, Taita Taveta, Kilifi and Kwale; and the Agropastoral cluster comprising of Laikipia, West Pokot, Kajiado, Narok, Baringo and Kieni sub-county (northern part of Nyeri county).¹³⁰ The major livelihoods of the ASALs are marginal mixed farming, agro-pastoralism,

¹²⁵ Ibid

¹²⁶ Ibid

¹²⁷ Ibid

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Reliefweb. "Kenya: IPC Food Security & Nutrition Snapshot- Acute Food Insecurity: February-June 2022; Acute Malnutrition: February-May 2022." *Reliefweb*, 2022, <https://relief.web.int/report/kenya/kenya-ipc-food-security-nutrition-snapshot-acute-food-insecurity-february-june-2022>

¹³⁰ Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC). "IPC Kenya Alert" *IPC*, 2021. <https://www.ipcinfo.org/ipcinfo-website/alerts-archive/issue-47/en/>

mixed farming and pastoralism.¹³¹ IPC Phase 3 (crisis) or Phase 4 populations made up more over half of the population in counties including Isiolo, Samburu, Mandera, Wajir, Baringo, Turkana, and Marsabit in 2021.¹³² The threat of food insecurity in Kenya continues to pose a significant problem to both the government and the general public, and a long-term solution is still being sought after, according to one research respondent.¹³³

3.2 Kenya and WTO trade liberalization Policies.

Since the GATT was established on February 5, 1964, Kenya has also been a member of the WTO.¹³⁴ Kenya is also a member of various negotiation groups within WTO such as; “W52” sponsors, which seeks to negotiate on disclosures and geographical indications (intellectual property issues); Paragraph 6 countries, which comprises of nations with less than 35 percent of product from non-agricultural sector capped under tariff ceilings; G-33, nations seeking to implement limited market liberalization in agriculture; G-90; African Group; and ACP, entailing Pacific, Caribbean and African nations concerned with agricultural preference.¹³⁵

Kenya as a lower-middle income nation is classified as a developing nation.¹³⁶ The country’s agricultural sector and food trade are bound by the WTO trade policies of liberalization such as Agreement on Agriculture (AoA). There are many different policy areas covered by the AoA, including public stockholding, sanitary and phytosanitary controls, export prohibitions and limitations, export subsidies, domestic assistance, and market access.

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Ibid

¹³³ A study Respondent, 25th July Nairobi.

¹³⁴ World Trade Organization. “Kenya and the WTO.” *WTO*. Accessed on June 25, 2022 from https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/countries_e/kenya_e.htm

¹³⁵ World Trade Organization. “Groups in the negotiations.” *WTO*, 2021. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/negotiating_groups_e.htm#grp020

¹³⁶ IMF. “World Economic Outlook Database, April 2019” *IMF*, (2019), <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/weo-database/2022/April/select-countries?grp=2603&sg=ALL-countries/Emerging-market-and-developing-economies/Sub-Saharan-Africa>

Commitments to export subsidy prohibitions cover both unscheduled and scheduled agricultural products. Kenya must reduce the value of export subsidies by 24% and the volume of subsidized exports by 14% below the base level throughout the course of the implementation term of 10 years following 1995 in order to be a member of the WTO in the category of developing nations.¹³⁷ Kenya failed to enlist agricultural products in its schedules hence barred from introducing new export subsidies even though the country is eligible to the benefits of Special Differential Treatment accorded developing nations.¹³⁸ AoA enables limited flexibilities in the commitment to reduce export subsidies and provides a set criteria the use of export credits as well as food aid. On the policy area of domestic support in agriculture, Kenya is obligated to decrease domestic support which distort trade, particularly policies that incentivize farmers to significantly increase production of a specific commodity than they would do under normal circumstances.¹³⁹ Kenya is eligible to use development box, green box and blue box policies.¹⁴⁰ Article 6.2 of AoA permits Kenya to utilize ‘development box’ policies which entails support consistent with the development category that enhance rural and agricultural development such as investment subsidies and agricultural input subsidies to producers.¹⁴¹

The ‘green box’ policies comprise of general services of the government, for instance in the fields of food security and infrastructure, control of diseases, and research, regional assistance programs, direct payments under environmental programs, structural adjustment assistance, and direct income support to local farmers. The ‘amber box’ policies comprise all measures of domestic

¹³⁷ WTO. “Agriculture: fairer markets for farmers.” Accessed on June 25, 2022 from https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/agrm3_e.htm#exportsubsidies

¹³⁸ Agreement on Agriculture, Article 9.

¹³⁹ Agreement on Agriculture, Article 6

¹⁴⁰ WTO. “Domestic support in agriculture: The boxes.” *WTO*. Accessed on June 25, 2022, from https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/agric_e/agboxes_e.htm

¹⁴¹ Agreement on Agriculture, Article 6.2

support regarded as distorting food trade and production.¹⁴² These measures include price and production quantities related supports and are subject to limits. The ‘blue box’ support are ‘amber box’ policies that are designed to enhance further reduction in distortion by limiting production. There are no caps for the blue box support.¹⁴³

Kenya is also required to enhance market accessibility by eliminating all non-tariff restrictions on food imports. Special Safeguard Mechanism is also applicable in instances of import quantity surges or decline in prices of food imports below set trigger level. Minimum cut of tariffs of 10 percent per product and average cut of tariffs by 24 percent for all agricultural products are also applicable to Kenya as a developing nation.¹⁴⁴ On export restrictions and prohibition, Kenya is obligated to provide information and consult on request in instances of new export restrictions on food or agricultural products. Article 14 of AoA grants Kenya the right to establish their own health and safety standards even though such standards must be scientifically justified.¹⁴⁵ However, global sanitary and phytosanitary measures are encouraged. Kenya has the right to WTO peace clause which provides a mechanism for dispute resolution within the WTO framework in cases of disagreements arising from implementation of WTO rules.¹⁴⁶

3.3 Impacts of WTO trade liberalization policies on Kenya’s food security

3.3.1 Domestic support reduction measures

Kenya as a member of WTO is barred from introducing new export subsidies and is subject to reduction of domestic support. Regarding the use of export subsidies, the WTO Agreement on Agriculture put an end to the historical disparity between developed and developing countries.

¹⁴² Ibid

¹⁴³ Ibid

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ Agreement on Agriculture, Article 14.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid

While developed nations were allowed to use existing export subsidies subject to reduction commitment, developing nations were barred from introducing new forms of export subsidies thus resulting in unfair competitive advantage in favor of developed nations.¹⁴⁷ According to a survey respondent, the WTO's trade liberalization policies, which aim to remove domestic assistance such as export subsidies, expose local farmers and producers to higher costs for farm supplies that were previously subsidized.¹⁴⁸ This has the potential to de-incentivize the local producers especially in the face of intensified competition from relatively cheap imports of agricultural produce. Export subsidies in developed nations have the potential of depressing global commodity prices and enhancing disposal of surplus food products by outcompeting locally produced foods.¹⁴⁹ Developed nations, unlike developing countries such as Kenya, are not prohibited from using export subsidies for direct payments to enhance farmer's incomes and farmer insurance schemes, infrastructure, fertilizer, investment, and marketing costs of exports such as freight, transport, processing, and handling. According to a Study respondent this has created unfair competition to the detriment of local production of food.¹⁵⁰ Decline in Kenya's local production implies the country is not self-sufficient in meeting the food requirements of its citizens.¹⁵¹

Kenya's main sources of income and employment for many small scale and large scale farmers as well as foreign exchange include horticultural crops, tea and Coffee.¹⁵² Jointly, these three crops contribute to over 60 percent of the foreign earnings, 34 percent of the GDP of the agricultural sector, and over 40 percent employment opportunities for the agricultural labor force.¹⁵³ By

¹⁴⁷ Nyangito, Hezron. "Agricultural Trade Reforms in Kenya Under the WTO Framework." *Nairobi: KIPPRA*. (2003)

¹⁴⁸ A Study Respondents. 25th July 2022, Nairobi.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

¹⁵⁰ A Study Respondent, 29th July 2022, Nairobi.

¹⁵¹ Ibid

¹⁵² Nyangito, Hezron O., Jonathan Nzuma, Hellen Ommeh, and Mary Mbithi. "Impact of Agricultural Trade and Related policy Reforms on Food Security in Kenya." *KIIPRA Discussion Paper*, no. 39 (2004)

¹⁵³ Ibid

introducing AoA policies, the Kenyan government aimed to encourage both large- and small-scale farmers to enhance their output. The entire domestic food and agricultural production, however, has been negatively impacted by the implementation of these policy adjustments.¹⁵⁴ It is therefore imperative that policies that negatively impact the production or market accessibility of these export crops massively affect the livelihood of Kenyans by reducing their incomes and purchasing power.

Poor performance of exports reduce the capacity of Kenya to import food thus exposing Kenya, which is a net food importer to food insecurity since local production of food is inadequate in meeting the country's food demands.¹⁵⁵ The nation's ability to amicably deal with external shocks like harvest failures and overproduction in other countries has decreased as a result of Kenya's increased reliance on international trade for its food security.¹⁵⁶ Hence, both accessibility and stability components of food security are negatively impacted by external shocks and negative balance of trade.

3.3.2 Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) measures

Sanitary and phytosanitary controls are used to make sure that the food supplied to consumer nations meets the necessary health and safety standards. The WTO has processes for control, inspection, and approval because it envisions the employment of such measures without obstructing the free circulation of food items.¹⁵⁷ However, these measures have been used to restrict market access of some Kenya agricultural products to external markets, especially fish, meat, and horticultural crops, among others. While strict implementation and adherence to SPS

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

¹⁵⁵ Government of Kenya. *National Food and Nutritional Security Policy*. Nairobi: Agricultural Sector Coordination Unit. (2011)

¹⁵⁶ Sadauskaite, Urte. "The issue of food insecurity in Kenya." *Development and International Relations* (2014)

¹⁵⁷ Agreement on sanitary and phytosanitary measures, Article 2 and 7.

measures set by Kenya have the potential to enhance the food utilization component of the nation's food security, the availability of desired quantities of food may be impeded given that some of the food imports may fail to meet the set standards.¹⁵⁸

The access to external market by Kenya's agri-food product is restricted when health and safety standards set by other nations are not met. This denies the nation the possible export earnings that are crucial in securing food demands of the nation. Financial and informational inadequacies, insufficient technical and scientific expertise, and incompatibility of marketing and production methods are some of the challenges Kenya has to contend with in meeting sanitary and phytosanitary standards set by other countries.¹⁵⁹ The implementation of sanitary and phytosanitary measures in developed nations takes little cognizance of the needs and challenges of developing nations.¹⁶⁰ The time between notification and implementation phases of SPS measures and the technical support provided by developed nations is inadequate to ensuring that developing nations do not suffer adverse effects arising from such directives.

The small holder farmers and agro-processors in Kenya are the biggest losers since they limited capacity, both in terms of human resource and technology at the local level to enhance compliance with the global standards and implement prerequisite requirements such as proper handling and processing procedures of food for export.¹⁶¹ SPS measures that limit market accessibility of some agricultural produce from Kenya to global markets, reduce the country potential foreign exchange and national income necessary in purchasing food imports of adequate quality and quantity to offset the menace of food insecurity.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Aworh, O. Charles. "Food safety issues in fresh produce supply chain with particular reference to sub-Saharan Africa." *Food Control* 123 (2021): 107737.

¹⁵⁹ Noor, Halima. "Sanitary and phytosanitary measures and their impact on Kenya." (1998)

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

¹⁶¹ Sadauskaite, Urte. "The issue of food insecurity in Kenya." *Development and International Relations* (2014)

¹⁶² Ibid

3.3.3 Public stockholding

Kenya is permitted to use public food stockholding programs to address food insecurity. Article 1 of AoA permits nations to implement public stockholding for the purposes of food security.¹⁶³ However, such programs must meet WTO's criteria of not distorting trade in agricultural products. AoA in Article 3, Annex 2 stipulates those countries using public food stockholding are required to clearly state the costs and fixed food security targets of the program.¹⁶⁴ If the food purchases for the stockholding program are made at market rates rather than government regulated pricing, there is no restriction on the breadth and extent of public food stockholding to improve national food security.¹⁶⁵

Kenya operates a strategic food reserve under the auspice of the National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB) aimed at cushioning local farmers from the adverse financial effects of over-supply and ensuring food availability to offset food deficits.¹⁶⁶ The reserve is obligated to keep approximately four million bags of maize in physical stock or cash equivalent. This has enabled the country to serve areas not accessible to grain markets in cases of food emergencies or shortages. The WTO criteria governing the use of such programs, which count food purchases made at fixed prices from farmers as domestic support and are restricted by the de minimis limits and aggregate measure of Support, however, place restrictions on Kenya's ability to operate public stockholding programs for food security purposes.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Article 1, Annex 2 of *Agreement on Agriculture*.

¹⁶⁴ Article 3, Annex 2 of *Agreement on Agriculture*.

¹⁶⁵ WTO. "The Bali decision on stockholding for food security in developing countries." *WTO*, 2014.
https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/agric_e/factsheet_agng_e.htm

¹⁶⁶ Government of Kenya. *National Food and Nutritional Security Policy*. Nairobi: Agricultural Sector Coordination Unit. (2011)

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*

3.3.4 AoA measures of tariff reduction and elimination of non-tariff barriers.

Kenya is bound by the WTO trade liberalization policy of converting all non-tariff barriers into tariffs, which are then capped subject to reduction. However, previously implemented trade liberalization policies such as SAPs demanded by World Bank and IMF subjected Kenya to a significant decrease in import tariff as a precondition to accessing loans. Kenya was therefore unable to secure special protective mechanisms in cases of low import prices or upsurges in import quantities. Instances of import surges in developing nations arise from reduction of import tariff to levels below tariff cap stipulated in the AoA coupled with declining global prices of foodstuff attributable to overproduction and export subsidies in developed nations.¹⁶⁸

The reduction in tariffs has increased access to the Kenyan market by food imports enhancing availability of food to the locals. However, the local producers face intensified competition from these relatively cheap food imports. Intensified increase in food imports reduces the incentive to enhance local production of food escalating the country's reliance on imported food leading to food insecurity due to negative balance of trade.¹⁶⁹

The requirement of reducing tariffs to conform with the WTO stipulated levels is constraining the efforts of Kenya to protect its essential domestic agricultural industries vulnerable to increased competition from foreign firms. Global fall in prices and sudden surges in import volume are likely to spillover yet Kenya has no unilateral right to temporarily raise tariffs to protect its domestic market from the inefficiencies in the global food market.

¹⁶⁸ De Schutter, Olivier. "International trade in agriculture and the right to food." *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung* 29, 2010.

¹⁶⁹ Joshi, A. "Food security in the Great Lakes Region: Reconciling Trade Liberalization with Human Security Goals." In R. Rayfuse and Weisfelt, eds. *The Challenge of Food Security. International Policy and Regulatory Frameworks*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp.44-69 (2012)

3.4 Chapter Summary

The present chapter has assessed how food security situation in Kenya is impacted by WTO trade liberalization policies. As the country works to comply with AoA requirements, Kenya's adherence to WTO regulations has typically limited the domestic policy space and the scope of state engagement on food security issues. The food security situation of the country was found to have been worsened by implementation of WTO policies of food trade liberalization mainly due to overreliance on food imports prone to external shocks, and declining domestic production that had ripple effect on the incomes and purchasing power of the rural poor.

CHAPTER FOUR

WTO'S TRADE LIBERALISATION POLICIES AND FOOD SECURITY IN KENYA:

KEY CHALLENGES

4.0 Introduction

The implementation of WTO policies of trade liberalization in Kenya has not been without challenges with the nation striving to meet its food security agenda. This present chapter examines the challenges presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on food security. Some of these challenges include declining incomes and surges in imports of food, restriction of the country's policy space in the implementation of food security agenda, and resource constraints in meeting WTO requirements such as food safety measures.

4.1 Declining incomes and surges in imports of food

Despite the WTO efforts aimed at policing agricultural dumping in the global market, it is evident that developed nations have however increased subsidies.¹⁷⁰ For instance, the EU's Common Agriculture Policy allowed agricultural export subsidies of 46.5 billion Euros in 2002, which made up around 90% of all export subsidies globally during that year.¹⁷¹ The US, world's largest exporter of sorghum provided government subsidies (crop insurance, loan payments, counter-cyclical payments, and direct payments) to its sorghum producers amounting to an average of over 400 million US Dollars between 2000 and 2004.¹⁷² Sorghum was overproduced as a result, which hurt the prospective profits of local farmers from other nations like Kenya and South Africa, who

¹⁷⁰ Clapp Jennifer. "WTO agriculture negotiations: implications for the Global South." *Third World Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (2006): 563-577

¹⁷¹ Oxfam International. "Position on Trade and Agriculture." *Oxfam International* (2004)

¹⁷² Stuart, Elizabeth. *Truth or Consequences: Why the EU and the USA must reform their subsidies, or pay the price.* Oxfam International, 2005.

might be the plaintiff in this case.¹⁷³ Such export subsidies granted by developed nations present unfair competition to developing and LDCs in the global market denying these nations the potential income gains from the market had the subsidies inducing overproduction been eliminated. The unfairly priced food imports also have the potential to out-compete local production of similar products while suppressing prices in the global market.

In Kenya, the agricultural industry contributes more than 25% of the country's GDP, employs more than 40% of the workforce, and generates more than 65% of export revenues.¹⁷⁴ Kenya, a country whose economy is heavily dependent on agriculture for employment and subsistence, is consequently confronted with a situation in which its local farmers are left in poverty and without a means of subsistence, as has been reported in other countries like the Philippines, Burkina Faso, India, Mozambique, and Jamaica.¹⁷⁵ For instance, Kenya's horticulture and floriculture industry that mainly derive its market from the EU market is likely to suffer a huge blow with the provision of export subsidies in the EU countries.¹⁷⁶

The GATT's Article VI allows for the establishment of anti-dumping taxes on affected products. Unfortunately, this has not remedied the situation since developing nations such as Kenya not only have to prove the existence of dumping but also must quantify it. Furthermore, the burden of proof is also influenced by geographical proximity where the proof is near impossible, expensive, or slow in instances where affected entities are spread over a wide geographical location.

While export subsidies have an inducing impact on the farmers of developed nations to produce more hence flooding the global market, the impact on the farmers of developing nations is however discouraging, leading to decline in local production. The global market under provision of export

¹⁷³ Ibid

¹⁷⁴¹⁷⁴ Kenya, National Bureau of Statistics. "Statistical Abstract 2020." *KNBS*, 2021.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

subsidies is hence dominated by commodities priced below their cost of production. This unfairly pushes those farmers who did not receive export subsidies out of the market.¹⁷⁷ Given the percentage of the workforce employed in the sector and the forward links to other economic sectors, such as manufacturing and processing, which depend on the raw materials derived from agriculture, the decline in Kenya's domestic agricultural production has a significant impact on the country's overall economic performance.¹⁷⁸

The liberalization of food trade has created a situation in which Kenyan exports face restricted market access owing to sanitary and phytosanitary measures and export subsidies provided by developed nations while opening the domestic market for food imports.¹⁷⁹ This has worsened the nation's balance of trade. The rural population mainly relies on income from farming or farm-related activities to buy food and produce enough food for sustenance. Household incomes and the performance of the agricultural sector are strongly associated since bad agricultural sector performance is correlated with low household earnings, especially for local farmers.¹⁸⁰

The declining domestic production in the agricultural sector therefore implies declining export earnings, impoverishment of local farmers, and over reliance on imports of food. The provision of relatively cheap imports of food is central to nation food security debate. The decline in the price of food imports implies reduction in the retail prices of such commodities consequently increasing the accessibility to food especially among the nation's poor. Kenya and other developing nations are in this ironic situation. Food imports are generally inexpensive, which increases access to food but lowering the value of the produce that local farmers can sell their produce for on the market,

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Nyangito, Hezron O., Jonathan Nzuma, Hellen Ommeh, and Mary Mbithi. "Impact of agricultural trade and related policy reforms on food security in Kenya." (2004)

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

which may be used to buy other manufactured goods that could help the local population's needs for food security.¹⁸¹ This situation also portrays the challenge Kenya is faced with in establishing small-scale, income generating businesses in the agricultural sector in the nation's poverty alleviation programs.

4.2 Restriction of policy space in the implementation of food security agenda

A study respondent stated that the scope of Kenya's interventions to address the menace of food insecurity is restricted by the rules of WTO concerning liberalization of food trade, which the nation must confirm to as a member of the institution regulating global trade. Market access, export prohibitions and restrictions, provision of export subsidies and domestic assistance, and public stockholding as outlined in the AoA are all covered by these regulations.¹⁸² The WTO is made up of various countries within unequal capacity in the decision-making process a condition worsened by limited transparency in the key operations of WTO.¹⁸³ The effective participation of Kenya and other developing as well as LDCs in the deliberations of WTO is limited by understaffing. Therefore, few developed nations dominated the WTO's decision-making process.¹⁸⁴

The WTO suffers from governance credibility crisis. While the institution is hailed for its democratic governance and decision-making process which is supposed to be through consensus based on one member-one vote, the reality is far from these aspirations. The experiences within the institution show the institution is prone to false promises, sweet-talking of gullible members, arm twisting, selective deal making, and blackmail.¹⁸⁵ The mode of negotiation within the

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² A Study Respondent, 22nd July 2022. Nairobi, Kenya.

¹⁸³ FAO. "WTO Agreement on Agriculture: The implementation experience: developing country case studies." Accessed on July, 11 2022 from [http:// www.fao.org/3/contents/dacdea](http://www.fao.org/3/contents/dacdea)

¹⁸⁴ Ibid

¹⁸⁵ Mwangi, James. "Introduction to the WTO Agreement on Agriculture." *Gender in International Agricultural Trade Agreements: A Kenyan Synopsis* (2006): 25.

multilateral institution often involve closed doors, mini ministerial meetings, and Green Room sessions (exclusive night meetings) rather than inclusive and open sessions, non-compliant officials are reported to their superiors and even recalled.

Kenya among other poor developing nations and LDCs have a limited capacity to effectively examine the implications of WTO deliberations in advance owing to the tiny delegations at the disposal of the nation at the WTO.¹⁸⁶ EU and the US also provide inducements and apply illegitimate pressures on other nations to influence the decision-making process within the WTO.¹⁸⁷ Withholding of aid is used as a bargaining chip ensure nations unwilling to kowtow to comply. The emergence of a policy framework that discriminates against developing countries is signaled by these flaws in the WTO's decision-making procedure.

Kenya's membership to various negotiation groups within the WTO is reflective of the challenges the nation faces in bargaining for favorable policies in the aim of addressing some of the issues crucial to its domestic development agenda as well as regional and international cooperation. The "W52" sponsors, the nations listed in Paragraph 6, the G-33, the G-90, the African Group, and ACP are a few of these negotiation groups.¹⁸⁸ The proposed Peace Clause in the WTO dispute settlement system is not a long-term fix. The deliberations within the WTO framework are often met with impasses which affect the effectiveness of the institution in providing prompt solution to the issues affecting its members, including Kenya. For instance, G-33 nations' proposal to have existing de minimis limits lifted was met with impasse. A study by Nakuja found that the de

¹⁸⁶ Jawara, Fatoumata, and Aileen Kwa. *Behind the scenes at the WTO: the real world of international trade negotiations*. Zed Books, 2004.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ World Trade Organization. "Groups in the negotiations." *WTO*, 2021.
https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/negotiating_groups_e.htm#grp020

minimis limits of WTO had a restrictive effect on the policy space of G-33 countries which are highly vulnerable to food insecurity.¹⁸⁹

A study respondent stated that Kenya is barred from presenting new export subsidies and must comply with the WTO regulation requiring WTO members to reduce domestic support availed to the local farmers that are deemed trade distorting.¹⁹⁰ These requirements have reduced Kenya's ability to protect its key domestic industries that have been exposed to increased competition from foreign companies whose products are relatively cheap. Sharma et al. noted that the rules of the AoA, particularly the "Amber Box," place restrictions on the implementation of assistance measures that are in line with the socioeconomic realities that are common in developing countries.¹⁹¹

Kenya is no different to this condition as the country's poor farmers face unfair competition in the global market originating from the massive trade-distorting support availed to farmers from developed nations. The unfair competition de-incentivize local production of food while promoting overreliance of imported foods whose supply chains are beyond the control of the state thus increasing the vulnerability of the nation to prices volatilities and fluctuations of food quantities in the global market.¹⁹²

The compliance of Kenya to the agreement on TRIPS has had devastating impact on the local farmers in relation to access to seeds.¹⁹³ The sale and patenting of genetically modified seeds in Kenya implies that the farmers only have access to seeds that cannot be re-planted the following

¹⁸⁹ Nakuja, Tekuni, and Kerr, William (2018). Food security through public stockholdings and trade distortions. British Food Journal

¹⁹⁰ A Study Respondent, 20th July 2022. Nairobi.

¹⁹¹ Sharma, Sachin Kumar, Teesta Lahiri, Suvayan Neogi, and Raihan Akhter. *Revisiting domestic support negotiations at the WTO: Ensuring a level playing field*. Working Paper No. FCWS/WP/200/56, Centre for WTO Studies, Delhi, 2020.

¹⁹² Ibid

¹⁹³ Ibid

season forcing the farmers to buy new seeds every planting season. This has led to depletion of traditional seed bank of the country forcing the local farmers to buy genetically modified seeds that are relatively expensive. Hence, limited access to and transfer of seeds due to intellectual property rights.

4.3 Resource constraints in meeting WTO requirements of agricultural trade liberalization

The implementation of WTO trade liberalization policies in Kenya requires utilization of human resource and financial capability as well as technology to ensure conformity with the set standards. Kenya has a relatively low resource endowment in comparison with developed countries such as USA, and China. While Kenya is not prohibited from offering specific support to domestic farmers, provided such support do not distort food trade, the resources to offer such services are limited and the aid from developed countries for the achievement of such policies are also insufficient. The limited resource endowment, particularly financial capability has limited the nation from taking advantage of the ‘development box’ which allows Kenya to carry out rural and agricultural development to boost the domestic production of the country.¹⁹⁴

The sanitary and Phytosanitary measures set by other countries inhibit market accessibility of the Kenyan produce, especially when such set standards are not met. Kenya faces incompatibility of marketing and production techniques, financial and informational constraints as well as inadequacies in technical and scientific expertise to implement food safety measures that conform to the requirements set by other markets such as the EU.¹⁹⁵ For instance, before 1999, when List II approval was obtained, fish exports from Kenya were subject to food safety restrictions.¹⁹⁶ The

¹⁹⁴ Uexkull, Erik Von. “Identifying financial constraints under trade liberalization: Lessons from Kenya, Uganda and Ghana.” *DEU* 1, no. 42 (2006): 5-7

¹⁹⁵ Noor, Halima. “Sanitary and phytosanitary measures and their impact on Kenya.” (1998)

¹⁹⁶ Henson, Spencer, Ann-Marie Brouder, and Winnie Mitullah. “Food Safety Requirements and Food Exports from Developing Countries: The Case of Fish Exports from Kenya to the European Union.” *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 82, no. 5 (2000): 1159-1169

aim of attaining List I approval therefore forced Kenya to harmonize its hygiene requirements to conform to the standards set by the EU. The Kenya Bureau of Standards (KEBS) was required to oversee legislative and procedural changes for the approval of exports through the issuance of health certificates and establishment of a hygiene code of practices governing the handling, processing, and storage of agricultural produce, such as fish, intended for export. Resource constraints limited the ability of Kenya to meet these demands and requirements of EU which entailed the modernization of facilities and basic infrastructure. For instance, the approximated cost of modernizing the five beaches supplying fish for export in the Lake Victoria Management Project totaled to 5.8 million US Dollars.¹⁹⁷ The modernization of laboratory facility for microbial and chemical analysis was approximately cost at 1.1 million US Dollars.¹⁹⁸ These are capital intensive projects that the government of Kenya is ill prepared to venture in without technical and financial assistance from developed countries to secure the required improvements and set sanitary and phytosanitary measures.

Due to the rise in demand for exports and investment, financial limitations have a negative impact on export performance under the trade liberalization regime.¹⁹⁹ Production and marketing costs for goods and services geared toward export markets are higher than those for goods and services produced and marketed for domestic consumption. The fundamental idea behind trade liberalization revolves around increasing exports of a given nation.²⁰⁰ Hence, it is imperative that under trade liberalization, there is intensified demand for export related finance and investment.

¹⁹⁷ Lake Victoria Management Project. *Improvement of Fish Quality and Safety Through Improved Fish Handling Facilities at Landing Sites and Fish Quality Control Laboratory Services for Poverty Alleviation*. Nairobi: Lake Victoria Management Project, 1998

¹⁹⁸ Ministry of health. *Kenya's General Request: Fishery Product Exports and Progress Report on the Status of the Competent Authority and the Establishments*. Nairobi: Ministry of Health, 1998

¹⁹⁹ Uexkull, Erik Von. "Identifying financial constraints under trade liberalization: Lessons from Kenya, Uganda and Ghana." *DEU* 1, no. 42 (2006): 5-7

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*

The changes in relative prices of commodities associated with trade liberalization are also known to initiate the process of economic readjustments. However, financial constraints within a nation impede the expansion of the export sector since entrepreneurs find it difficult to finance investments that maximize the return from upcoming export opportunities.²⁰¹

Kenya is required to borrow money from international financial organizations like the World Bank and IMF in order to deal with the country's financial deficits as a result of these financial difficulties. For instance, the World Bank supported exporter support systems in the Export Development Project and helped Kenya (EDP).²⁰² Access to credit in Kenya is historically favorable to large scale farmers and exporters than farmers and produces engaged in the small-scale or subsistence agriculture.²⁰³ Medium and small firms are thus constrained by availability of funds to invest in the exportation of agricultural produce which requires large scale production. Agricultural production in Kenya is mainly small-scale which explains the general bias against small lenders. Local farmers therefore face the challenge of accessing credit to secure the purchases and costs associated with agricultural production such as financing preparation of land, pesticides, fertilizers, and seeds among other agricultural inputs.²⁰⁴ This negatively impacts the domestic production since only few small groups of farmers can meet the capital outlay required in the venture either through their own finances or external finances. Even though small-scale local farmers in Kenya produce same products to other farmers in the global markets, they are however inadequate in meeting the high standards of quality and price of the highly competitive global market.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid

²⁰³ Ibid

²⁰⁴ Nyoro, J., M. Wanzala, and T. Awuor. "Increasing Kenya's Agricultural Competitiveness: Farm Level Issues" (2001). Accessed from <https://www.aec.msu.edu/agecon/fs2/kenya/wp4.pdf>

Kenya's export portfolio mirrors financial sector biases as opposed to competition and comparative advantages arising from trade liberalization. This will likely result in suboptimal allocation of resources towards export-oriented activities hence efficiency loss and reduction in the nation's export earnings. The decline in export earnings expose Kenyans to increased food insecurity by limiting the purchasing power and access to food.

4.4 Chapter Summary

The difficulties to Kenya's food security posed by WTO trade liberalization policies were covered in this chapter. Domestic production, market accessibility of Kenya produces, national income from exports, imports surges and decision-making process and governance of WTO formed were extremely vital in the examination of the challenges Kenya is experiencing in meeting its food security agenda under the provisions of WTO. While the deliberations and aspirations of WTO are democratic and well-intended, the reality and experiences of developing nations like Kenya portray a divergent opinion with regards to food security agenda. The way decisions are made is incorrect, favoring rich nations who have the financial means to sway the course of other countries. As a result of exposing Kenya's domestic agricultural products to unfair global competition without considering the underlying issues the country already faced before the establishment of such policies, the implementation of WTO trade liberalization policies in Kenya has increased the nation's vulnerability to food insecurity.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INFLUENCE OF TRADE LIBERALIZATION ON FOOD SECURITY IN AFRICA AND KENYA: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

In nations with slow agricultural growth, commercial imports can increase food security. The removal of subsidies forces farmers to reduce their output, which might result in an increase in global food prices.²⁰⁵ The aims of the study are heavily emphasized in this section's analysis and presentation of the results. It involves the primary analysis after 157 respondents, who served as the study's target group, responded. Bar graphs, tables, and pie charts are used to understand and present the primary data after it has been processed using Microsoft Excel and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). To further explore the findings from the primary data, secondary data is then collected. The overall analysis in this part showed how trade liberalization affected food security in Africa and Kenya.

5.1 Demographic Characteristics

In this study, collecting demographic information is important in learning about the respondents or the target population. According to Carper et al., demographic characteristics are used to analyze respondents' data through their composition collection.²⁰⁶ In this study, demographic details like gender, age, greatest level of education, and employer are the main topics of discussion.

²⁰⁵ Siddiqui, K. (2019). Agriculture, WTO, Trade Liberalization, and Food Security Challenges in the Developing Countries. *World*.

²⁰⁶ Carpar, E., McCarthy, G., Adamis, D., Donmezler, G., Cesur, E., & Fistikci, N. (2018). Socio-demographic characteristics and factors associated with hospitalization in psychiatry of old age patients: an international comparison between Ireland and Turkey. *Aging clinical and experimental research*, 30(6), 651-660.

5.1.1 Gender

The gender of an individual is usually assigned at birth based on its external genitalia appearance. According to Morgenroth and Ryan, gender is binary and biologically based on either Male or Female.²⁰⁷ To ensure that the research is inclusive and free from gender bias, the gender of the respondents was a goal of this study. The gender is either Male or Female, as stated in the table below, based on the questionnaire that was given to 157 respondents.

Table 5.1: Gender of the Respondents

		What is your gender?			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative
Valid	Male	105	66	66.9	66.9
	Female	52	33	33.1	100.0
Total		157	100	100.0	

Source: Researcher (2022)

From the Table above, Male was 105 (66.9%), and Female was 52 (33.1%). This complied with Kenya's two-thirds gender rule. A third of all respondents were men, which was a higher proportion of respondents overall than women. Male thus played a significant role in determining how trade liberalization affected food security. As seen in the graphic below, the Table was displayed in a

²⁰⁷ Morgenroth, T., & Ryan, M. K. (2021). The effects of gender trouble: An integrative theoretical framework of the perpetuation and disruption of the gender/sex binary. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 16(6), 1113-1142.

pie chart in terms of percentage;

Percentage of the Respondents Gender

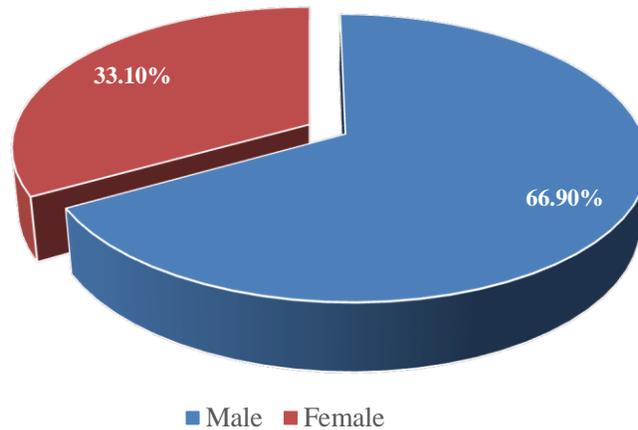


Figure 5.1: Percentage of the Respondents' Gender

Source: Researcher (2022)

5.1.2 Age

Age is important in the study as it determines the level of interaction between the interviewer and the respondents. It is a key demographic factor that collects respondents' individual experiences in determining how trade liberalization affects food security. According to the categories in Table 5.2 below, the respondents' ages range from 20 to 30, 31 to 40, 41 to 50, 51 to 60, and 61 to 70;

Table 5.2 Age of the Respondents

		How old are you?			
		Frequenc	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	21-30	19	12	12.1	12.1
	31-40	47	29	29.9	42.0
	41-50	52	33	33.1	75.2
	51-60	32	20	20.4	95.5
	61-70	7	4.5	4.5	100.0
Total		157	100	100	

Source: Researcher (2022)

In the study, the respondents were of different ages, implying their different responses in assessing the influence of liberalization on food security. Categorically, respondents between 20-30=19; 31-40=47; 41-50=52; 51-60=32, and 61-70=7. In this case, most of the respondents were between the ages of 41-50, while the least were between 61-70 years. Based on the percentages of their distribution, the Table is presented as a bar graph shown below;

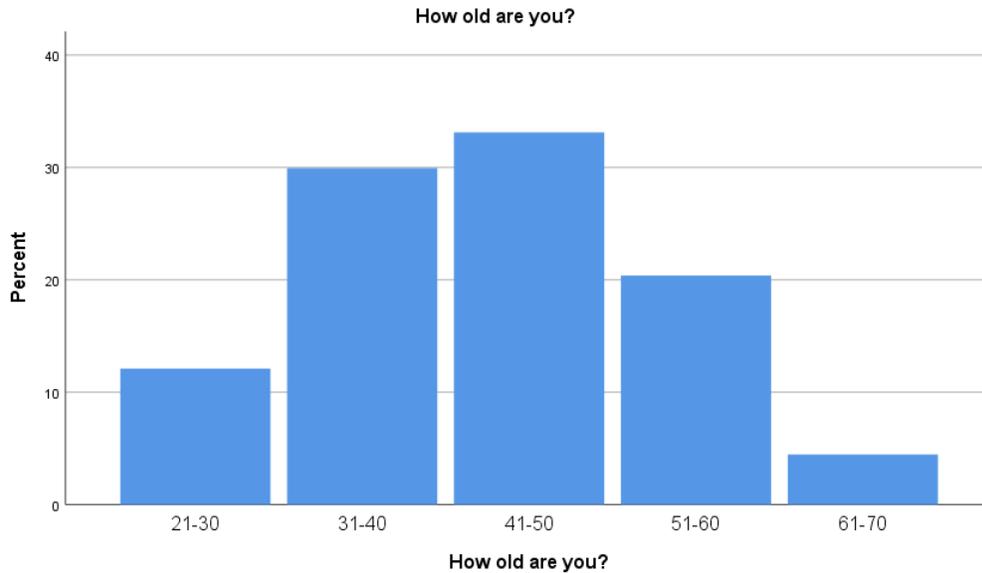


Figure 5. 2 Percentage Distribution of Age of the Respondents

5.1.3 Highest Level of Education

This section seeks to ascertain the respondents' greatest degree of education. This displays the level of education that people in various companies have obtained. Education is a crucial demographic in this study that raises the socioeconomic standing and general awareness of the target people. Primary, secondary, college, the college not attended, undergraduate, or postgraduate education can all be considered the greatest levels of education. However, as seen in the table below, elementary, secondary, college, and undergraduate responses made up the majority of survey

participants;

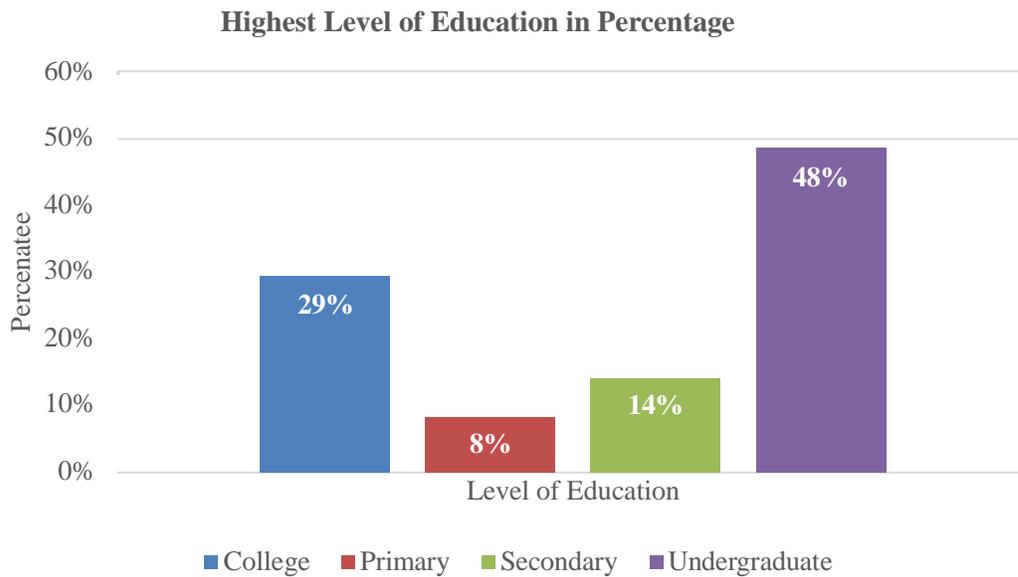


Figure 5.3: Highest Level of Education in Percentage

Source: Researcher (2022)

5.1.4 Organization

The respondents' organization is important in the study since the level of expertise in assessing the influence of liberalization on food security varies from organization to organization. In this study, the target population involved individuals from USAID, the Ministry of Agriculture, Academia, and WTO, as shown in the table below.

Table 5.3 Organization of the Target Population

		Organization		Valid	Cumulative
		Frequency	Percen		
Valid	Academia	82	52	52.2	52.2
	Ministry of	25	15	15.9	68.2
	USAID	20	12	12.7	80.9
	WTO	30	19	19.1	100.0
	Total	1	100	100	

Source: Researcher (2022)

Out of 157 responders, 82 (52.2%) identified academia as their organization, followed by 25 (15.9%) who represented the ministry of agriculture, 20 (12.7%) who represented USAID, and 30 (19.1%) who represented the World Trade Organization. This suggests that most of the responders were academics who had access to greater information about how liberalization affected food security. The following column bar displays the organization's percentage distribution of the target population.

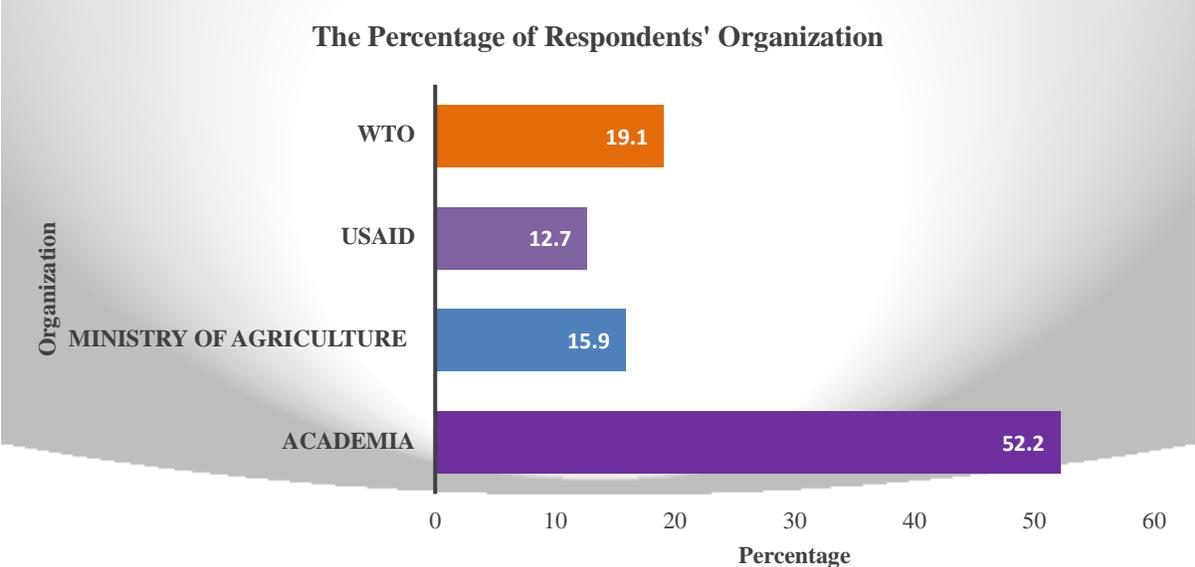


Figure 5.4: The Percentage of Respondents' Organization

Source: Researcher (2022)

5.2 The Impacts of WTO Trade Liberalization Policies on Food Security of Africa

The fundamentals of trade liberalization and permitted modifications are outlined in the WTO Agreements. These agreements contain a country's commitment to create and maintain an open services market, as well as a country's obligation to reduce tariffs and other trade obstacles.²⁰⁸ Findings from the study focused on the impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on food

²⁰⁸ Abrego, M. L., Amado, M. A., Gursoy, T., Nicholls, G. P., & Perez-Saiz, H. (2019). *The African Continental Free Trade Agreement: welfare gains estimate from a general equilibrium model*. International Monetary Fund.

security in Africa. The target population's reaction suggested that WTO trade liberalization policies had both favorable and unfavorable effects on food security. These impacts include and are not limited to increased competition from relatively cheap food imports; increased trade that enhances food availability; low purchasing in most African farmers; seasonal fluctuations akin to domestic agricultural production; improved utilization of food; and WTO liberalization policies have enhanced food access. The impacts are presented in Table.

Table 5.4: The Impacts of WTO Trade Liberalization Policies on Food Security of Africa

What is the impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on food security in Africa?		Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulative
Valid	Increased competition from relatively cheap food	50	31.8	31.8	31.8
	It has increased trade and enhanced the availability of	5	3.2	3.2	35.0
	Low purchasing in most African farmers.	41	26.1	26.1	61.1
	Seasonal fluctuations akin to domestic agricultural production	55	35.0	35.0	96.2
	Trade has the potential to improve the utilization of food	2	1.3	1.3	97.5
	WTO trade liberalization policies enhance food	4	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	100	100	100	

Source: Researcher (2022)

The impacts of WTO liberalization policies on food security were distributed among the respondents. In the study, increased competition from relatively cheap food imports was presented as an impact by 31.8% of the respondents. These respondents pointed out that businesses will have to contend with increased competition worldwide if trade becomes more open. In addition, they agreed with Crivelli and Gröschl that an economy might be compelled to move resources to other

sectors where it can preserve a competitive advantage while increasing efficiency and reducing costs.²⁰⁹ Another impact mentioned by the respondents is increased trade, which enhances food availability. 3.2% of the respondents pointed out that removing or reducing trade obstacles between countries is an important part of WTO trade liberalization policies in Africa's food security. They agreed with Van den Bossche that importing countries benefit from lower product prices when trade barriers fall.²¹⁰ In addition, these respondents clearly stated that WTO trade liberalization policies have the potential to help larger economies in terms of food security.

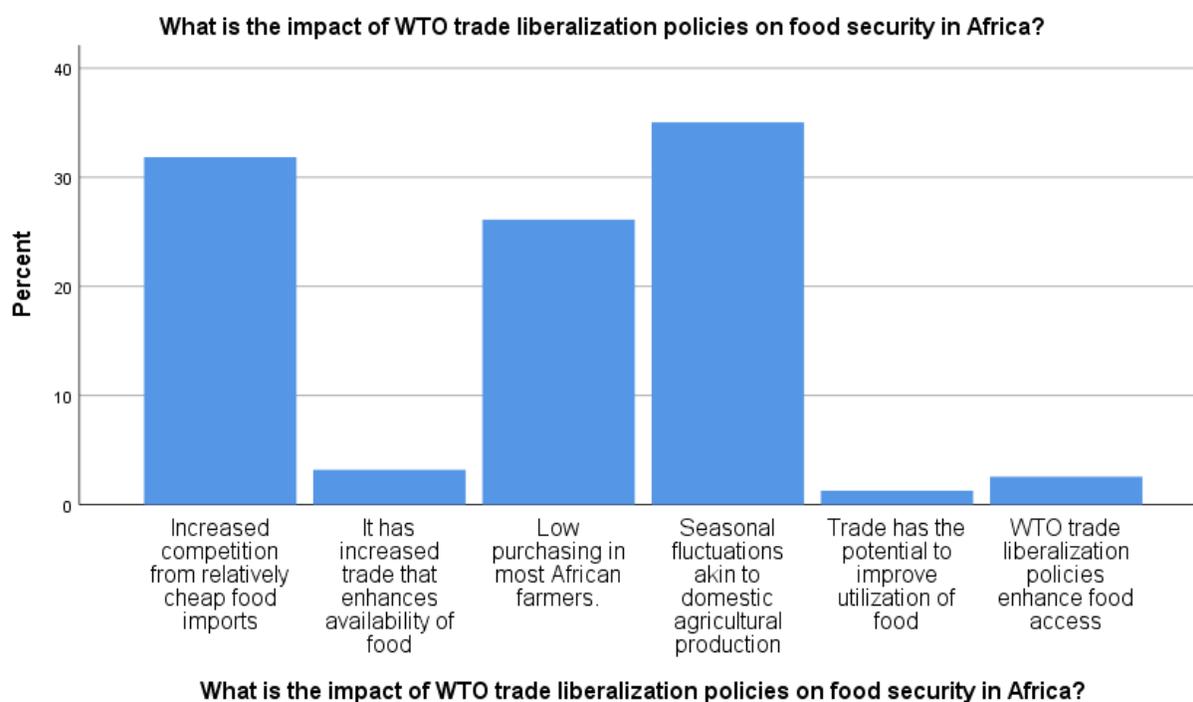


Figure 5.5: Impacts of WTO trade liberalization policies on food security in Africa

Source: Researcher (2022)

²⁰⁹ Crivelli, P., & Gröschl, J. (2016). The impact of sanitary and phytosanitary measures on market entry and trade flows. *The World Economy*, 39(3), 444-473.

²¹⁰ Van den Bossche, P. (2008). *The law and policy of the World Trade Organization: text, cases, and materials*. Cambridge University Press.

The impact of low purchasing on most African farmers was pointed out by 26.1% of the respondents. According to these respondents, most of the local African farmers have low purchasing power caused by declining incomes arising from adverse terms of trade.²¹¹ The WTO trade liberalization policies led to seasonal fluctuations akin to domestic agricultural production. According to 35.0% of the respondents, the increased productivity of agricultural resources was another benefit of WTO trade liberalization policies. They added that a better distribution of resources and the most recent technology among various locations is now being done to improve agricultural production, leading to food security. The proportion of farmers in global trade has decreased, they continued, putting the poorest nations in Africa at risk of greater marginalization.

Only a small percentage of respondents mentioned how WTO trade liberalization policies enhance food use. Siddiqui said that WTO trade liberalization shields national food markets from domestic shocks by enabling more food to be imported and exported during times of abundance. 1.3% of respondents agreed with him.²¹² They added that these policies restrict food imports and discourage exports from protecting domestic markets from foreign shock. Finally, WTO trade liberalization policies enhance the accessibility of food in Africa. 2.5% of the respondents agreed that the ability of everyone to have enough nutritious food to maintain an active lifestyle is the concept of food security. They added that the access dimension of food security is ensured when people can obtain enough healthy foods without any physical, economic, or social constraints.²¹³ These respondents feel that stability is achieved when food supplies, as well as people's access to and consumption of, remain constant and sustained across time.

²¹¹ Schmidhuber, J. (2020). Covid-19: From a global health crisis to a global food crisis. *FAO Food Outlook*, 9, 63-71.

²¹² Siddiqui, K. (2019). Agriculture, WTO, Trade Liberalization, and Food Security Challenges in the Developing Countries. *World*.

²¹³ Van den Bossche, P. (2008). *The law and policy of the World Trade Organization: text, cases, and materials*. Cambridge University Press.

5.3 The Effect of Trade Liberalization on the Food Security of Kenya

One of the effects of trade liberalization is that weaker countries and economies like Kenya are compelled to compete in the same market as more powerful ones. This impact can devastate existing companies in Kenya or new businesses that are just beginning. This study looked at how trade liberalization affected Kenya's food security. Based on the target population's response, it became clear that the effects were based on policies such domestic support reduction, Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS), public stockholding, AoA tariff reduction policies, and removal of non-tariff barriers. Table 5.5 following provides the distribution of the target population for these measures.

Table 5.5: The Effect of Trade Liberalization on the Food Security of Kenya

What are the effects of trade liberalization on the food security of Kenya?					
		Frequency	Perce	Valid	Cumulative
Valid	AoA measures tariff reduction and elimination of non-tariff barriers	3	1 9	1.9	1.9
	Domestic support reduction measures	85	54 .1	54.1	56.1
	Public stockholding	10	6	6.4	62.4
	Sanitary and Phytosanitary	59	37 .6	37.6	100.0
	Total	1	100	100	

Source: Researcher (2022)

According to data from Table 5.5 above, 1.9% of respondents cited AoA measures of tariff reduction and elimination of non-tariff obstacles in describing how trade liberalization affected Kenya's food security. They agreed with Van den Bossche that WTO trade liberalization policy requires Kenya to convert all non-tariff obstacles to tariffs, which are then capped and subject to

decrease.²¹⁴ In addition to getting loans from the World Bank and IMF, Kenya must agree to a considerable reduction in import tariffs as a condition of implementing trade liberalization policies such as the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP). They added that food importers now have easier access to the Kenyan market due to lower tariffs, which means more food for Kenyans. According to these respondents, food imports have increased competition for local farmers. As a result, increasing the country's reliance on imported food and creating a situation of food insecurity reduces the incentive to grow food production domestically.

These respondents added that the WTO's mandate to reduce tariffs hindered Kenya's efforts to preserve its key local agriculture industry from rising competition from international enterprises.²¹⁵ Although Kenya has no unilateral right to raise tariffs to safeguard its domestic market from the inefficiencies in the global food market, the decline in prices and surges in import volume is likely to overflow. The percentage distribution of the effects presented by the target population is given in Figure 5.6 below.

²¹⁴ Van den Bossche, P. (2008). *The law and policy of the World Trade Organization: text, cases, and materials*. Cambridge University Press.

²¹⁵ Schmidhuber, J. (2020). Covid-19: From a global health crisis to a global food crisis. *FAO Food Outlook*, 9, 63-71.

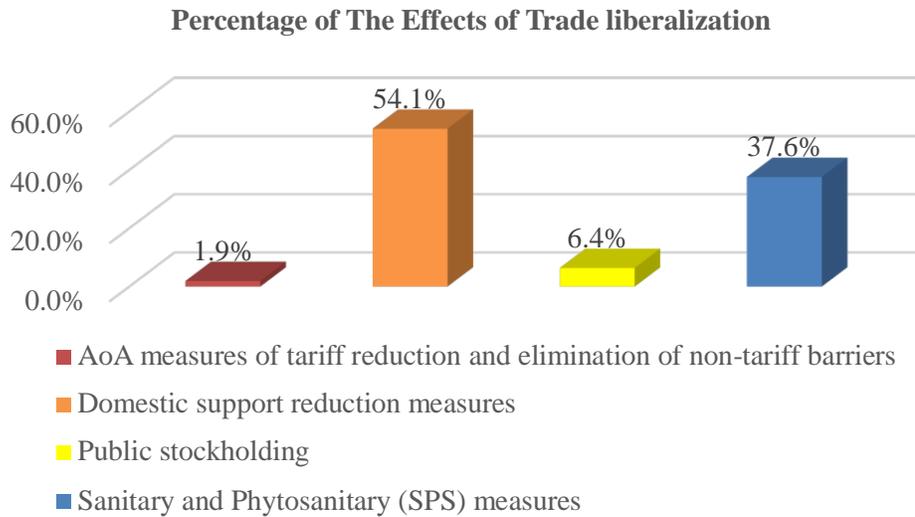


Figure 5.6: Percentage of The Effects of Trade liberalization

Source: Researcher (2022)

Regarding domestic support reduction measures, 54.1% of the respondents pointed out that export subsidies cannot be increased, and domestic support must be reduced because Kenya is a WTO member. They agreed with Siddiqui that the WTO Agriculture Agreement finally ended the longstanding inequity of export subsidies between developed and developing countries.²¹⁶ In contrast to developed countries, Kenya is prohibited from creating new export subsidies, resulting in an unfair advantage for wealthy countries. The respondents mentioned that crops like horticulture, tea, and coffee are the primary sources of income and employment for many small and large Kenyans. In addition, they added that these three crops generate over 60% of foreign revenues, 34% of agricultural sector GDP, and 40% of agricultural labor force job possibilities. They agreed that Kenya's food security is threatened when exports fall short. As a net food importer, the country becomes more food insecure. Kenya's overdependence on global trade to

²¹⁶ Siddiqui, K. (2019). Agriculture, WTO, Trade Liberalization, and Food Security Challenges in the Developing Countries. *World*.

preserve food security has reduced the country's ability to deal with external shocks like harvest failures and overproduction in other nations.

The consequences of trade liberalization on Kenya's food security, according to 6.4% of the respondents, were facilitated by public stockholding policies. They emphasized that to alleviate food shortages, the Kenyan government is allowed to start public food hoarding initiatives. Article 1 of the AoA permits public stockholding for food security. However, the respondents concurred with Schmidhuber that for such initiatives to pass World Trade Organization (WTO) scrutiny, they cannot discriminate against agricultural products.²¹⁷ They continued by pointing out that the National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB) is in charge of managing Kenya's strategic food reserve, which attempts to safeguard local farmers from the detrimental financial impacts of overstock while assuring food availability to counteract food shortages.

Finally, sanitary, and Phytosanitary (SPS) measures were pointed out by 37.6% of the respondents who stated that strict food security standards are ensured by the employment of sanitary and plant protection measures. They agreed with Neumann, and WTO provided Hall that controls and inspection processes to ensure that food goods could be moved freely around the world without being impeded.²¹⁸ According to the respondents, export opportunities for Kenyan agri-food products are curtailed when international health and safety standards are not satisfied. They added that Kenya could not collect the export revenues necessary to meet its food needs. Finally, these respondents agreed with Abrego et al. that small-scale farmers and agro-processors in Kenya are

²¹⁷ Schmidhuber, J. (2020). Covid-19: From a global health crisis to a global food crisis. *FAO Food Outlook*, 9, 63-71.

²¹⁸ Neumann, E. J., & Hall, W. F. (2019). Disease control, prevention, and elimination. *Diseases of swine*, 123-157.

worst-hit since they cannot meet global standards and fulfill necessary needs like proper handling and processing methods.²¹⁹

5.4 The Challenges Presented to Kenya by the WTO Policies on Food Security

The WTO Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) recognizes the need of taking food security into account, both in terms of past commitments that are monitored by the Committee on Agriculture and ongoing discussions.²²⁰ The study sought the challenges of WTO food security policies in Kenya. According to the respondents, these challenges include a decline in the income and surges in imported food, restriction of policy space in implementing food security plans, and resource constraints in meeting WTO requirements in agriculture, as shown in Table 5.6 below;

Table 5.6 Challenges of WTO Policies in Kenya's Food Security

What challenges are presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on food security?						
		Frequency	Percen	Valid	Cumulative	
Valid	Declining incomes and surges in imports of food	52	33 .1	33.1	33.1	
	Restriction of policy space in the implementation of the food security agenda	64	40 .8	40.8	73.9	
	Resource constraints in meeting WTO requirements of agricultural trade	41	26 .1	26.1	100.0	
	Total	1	100	100		

Source: Researcher (2022)

According to the table above, 33.1% of respondents cited a drop in incomes and a rise in food imports as obstacles to WTO regulations pertaining to Kenya's food security. Most people in

²¹⁹ Abrego, M. L., Amado, M. A., Gursoy, T., Nicholls, G. P., & Perez-Saiz, H. (2019). *The African Continental Free Trade Agreement: welfare gains estimate from a general equilibrium model*. International Monetary Fund.

²²⁰ Ibid.

developing countries belong to farming families. They pointed out that with just a few acres of land to work with, most farmers in Kenya are small-scale. These respondents agreed with Neumann and Hall that farmers are being forced out of business in Kenya by low-cost imports.²²¹ They added that commercial and dumping imports of this type are common; surplus food is sold below the cost of production to get rid of it, which is usually cheaper than commercial imports but more harmful. Figure 5.7 below shows a bar graph that can be used to illustrate this;

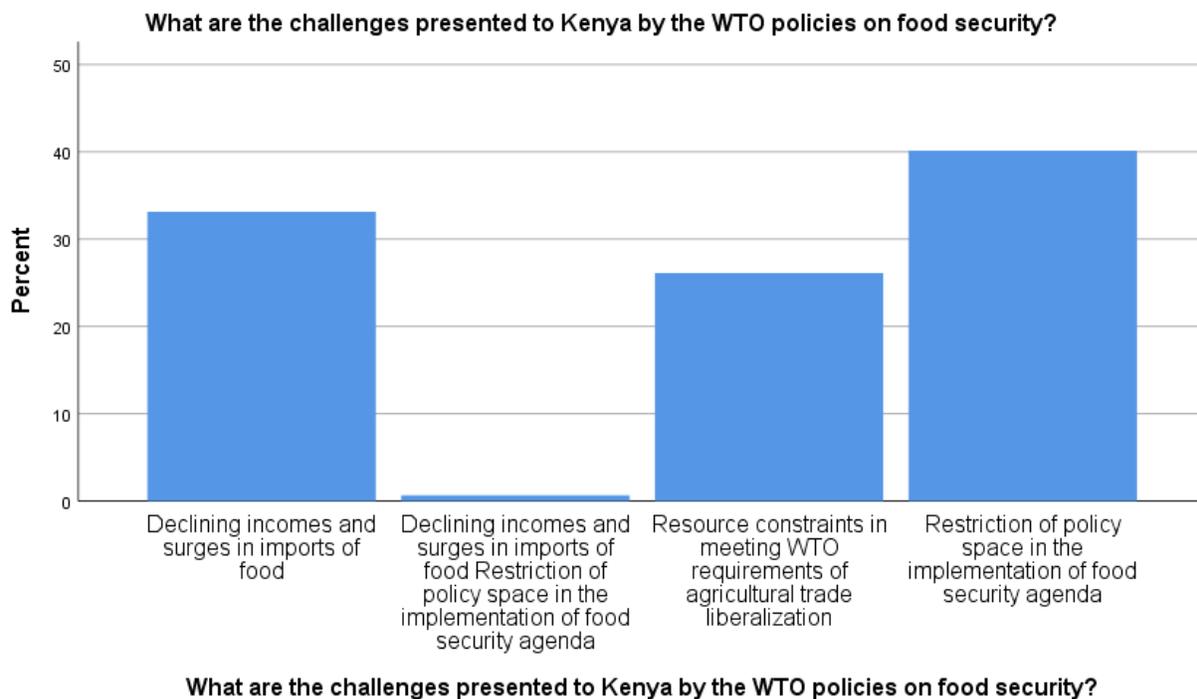


Figure 5.7: Challenges of WTO Policies in Kenya's Food Security

Source: Researcher (2022)

Another challenge mentioned by the respondents is the restriction of policy space in implementing the food security agenda. This was adopted by 40.8% of the respondents, who pointed out that export limits and restrictions of policy space are not specifically addressed in the WTO Food

²²¹ Neumann, E. J., & Hall, W. F. (2019). Disease control, prevention, and elimination. *Diseases of swine*, 123-157.

Security Declaration. These respondents agreed with Dahiya that policies, including sanitary and phytosanitary measures and market access, are addressed in these rules, as are export prohibitions, export subsidies, and state stockholding under the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA).²²² Furthermore, 26.1% of the respondents mentioned resource constraints in meeting WTO requirements of agricultural trade liberalization as the challenge of WTO liberalization policies in Kenya. They agreed with Dada et al. that WTO trade liberalization policies in Kenya must be implemented using human and financial resources, along with technology, to ensure that they meet the established requirements.²²³ They added that compared to industrialized countries like the United States and China, Kenya has a relatively modest resource endowment. According to these respondents, financial constraints have prevented Kenya from utilizing the "development box," which permits the country to improve rural and agricultural areas to increase domestic production and exports.²²⁴

5.5 Chapter Summary

Data from the 157 respondents, who served as the study's target population, were analyzed in the current chapter. It looked at demographic factors such gender, age, greatest level of education attained, and organization. The study also examined how WTO trade liberalization policies affected food security in Africa, how trade liberalization affected food security in Kenya, and what problems WTO trade liberalization provided to Kenya. The frequency distribution tables of the

²²² Dahiya, P. (2019). The World Trade Organization's Agreement on Agriculture. *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, 23(3), 44-57.

²²³ Dada, J. T., Adeiza, A., Noor, A. I., & Marina, A. (2022). Investigating the link between economic growth, financial development, urbanization, natural resources, human capital, trade openness, and ecological footprint: evidence from Nigeria. *Journal of Bioeconomics*, 1-27.

²²⁴ Sharma, S. K., Lahiri, T., Neogi, S., & Akhter, R. (2022). Revisiting domestic support to agriculture at the WTO: Ensuring a level playing field. *The Journal of International Trade & Economic Development*, 31(3), 358-374.

demographic characteristics were presented, and the outputs were presented in pie charts, bar graphs, and column bars using Microsoft Excel and SPSS.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The study sought to determine the impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on food security in Africa, the impact of trade liberalization on Kenya's food security, and the challenges the WTO's food security policies present to Kenya. Its main focus was on a case study of Kenya that examined the relationship between the WTO's trade liberalization policy and food security in Africa. The three main objectives that served as the study's guiding principles are summarized in this chapter along with the conclusion and accompanying suggestions.

6.1 Summary of the Findings

Key findings from each of the study's objectives are covered in this section.

6.1.1 The impact of WTO trade liberalization policies on food security of Africa

According to the study, the situation with regard to food security in Africa paints a gloomy picture of the continent's future and is not conducive to attaining the SDGs' goals of eradicating all kinds of malnutrition and ending hunger. In 2020, approximately 281.6 million Africans, 20 percent of Africa's total population, faced hunger, which was more than the 2019 figure by 46.3 million. 2014 marked the onset of this declining trend after great long-standing improvements in the food security of the continent. Other than hunger, many Africans are victims of pervasive micronutrient deficiencies, while obesity and overweight already pose substantial public health concerns in various African nations. There is little progress made thus far towards achievement of the worldwide nutrition targets by 2030. It is extremely difficult to raise the food self-sufficiency of many LDCs as a result of trade liberalization under WTO regulations, which includes the removal

of domestic support and export subsidies and greater competition from relatively affordable food imports. Global spikes in prices, for instance in 2011/2012 and 2007/2008, highlights the market instability associated with trade liberalization as net exporting nations in eastern and southern Africa declared restrictions of exports. Trade liberalization in Africa has enhanced interconnectedness to the outside world and free movement of food in and out of the continent. While all nations sometimes rely on food imports, it is not automatic that their food security is improved by trade especially for the rural populations among the developing and LDCs. Moreover, agricultural produce from developed countries have gained more market access to the continent than the access African produce have gained thus far in the global market. Because local industry is hampered by the disparity in market access, African nations have unfavorable trade conditions and low foreign exchange gains.

6.1.2 The effect of trade liberalization on the food security of Kenya

According to the analysis, Kenya cannot add new export subsidies and its domestic support may be reduced because it is a WTO member. With regard to the use of export subsidies, the WTO Agreement on Agriculture put an end to the historical disparity between developed and developing countries. While developed nations were allowed to use existing export subsidies subject to reduction commitment, developing nations were barred from introducing new forms of export subsidies thus resulting in unfair competitive advantage in favor of developed nations. The WTO's trade liberalization rules force local farmers and producers to pay more for farm supplies that were previously subsidized in order to eliminate domestic assistance, such as export subsidies. This has the potential to de-incentivize the local producers especially in the face of intensified competition from relatively cheap imports of agricultural produce. Export subsidies in developed nations have the potential of depressing global commodity prices and enhancing disposal of surplus food

products by outcompeting locally produced foods. Developed nations, unlike developing countries such as Kenya, are not prohibited from using export subsidies for direct payments to enhance farmer's incomes and farmer insurance schemes, infrastructure, fertilizer, investment, and marketing costs of exports such as freight, transport, processing, and handling. This has created unfair competition to the detriment of local production of food. Decline in Kenya's local production implies the country is not self-sufficient in meeting the food requirements of its citizens.

Kenya is facing acute food insecurity with several millions of people in the brink of starvation, a situation which has been intensified by multi-season drought, large-scale invasion of desert locust, COVID-19 pandemic and conflicts arising from competition for limited water and pasture among the pastoralists. The inclusion of food and nutrition security in the government's "big four" strategy, steady economic growth over the past ten years, and devolution provide tremendous promise for the achievement of improved nutrition and zero hunger in Kenya. However, the status of lower-middle-income nation signifying increased wealth is not of benefit to all Kenyans. Approximately 35.6 percent of Kenyans are still living below the global poverty line while gender, economic and social disparities remain unaddressed.

Access to food of adequate nutrition and quantities continue to be a challenge to many Kenyans, particularly in semi-arid and arid areas which accounts to approximately 80 percent of total land area of the country. The majority of Kenyans, especially those who reside in rural areas, still rely primarily on agriculture for their living, making them extremely sensitive to climatic shocks like persistent droughts and erratic rains. Kenya is therefore faced with a situation in which; there is a 2.9 percent annual population growth rate exerting pressure on the existing 27.63 million hectares of agricultural land; inefficient food systems which is unable to secure efficient production and

supply of food resulting in high food prices limiting access to and availability of food; and declining agricultural production to feed its 48.5 million citizens.

6.1.3 Challenges presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on food security

The study found that Kenya's actions to combat the threat of food insecurity are constrained by the WTO's rules regarding the liberalization of the food trade, which the country must abide by as a member of the organization that controls international commerce. These rules encompass the AoA-mandated public stockholding as well as policy issues like sanitary and phytosanitary measures, market access, export prohibitions and limitations, supply of export subsidies and domestic assistance, and export prohibitions and restrictions. The WTO is made up of various countries within unequal capacity in the decision-making process a condition worsened by limited transparency in the key operations of WTO. The effective participation of Kenya and other developing as well as LDCs in the deliberations of WTO is limited by understaffing. Therefore, few developed nations dominated the WTO's decision-making process. The WTO suffers from governance credibility crisis. While the institution is hailed for its democratic governance and decision-making process which is supposed to be through consensus based on one member-one vote, the reality is far from these aspirations. The experiences within the institution show the institution is prone to false promises, sweet-talking of gullible members, arm twisting, selective deal making, and blackmail. The mode of negotiation within the multilateral institution often involve closed doors, mini ministerial meetings, and Green Room sessions (exclusive night meetings) rather than inclusive and open sessions, non-compliant officials are reported to their superiors and even recalled.

6.2 Conclusion

In a nutshell, the implementation of WTO trade liberalization policies in Africa further exposes the continent to more challenges in the quest to have a long-lasting solution to its food security menace. While there are positive impacts on some component of food security such as availability, other components such as stability and accessibility are negatively impacted given the volatilities in global prices, and fluctuations in global food stocks, which are amplified by the skewed historical favoritism of the developed nations. Kenya's adherence to WTO rules has generally constrained the domestic policy space and the scope of state intervention on food security matter as the nation tries to conform to AoA stipulations. It was discovered that the country's food security situation had gotten worse as a result of the implementation of WTO policies for food trade liberalization, primarily because of an excessive reliance on food imports vulnerable to external shocks and declining domestic production that had an adverse impact on the incomes and purchasing power of the rural poor. While the deliberations and aspirations of WTO are democratic and well-intended, the reality and experiences of developing nations like Kenya portray a divergent opinion with regards to food security agenda. The way decisions are made is incorrect, favoring rich nations who have the financial means to sway the course of other countries. As a result of exposing Kenya's domestic agricultural products to unfair global competition without taking into account the underlying issues the country already faced before the establishment of such policies, the implementation of WTO trade liberalization policies in Kenya has increased the nation's vulnerability to food insecurity.

6.3 Recommendations

The study recommends that the WTO's policies need to be improved in order to effectively address the current threat of food insecurity in Africa. This is due to the fact that the implementation of WTO trade liberalization policies in Africa exposes the continent to new difficulties in its quest for a long-term solution to its food security threat. While there are positive impacts on some component of food security such as availability, other components such as stability and accessibility are negatively impacted. The study recommends that Kenya and Africa as a whole develop food security policies that address the continent's growing food insecurity, which is largely due to the country's reliance on food imports that are vulnerable to external shocks and declining domestic production that had an impact on rural poor people's incomes and purchasing power.

6.4 Areas for Further Research

According to the study, WTO liberalization policy and food insecurity are closely related. As a result a study should be conducted to examine the link between food insecurity in Africa and WTO trade liberalization policies in agricultural sector.

A research should be conducted to establish possible solutions or measures to mitigate food insecurity in Africa as a result of trade liberalization in Africa.

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APPENDICES Appendix

I: Questionnaire

University of Nairobi

Department of Diplomacy and International Studies

Dear Respondents,

RE: DATA COLLECTION.

I'm a master's student in the school of diplomacy and international affairs at the University of Nairobi. I'm currently engaged in a research project to meet the requirements for a master's degree in international studies. I'm working on a project called " EXAMINING THE IMPACTS OF TRADE LIBERALISATION POLICY OF THE WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION (WTO) AND FOOD SECURITY IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA." Although you were chosen to participate in this study, doing so is entirely up to you. Please be as honest as possible when answering the questionnaire.

I sincerely appreciate your cooperation.

Asmahan Mohamed Pogal.

PART A: PERSONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your gender?

Female Male

2. How old are you?

.....

3. What is your highest level of education?

Undergraduate College College Not Completed Secondary School

Primary School Never Attended.

4. Organization

Ministry of Agriculture WTO Academia USAID

PART B AFRICAN CONTEXT

5. Which WTO policies affect food security in Africa?

6. How do WTO trade liberalization policies affect the food security in Africa?

7. What impact does trade liberalization have on African food security?

8. What connection exists between the WTO's trade policy on agricultural liberalization and food security in Africa?

9. What is the impact of food dumping in Africa on local farmers and its resultant effect on food security in Africa?

10. What steps have African nations done to combat the damaging effects of trade liberalization?

PART C KENYAN CONTEXT

11. How has trade liberalization affected Kenya's food security?

12. What are the challenges presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on food security?

13. How has WTO liberalization policy influenced food security in Kenya?

14. What challenges presented to Kenya by the WTO policies on food security?

15. What measures has Kenya taken to address the challenges of food insecurity imposed by WTO liberalization policies?



Appendix II: Research Permit


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

Ref No: **573294** Date of Issue: **28/July/2022**

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Miss. Asmahan Pogal of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: WTO'S TRADE LIBERALISATION POLICY AND FOOD SECURITY IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA for the period ending ; 28/July/2023.

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