# Food Consumption, Urbanisation and Rural Transformations

## Regional Workshop Report

Nairobi, 12-14 October 2015

Final draft, 15 December 2015

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# 1. Introduction

Most food is produced in rural areas, and consumed by the growing proportion of the world's population living in urban centres. Current debates on food security tend to emphasise the need to increase production through improved productivity and the integration of small-scale farmers in large supply chains. But these may not necessarily connect urban settlements with rural surrounding regions, and instead rely on industrial-scale farming, global food chains and processed foods to feed urban and, increasingly, rural consumers.

A focus on food consumption, rather than solely on production, provides an entry point to examine and document the challenges faced by low-income groups in both rural and urban areas in securing access to adequate food. Hunger and food insecurity are important indicators of poverty, and while it is often assumed that rural residents are able to rely on subsistence production and so less likely to go hungry than urban low-income groups, the growing proportion of rural net food buyers suggests that this is less and less the case. And while food is generally more available in urban centres, it is not necessarily affordable for large proportions of the urban poor.

A focus on urbanization is not limited to cities, but includes the dynamic processes that currently take place in the region – which include the emergence of small towns and intermediary urban centres, as well as profound changes in the livelihoods of rural residents. Such rural transformation often involves changes in the types and locations of income-generating activities, yet there is a need to better understand its nature, and its impacts on food security for low-income rural groups.

Recognising the multiple and complex interconnections between rural and urban spaces, people and enterprises can contribute to a more accurate narrative of food security for low-income consumers, and better targeted policies for urban and rural development. This requires attention to production, especially small-scale; to distribution, especially small and medium-sized traders, often based in small towns, and street vendors and other 'informal' actors; and to access to water and exposure to environmental hazards, especially on how they affect access to food, nutrition and health in low-income settlements.

IIED launched in 2014 a change initiative, ***Food transitions: sustainable consumption policies across the rural-urban divide*** aimed at shaping this new narrative, challenging the current understanding of food security and contributing to developing alternative policy options inclusive of the needs and difficulties faced by rural and urban poor. Under this programme of work, a first workshop was held in London in December 2014 in partnership with IFAD and DFID to establish the analytical framework of this analysis.

In the context of its broader interest in leveraging the rural-urban nexus for development, IFAD has financed a joint programme with IIED since 2014 on **'*Rural-urban transformations and food systems: Re-framing food security narratives and identifying policy options that foster sustainable transitions'*.** This analytical, consultative and policy work, undertaken by IIED under the auspices of IFAD, fits in the post-2015 development debate, and strategically contributes to reaching the Sustainable Development Goals by focusing on reducing rural-urban inequalities, investing in the rural space and employment, promoting better rural-urban connectivity, and taking advantage of urbanization to spur rural transformation.

To build upon these considerations, three regional workshops have been conducted in West Africa (Dakar, May 2015), Southeast Asia (Hanoi, October 2015) and East Africa (Nairobi, October 2015). The aim of these workshops is to reflect on four core questions:

- What's happening to food **consumption** of the urban and rural poor?

- What are the **links** between urbanisation and rural transformation?

- What can we learn from **innovative experiences** and what does this mean for our **narratives** of food security, urbanisation and rural development?

- What does a **new policy and research agenda** look like for inclusive rural and urban economic transition, food security?

This report summarises the evidence and discussion around these four questions that emerged from the East Africa regional workshop, held in Nairobi on the 12th-14th October 2015.

The workshop was jointly organised by IIED, ILRI (under the UK Research Council funded 'Epidemiology, Ecology and Socio-Economics of Disease Emergence in Nairobi' project (G1100783/1) and the CGIAR Research Program on Agriculture for Nutrition and Health) and Muungano wa Wanavijiji, the Kenyan Federation of the Urban Poor, and the majority of evidence is from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, reflecting the growing interest in these issues in the three countries. For the workshop programme and participants list see Annexes 1 and 2.

## 2. Urbanisation and food insecurity in the region

While in all three countries and in the East African region the majority of the population is still rural and engages in agriculture, this is changing rapidly. In Kenya, the current population of 45 million people is projected to nearly triple by 2100. Currently over 11 million Kenyans, or 25 percent of the total population, live in urban centres; by 2050, it is estimated that this will increase to over 42 million, or 44 percent of the total. With decentralisation, small and regional towns in the 47 counties are growing rapidly, and there are currently 35 designated urban growth poles. In Uganda, the current proportion of the population living in urban centres is lower, at 16 percent, and projected to increase to 32 percent by 2050. This means an increase from around 6 million to over 33 million people, while in the United Republic of Tanzania the current 31 percent of urban residents is expected to increase to 53 percent by 2050, or from over 15 million to over 68 million people[1]. It follows that the region will face huge challenges in providing adequate and affordable housing, infrastructure and services to its urban residents, and, perhaps most importantly, adequate income-generating opportunities to young people in both urban and rural areas. Such substantial demographic transformations will also have important implications for food security and rural transformations.

Urbanisation creates demand for food, resulting in agricultural intensification, genetic improvement and profound changes in rural landscapes. Such changes are necessary to feed a growing population and respond to the growing challenges of climate change in the region, but as Eric Fèvre (University of Liverpool/ILRI) noted they may also involve the emergence of zoonotic diseases and other negative impacts on food safety[2]. Access and utilisation are therefore important dimensions of food security, even when production is the starting point.

It is also important to take into account urban form and be context-specific. The diversity of urban and rural settlements' shapes and sizes and of the livelihoods of different groups within them is reflected in increasingly segmented food systems. The example of Nairobi is a case in point. Out of its 4 million

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[1] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2014).
World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision, Highlights (ST/ESA/SER.A/352).
[2] http://www.zoonotic-diseases.org/project/urban-zoo-project/

inhabitants, about 2.1 million live in the 150 slum settlements[3]. Half of this population do not cook from their houses anymore, but buy ready-made food instead. This trend is on the rise not only in Kenya but also in Uganda and within the region. Jack Makau  (SDI Kanya/ Muungano  wa Wanavijiji) emphasised that the challenges facing slum settlements require interdisciplinary solutions. Rather than evicting residents, the government of Kenya has now accepted that there is a need to develop solutions to improve slums, especially with regard to housing, water and sanitation and basic services. Research on food insecurity in Nairobi's informal settlements by Muungano, the Kenyan Federation of the Urban Poor, has provided a unique platform to better understand and describe how food is a cross-cutting issue that sheds light on the need for decent public spaces within informal settlements; the need for livelihoods that support residents and also provide basic services, such as food vending; the risks for food security associated with local environmental hazards; the implications for energy use, both for cooking and for street lights.

## 2.1. Key issues in food security for the residents of urban low income settlements

Major issues regarding food security in informal settlements relate primarily to food availability and affordability, safety and quality. Liz Kimani-Murage presented key findings from recent APHRC research in Nairobi.  These show that 50 percent of informal settlements' residents are severely food insecure, 35 percent are mildly/moderately food insecure and only 15 percent are food secure; close to 20 percent have one or less meals/day, and close to 40 percent have only 2 meals/day. Limited livelihood opportunities and high levels of unemployment and underemployment mean that income poverty is the root cause of food insecurity. In many cases low-income groups cannot afford adequate and quality food: there is limited diversity in food intake, and 54 percent of the people in 6 urban poor areas in Kenya eat food from less than 4 food groups per day. The emerging double burden of malnutrition is especially worrying among low-income groups: while 45-50 percent of children are stunted, 1/3 of their mothers are overweight or obese; and 43 percent of overweight and 37 percent of obese mothers have stunted children. The inadequate provision of basic infrastructure such as water and sanitation in informal settlements has considerable implications for food safety and health.

The use of street-cooked foods is a widely adopted coping strategy, typically due to restricted housing space in informal settlements – often just one room - which makes it difficult to cook and store food. This is especially the case for the large proportion of tenants, often single migrants. Some households prefer to cook supper to share as a family, but even they prefer to buy pre-cooked food to save on energy for cooking. An emerging trend in Nairobi is scavenging for food – especially discarded airline meals.

Alice Sverdlik (University of California at Berkeley) presented ongoing work led by Muungano in collaboration with IIED, ILRI and APHRC. This shows that street vendors are key players in the urban food security agenda, although they are typically overlooked in policy debates. Their ability to provide accessible food, sometimes on loan and in small quantities that are affordable to customers, is of critical importance for the urban poor. Vending within informal settlements is also an important income-generating activity for women, since they can sell in their own neighbourhoods and at the same time take care of their children. Moreover, compared to their counterparts in the Central Business District they don't have to spend on stall/space rent or transport and feel they are less harassed by local officials. Despite these advantages, they also face severe challenges including: very low earnings, lack of storage for food left overs, exposure to health hazards due to limited sanitation,

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[3] Pamoja Trust and Shack/Slum Dwellers International (2008), Nairobi Slum Inventory, Pamoja Trust, Urban Poor Fund International and Shack/Slum Dwellers International, Nairobi

poor drainage, lack of solid waste collection and access to clean water, insecurity issues especially at night, and limited voice and support from local government/civil society[4].

Some street vendors source food directly from farms that they own in rural areas, but this is rare. Most street vendors buy in cheap urban markets, as they also have to factor in transportation costs. There is a wide range of foods that are sold by vendors in slums, ranging from vegetables, meat, cooked food, uncooked food, fruits and milk. There is also a gendered division of labour, with men concentrating in meat products and women in cooked food. There is also a wide range of sites where people go to eat including covered kiosks (65 per cent in Viwandani informal settlement) and mobile-vendor open spaces (35 per cent in Viwandani). Muungano, with support from IIED and ILRI, has mapped these sites and their proximity to local environmental hazards in several informal settlements[5].

Most of the vendors in informal settlements have at least a minimum level of education – there is a misguided assumption that they lack the skills and knowledge to improve their circumstances, but this is due instead to the lack of adequate support and infrastructure. Julia Washera, Nancy Njoki and Christine Mwelu, members of Muungano and both residents and street vendors in Mathare and Viwandani slums, very compellingly proved this point and complemented the presentation by Alice on the work they have led in Muungano.

As most population growth in the region is expected to be in urban areas, including in cities where many already live in slums, urban food insecurity can be expected to increase. This will be exacerbated by climate change-related increasingly frequent floods affecting public spaces in informal settlements, making it difficult for street vendors to operate. Floods and droughts will also affect food production in rural areas and its supply to the urban areas, resulting in rising food prices. Finally, it is important to remember that political instability has severely negative implications for urban food security, as has been the case in Nairobi in the not-so-distant past.

## 2.2. Key issues in food security for rural poor groups and net food buyers

The economies of the region are heavily dependent on smallholder agriculture and pastoralism, making them particularly vulnerable to climate change impacts. Elvin Nyukuri (University of Nairobi) discussed the key concerns of rural food security among pastoral communities in Northern Kenya, and the impact of various social transfers programmes. Drought, the number one killer of livestock, and floods which cause disruption to road networks and transportation, increase food prices on local markets with negative impacts on the large proportion of net food buyers in rural areas. Non-agricultural income generating activities in rural areas often only allow for very low earnings - for example, secondary sources of livelihoods in Northern Kenya's pastoral areas include trading and selling of charcoal, which also has a serious environmental impact in the area.

To offset some of these growing challenges, there is currently in Kenya a wide range of governmental and non-governmental social protection systems, including direct social transfers, climate adaptation funds, free primary education, school meals programmes, livestock insurance and food-related programmes (food for work, food for fees). Funds recipients use the money either to meet their basic needs (including food) or to invest in income-generating activities. Examples include the purchase of goats and sheep by women and carts by men in Wajir County, or the starting up of a camel milk

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[4] Sohel Ahmed, Edwin Simiyu, Grace Githiri, Alice Sverdlik and Shadrack Mbaka. 2015. Cooking up a storm: community-led mapping and advocacy with food vendors in Nairobi's informal settlements. IIED Working Paper. IIED, London. http://pubs.iied.org/10734IIED

[5] See footnote 4

enterprise in Isiolo County by local women groups. However, it is clear that these programmes are not sufficient to compensate for the increasing occurrences of long-term droughts where asset depletion becomes a real problem. What is needed is a twin-track approach combining short-term and long-term assistance. Local institutions have a key role to play in both, and it is important to understand the power and social structures that shape them as these can have important implications for their inclusiveness (or lack of it). There are also trade-offs between different food programmes – for example, food for work targeting pregnant women may increase their vulnerability if they have underlying health issues.

Another example of food security issues for rural residents came from a case study of Taita-Taveta County, in southern Kenya, presented by Victoria Gioto (NDMA). More than half the County is a game park. The main source of income for residents in the area is farming and livestock production (cattle, goat, poultry) with a distribution of 40 per cent of men and 60 per cent of women involved in agricultural activities in the area. The erratic rainfall and the recurrent droughts strain local livelihoods. Near crop failure, reduced soil cover and fertility, increased crop and water diseases and human-wildlife conflict are challenges directly linked with extreme climate variability. Casual labour, charcoal trade and reliance on cash programmes and food aid are the main means of survival of the local population during periods of food shortages. The lack of local non-farm employment opportunities means that those activities that are available – such as charcoal production – effectively increase vulnerability by depleting natural resources, rather than contributing to residents' resilience. A more holistic approach is needed, combining investment in sustainable agriculture practices, intensification of alternative productions, increasing use of early warning systems, enhancement of disaster risk management practices, and better access to markets.

## 3. Urbanisation and rural transformations

How is urbanisation affecting rural areas, people and activities: do low-income producers and consumers, traders and transporters benefit from urban demand, or are they marginalised? What factors and policies support positive rural-urban development, what factors and policies undermine it (and what are the consequences)? The presentations in this session addressed these questions in the contexts of Tanzania and Kenya.

### 3.1. Income diversification in formal and informal markets in Tanzania's mountain areas
Rural-urban linkages reshape economic and social relations in both rural and urban areas, while formality and informality are interwoven as income diversification is increasingly common in rural areas transitioning out of agriculture. Sylvain Racaud (IFRA) described how current changes in family farming in Tanzania's Uporoto mountain areas can be characterised as a switch from cash crops such as coffee to perishable food crops destined to urban markets. Rural households also engage in multiple income-generating activities that often include rural/urban mobility for employment in cities or medium/small towns. As a result, farming increasingly involves the use of waged labour and contract farming. Such changes in production systems are closely related to new commercial relations, with a growing number of traders/middlemen who mediate the uncertainties of a fragmented market. The boundaries between formal and informal value chains are porous, and informal channels are often preferred (and under-reported due to their very nature) by smallholders to gain access to markets in a context where there is low capital, weak access to credit, poor product standardization and low production volumes.

## 3.2. The role of small towns and agri-processing hubs in Tanzania

Rural-urban transformations have both spatial and economic impacts in both urban and rural settings; they are therefore central to understand whether and how each affects the other. Evelyne Lazaro (Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania) and Jytte Agergaard (University of Copenhagen) presented their on-going work on Emerging Urban Centres (EUC) in Tanzania.

These are mainly informal and dynamic sites of 'in situ' urbanisation – large villages with increasingly diversified economic bases and acting as market nodes for the surrounding rural region. They are essentially consumer markets, driven by increased demand for foodstuffs which in turn is linked to higher rural incomes. With markets six days a week, they attract farmers, traders and buyers providing services, employment and market space for agricultural products. This benefits from growing connectivity and better infrastructure, with growing penetration of non-local staples and cereals. As in the mountain areas, markets are segmented, with formal and informal channels serving different groups of producers and consumers.

Aside from the positive aspects of EUCs, there are also challenges. The main one is the delayed formalisation of urban status, which in turn delays investment in infrastructure and services, and the ability to raise local revenue through local tax collection. This seems to be a political issue (as decentralisation often is). It also limits the capacity to reduce the vulnerability of marginal farmers living on the fringes of these emerging urban centres.

For a successful transition from rural to urban there is also the necessity of political will from local authorities and the building of soft infrastructures that govern food markets and trade. Moreover, the formalization of EUCs into townships brings service and governance to the rural area – including 'security'- and thus has a potentially positive impact beyond urban boundaries.

## 3.3. Rural-urban transformations in Kenya

Musyimi Mbathi (University of Nairobi) discussed the important role of urbanisation in driving rural transformations in Kenya. The share of Africans living in urban areas is projected to grow from 36 per cent in 2010 to 50 per cent by 2030. This can lead to economic growth and poverty reduction – as well as to increased inequality, urban poverty and the proliferation of slums.

At the same time, socio-economic transformations are occurring in both food production and consumption. Residents of informal settlements are 60 percent of the urban population of Kenya, and consume 40 per cent of food. The residents of formal settlements are 40 per cent of the total urban population, but consume 60 per cent of food.

What is happening on the food production side? Increasingly commercialised production and trade do not necessarily benefit local food markets. Research on French beans farming in Kirinyaga district, for example, shows that food production is shifting towards contract farming that serves consumers in large cities and international markets, rather than local consumers. Producers, however, do not always benefit from increased demand. Urban consumers demand more for less from rural producers. The value chain is often managed by traders who respond to consumers' demand and decide prices and volumes at the production level. This, however, can be detrimental to producers who are left with little leeway in negotiating prices. It is also a blockage to (positive) rural transformations.  Further, producers face non-price related challenges, like poor regulations, little state support, extreme climate variability, declining soil fertility, expensive technology, and urban expansion on agricultural land. Finally, there clearly is a need for a soft infrastructure planning within cities that takes into account the food systems of the urban poor and that aims at filling the gap between producers and markets including ensuring better prices and controls for farmers

### 3.4. Formal and informal markets in Kenya

Silvia Alonso (ILRI) introduced findings from research on informal markets in Kenya. The key message is that informal markets are large, and are here to stay – challenging the frequent assumption that they are marginal and destined to disappear over time. The predominance of informal markets in urban areas is often overlooked, but a recent AfDB study argues that unregistered transactions contribute to 55 per cent of the Sub-Saharan African GDP and 80 per cent of the continent's labour force[6]. Informal markets reach into the city is pervasive and makes a considerable contribution to feeding the urban poor.

Moreover, 'informal' does not necessarily equate with 'unsafe'; indeed, 'formal' is not necessarily safer. There is a tendency to perceive food products sold in informal food markets as unsafe and risky due to the lack of basic services and the possibility of contamination. Recent empirical studies in Kenya and Vietnam have shown that this narrative is not necessarily true. This is because the presence of hazards does not necessarily mean risks. Taking as an example the Kenyan dairy sector and the Vietnamese pork sector, local cultural norms and household practices minimise the risk of contamination (boiling the milk or thoroughly cooking the pork soon after purchase) whereas modern retail systems (particularly in the case of pork) show a higher level of bacteria in the product.

Looking at the overall risk suggests a set of policy issues: how to raise quality; what type of formalisation process may be useful (or not); and how to move towards risk-based and enabling policies. To properly address food safety concerns, training and certification to vendors can help ensure food quality and safety, customer satisfaction and legitimization – but this may not apply to street vendors in informal settlements.

### 3.5. Sustainable animal production systems in Africa

The last presentation from Tim Robinson (ILRI) explored how demographic and social drivers, both globally and regionally, will impact the livestock sector. Growth in demand for animal source foods is projected to increase by around 70 percent by the middle of this century, with substantial implications for equity and growth, health and nutrition and climate and natural resource use. Sustainable intensification is one of the potential solutions, although it was felt that this should build on a better understanding of the diversity of consumption and markets, with a specific focus on low-income groups. Integrating sustainable intensification of livestock production with inputs – for example, the production of animal feed – will also require careful examination.

## 4. Policy priorities and support to local innovative initiatives

A common thread of discussions in the previous sessions was the underestimated importance of the informal sector. Informal value chains and markets play a pivotal role in the livelihoods of the rural poor and, at the same time, are central in the food systems of the urban poor. However, there is a gap between perceived food safety and evidence of food safety in informal markets at the local level. The result is an array of inadequate policies and regulations that overall tend to penalise informal sector actors on the basis of perceptions rather than reality. On the other hand, formalisation is often essentially a licensing and tax-raising tool, which does not include the provision of services to those who pay. This being the case, informal sector actors are understandably resistant to formalisation.

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[6] http://www.afdb.org/en/blogs/afdb-championing-inclusive-growth-across-africa/post/recognizing-africas-informal-sector-11645/

The informal sector can be compared to the [Nairobi matatu route map](#): what seems chaotic and ungoverned actually responds to strict rules and regulations—they simply are set up by people and not by the state. Self-organization and self-regulation might be a good way to understand informality.

Informal markets are dynamic and respond to demand. What needs to be better understood is whether they also contribute to manage the inevitable tension between producers (who want better prices) and consumers (who want and often can only afford) lower prices. This session discussed examples of co-production of services, infrastructure and knowledge on food security, including collaboration between (local) governments and civil society.

## 4.1. Community perspectives: the experience of Muungano wa Wanavijiji

There is often the perception that informal settlements are ungoverned spaces. This might be true from the state's perspective, but once one looks at the reality on the ground a high level of organization and governance is in place. Grassroots organisations play a fundamental role in collecting the information essential to urban planners and local governments. Enumerations of housing and residents living in an informal settlement do not only fill a gap in the data that local governments need in order to be effective. They also give residents the platform from which it is possible to negotiate for improvements in basic infrastructure and service provision, and if necessary negotiate around evictions. Knowledge is power, and the way to co-produce solutions. For example, about 95 per cent of people living in informal settlements are tenants, and around 90 per cent of women own their own business. This has clear implications for policies – for example, tenants may be even more insecure than landlords and not be entitled to compensation in the case of eviction; and women who run their own business, usually informal, can benefit from targeted support.

Mapping of street vending in informal settlements and their proximity to local environmental hazards has stimulated local initiatives, for example local collection of solid waste which is then collected by city council workers at designated points. It has also stimulated the organising of street vendors as an alternative to bug business penetrating the informal food system, possibly with devastating consequences for nutrition and obesity. Street vendors organisations have started working together based on savings groups and collective purchases of food to reduce costs. Importantly, it is the women themselves who decide which activities to undertake, as they are the experts. Recently, Muungano joined forces with APHRC, ILRI and the University of Liverpool to organise training on food handling and safety for street vendors.

Moreover, community-led initiatives tend to be more holistic than the often sector-specific programmes driven by external actors. For example, action on housing issues raised other issues that affect the quality of life of the residents of informal settlements – most notably the lack of adequate sanitation, which especially affects women and has severe consequences on their health. The sanitation campaign that followed used legislation on public health to leverage action, showing the sophistication of low-income communities. Effectively, Kenya's legislation states the right of every individual to adequate housing and sanitation, clean water and food. The issue at stake is the State's political will to intervene to provide public goods informal settlements.

## 4.3. Environmental governance and urban expansion: the example of Kiambu

Andrew Kimani (Kiambu County Government) described recent experiences of local government in co-producing better environmental services. Kiambu is a dormitory county not far from Nairobi, with a day population of 1.8 million increasing to 2.8 million at night. Rural residents displaced by drought and civil conflict have settled in informal neighbourhoods in the areas around water sources with no sewerage infrastructure. Raw sewage is a major concern; compounding the problem, urban farming

was illegal prior to devolution to local governments, so there are no systems in place yet to ensure that pollution through irrigation water does not affect food safety – a growing concern fuelled by the Kenyan media.

There are a number of initiatives in place in Kiambu that attempt to address these issues, from community toilets built in collaboration with Muungano, World Bank-funded sewerage treatment works, and UN Habitat programmes on solid waste management.

However, by far the biggest polluters are tower blocks being built upstream, with no adequate sewerage systems (in many cases, no sewerage at all). This requires an inter-county approach – it also brings new food for thought on what is 'informal' – in this case, inadequate sanitation is not only an issue in informal settlements but also in the new, formal ones.

# 5. Towards a new policy agenda

In this session we explored how a new consumption-oriented food security agenda that prioritises the needs of low-income urban and rural groups might look like. The discussion was initiated by representatives of UN and international agencies, telling us what these agencies currently see as the priorities.

FAO's mandate is to support food production, integrating both informal and formal sectors. With time it has changed its approach to also address post-harvest handling and other areas where food waste might potentially occur. Current priority intervention areas—which will require an increased investment from both government and civil society—are: food and nutritional security, knowledge dissemination to consumers on how the food they eat is produced, urban planning (proper food storage facilities), waste management (e.g. biogas facilities), and capacity building of all actors across the food system.

For UN Habitat, improving food availability across the income spectrum includes redefining the role of traders/middlemen and working with (rather than against) informal food markets/vendors as they contribute to provide food and livelihoods to urban and rural poor. One way of working with informal markets is to provide training, improve basic infrastructure and sanitation, provide shelter for food kiosks, and invest in technology (communication for information-mobile technology between consumers and producers or through radio stations for producers to get linked to consumers).

Participants agreed that there is a need to better understand and support informal food systems, as they are key to the food security of both rural and urban low-income groups. This should be central to a new agenda focusing on consumption of the poor. Contrary to the dominant narrative, traditional and informal markets are not backwards, they are populated by entrepreneurs responsive to consumers' demands. The issue lays in "modern" retailing overlooking the needs of poor urban consumers[7].

It was noted that there is a need to understand the diversity of factors that are at the roots of growing food insecurity for the urban and rural poor, and to avoid one-size-fits-all policies. It was also underlined that civil society inclusion in governance systems is essential – but it is equally crucial to keep in mind that partnerships are not easily created, and need time and nurturing to develop trust between different actors, and for grassroots movements to identify their needs and formulate their

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[7] K. Roesel (Ed.), D. Grace (Ed.). 2015. Food Safety and Informal Markets: Animal Products in Sub-Saharan Africa. Routledge, New York. Available at: http://bit.ly/1J8EUUr

priorities. Innovative, co-produced solutions cannot be based on blueprints but on deep engagement and dialogue.

# 6. Priorities for new interdisciplinary research that includes action-research components and policy dialogues

Six thematic areas were identified: capacity building, methodology, linkages, additional evidence, policy/advocacy, and enforcing local regulations.

### Thematic Area 1: Methodology

Methodologies should provide statistical data (with key indicators) as well as narratives, the first to engage in a dialogue with authorities which work on a quantitative level and the second to contextualize the data and make them part of a larger picture. These two together have the potential to be more than the sum of their parts. Local level participatory methodologies are needed to avoid making false assumptions.

### Thematic Area 2: Capacity Building

Whose capacity, what capacity and why? The importance to framing capacity building programs within the needs expressed by local communities emerged strongly. Community agendas should be the drivers rather than externally imposed ones, and have monitoring, evaluation and learning elements embedded. It was also argued that capacity building should not be intended solely as a training from north to south, but also between southern organizations and individuals and, crucially, from south to north so that researcher and practitioners gain a real grasp of the issues and solutions put in place by local populations.

### Thematic Area 3: Policy and Advocacy

New policies are not needed, but there should be an enforcement of the current normative body which should be interpreted not only from the institution perspective (duties of people) but also from the citizen perspectives (rights of people). A more cohesive voice from the large number of civil society organisations and research institutions working on this issues can influence policies to support rather than penalise seemingly marginal but effectively central actors, such as informal sector traders and vendors, who link rural and urban worlds and ensure access to food for the poorest.

### Thematic Area 4: Linkages

It is important to understand the nature of rural-urban linkages and their impact on different food systems and their actors' livelihoods. Information needs to be disaggregated by location, income, gender and age, and explore how best to link producers to consumers to improve smallholder farmers' economic returns while at the same time ensure that poor consumers are not excluded.

### Thematic Area 5: Enforcing Local Regulations

Awareness is an important first step towards enforcement, with an emphasis on both people's duties and responsibilities and their rights and entitlement to justice. A wide range of regulations explicitly and implicitly relate to food security, ranging from environmental protection, access to adequate water and sanitation – related to safety in food handling and production – to trade and vending – the 'informal' sector. To be effective and inclusive, local regulations need to be context-specific and the result of dialogues between local governments and civil society.

### Thematic Area 6: Additional Evidence

As policy awareness of, and interest in food consumption grows, participants felt that there is a need for wide-ranging evidence to support innovation and more effective interventions. There is certainly

a need for more comprehensive information on urban informal settlements, as these are likely to remain a key feature of urbanisation in the region in the coming decades.  But there is also a need for more information on transformations in rural areas and their impacts on food security. These would include changes in food production systems under the combined impacts of climate change and urbanisation, access to markets and the role of small towns, and a specific focus on those groups left behind -  in many cases low-income net food buyers.

## Annex 1 - Participants

| University of Copenhagen | Denmark |
|---|---|
| Development Planning Unit, University College London | Nairobi/ UK |
| International Livestock Research Instiute (ILRI) | Nairobi |
| Resilience Advisor - Africa. American Red Cross | Nairobi |
| Human Settlements Group, IIED | UK |
| Ada Consortium | Nairobi |
| ILRI/ University of Liverpool | Nairobi |
| Open Society Foundation | Nairobi |
| National Drought Management Authority, Tharaka | Nairobi |
| Independent/ IIED | Italy |
| UN Habitat | Nairobi |
| Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) | Nairobi |
| Open Society Foundation | Nairobi |
| African Population and Health Research Centre (APHRC) | Nairobi |
| Director of Environment Kiambu County | Nairobi |
| Climate Change Group, IIED | Nairobi/ UK |
| HIVOS | Nairobi |
| Sokoine University | Tanzania |
| Slum Dwellers International (SDI) | Nairobi |
| University of Nairobi, Department of Rural and Urban Planning | Nairobi |
| Stockholm Environment Institute (SEI) Africa | Nairobi |
| Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) | Nairobi |
| Muungano Support Trust | Nairobi |
| Kabarole Research & Resource Centre | Uganda |
| Muungano Support Trust | Nairobi |
| National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation | Nairobi |
| Muungano Support Trust | Nairobi |
| Facilitator | Nairobi |
| University of Nairobi | Nairobi |

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| National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation | Nairobi |
| UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) | Nairobi |
| French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA) | Nairobi |
| Human Settlements Group, IIED | UK |
| International Livestock Research Instiute (ILRI) | Nairobi |
| University of California, Berkeley | Nairobi |
| Human Settlements Group, IIED | UK |
| Sustainable Markets Group, IIED | UK |
| Muungano Support Trust | Nairobi |
| Akiba Mashinani Trust (AMT) | Nairobi |

## Annex 2 - Agenda

| *October 12* (at ILRI campus, Nairobi*)* | |
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| Arrival, registration and gallery creation | 8:00 – 8:30 |
| Welcome, introductions and coffee | 8:30 – 8:45 |
| **Introduction to the issues and key objectives of the workshop**<br>Why food consumption, urbanisation and rural transformations are so important; aims of the workshop (Cecilia Tacoli, IIED; Jack Makau, Muungano/SDI; Eric Fèvre, University of Liverpool/ILRI) | 8:45 – 9:30 |
| **Food transitions: rural and urban**<br><br>Insights on current of trends in food **consumption** of **urban and rural low-income groups** in Kenya and East Africa, with panel discussions on<br><br>&bull; Key issues in food security for the residents of urban low income settlements (Liz Kimani, APHRC; Alice Sverdlik, University of California at Berkeley)<br><br>&bull; Key issues in food security for rural net food buyers (Elvin Nyukuri, University of Nairobi; Victoria Gioto, NDMA) | 9:30 – 11:00 |
| Break and gallery walkabout | 11:00 – 11:15 |
| **Urbanisation and rural transformations**<br><br>How is urbanisation affecting rural areas, people and activities: do low-income producers and consumers, traders and transporters benefit from urban demand, or are they marginalised? What factors and | 11:15 – 12:45 |

policies support positive rural-urban development, what factors and policies undermine it (and what are the consequences)?

- Transformations in formal and informal value chains, and how this affects low income urban and rural groups (Sylvain Racaud, IFRA Nairobi)

- Role of small towns and agri-processing hubs (Evelyne Lazaro, Sokoine University with Jytte Agergaard, University of Copenhagen)

- Urbanisation impacts in Kenya (Musyimi Mbathi, University of Nairobi)

- Formal and informal markets in Kenya (Silvia Alonso, ILRI)

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| Group photo followed by lunch | 12:45 – 13:45 |
| **Policy priorities and support to innovative initiatives**<br><br>- Co-producing better services, infrastructure and knowledge on food security: examples of collaboration between (local) governments and civil society  (Jane Weru, AMT; Andrew Kimani, Kiambu County Government; Tim Robinson, ILRI; Nancy Njoki and Julie Wachera, Muungano) | 13:45 – 15:15 |
| Break | 15:15 – 15:30 |
| **Towards a new policy agenda**<br><br>What would a new consumption-oriented food security policy agenda look like? Who are the key audiences and priorities for supporting regional and local processes?<br><br>- Perspectives from policymakers, donors and civil society(Jackson Kago, UN Habitat; Gary Howe, FAO and IIED; Elizabeth Kamau/Joyce Mukiri, FAO) | 15:30 – 16:30 |
| **Summary and ways forward** | 16:30 – 17:00 |
| **Reception at ILRI** | 17:15 |

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| ***October 13*** (at ILRI campus) | |
| **Field visit: Mathare** | 8:00 – 12:45 |
| Lunch | 13:00 - 14:15 |
| **Recap of day 1 and objectives of this day** | |
| **Priorities for new interdisciplinary research that includes action-research components and policy dialogues: introduction and discussion** | 14:15 - 15:15 |
| **Working Groups**: What policy innovations have potential for replication within and between regions? What are the priority issues for research, knowledge integration and advocacy? | 15:15 -  16:30 |
| Close of day and workplan for day 3 | 16:30 – 17:00 |
| ***October 14*** (at ILRI campus) | |
| **Brief recap from day 2 and objectives of this final day** | 9:30 – 10:00 |
| **Working groups:** Operationalising the priorities – towards further consolidation of knowledge, policy dialogue and new interdisciplinary research | 10:00 – 11:00 |
| Break | 11:00 – 11:30 |
| Feedback from working groups; summing up and next steps | 11:30 – 12:30 |
| Lunch | 12:30 – 14:00 |