

8 Planning and governance of food systems in Kisumu City

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Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the food system of Kisumu City and how it has been shaped by planning and governance. In this chapter, the food system is understood as being all the processes food undergoes from production to consumption. It entails growing the food, harvesting, processing, storage and distribution, retailing, consumption, and waste management. In addition, it also includes value addition, preservation, packaging, safety checks, marketing, pricing, and disposal (Bakker *et al.* 2008).

Given Consuming Urban Poverty's (CUP) concern with the linkages between the food system and food security, it is essential to locate this work within a food security framework. This is because if there is a crisis in any part of the food system, it manifests in urban food insecurity and poor health. The work presented in Chapter 16 of this book indicates high levels of food insecurity within Kisumu, which confirms Mireri *et al.*'s (2007) work that found food poverty levels as high as 53.4% in the city. Findings that the Kisumu food system does not ensure food security to over half its inhabitants suggest that it is a particularly weak food system.

This chapter considers the role food governance plays in shaping Kisumu City's food system. Food governance is here defined as "the range of political, organizational, and administrative processes through which stakeholders (including citizens and interest groups) articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, take decisions, meet their obligations, and mediate their differences" (Bakker *et al.* 2008: 1894). The chapter focuses on how Kisumu City's food system is shaped by planning and governance at the national and local levels. In particular, it looks at how national and local laws, policies, plans, programmes, by-laws, and extra-governmental actors can shape the food system of a secondary city like Kisumu. This chapter is informed by content analysis of field observations, secondary documents, and in-depth interviews and descriptive statistics of data from household, retailer, and five food value chain surveys conducted in Kisumu City. These data were collected from February 2016 to February 2017.

Historic and current national policy influence on Kisumu City's food system

Kisumu City's current food system should be understood as having been formed in part by colonial and post-colonial governance interventions. The following subsections are a brief overview of these interventions.

Food policy

There has been little explicit focus on food in Kenya's cities by the government. This has its roots in colonial governance structures, which framed the food question as a commercial agricultural question, which therefore meant that it had no urban mandate. The Devonshire White Paper of 1923 allocated "high potential areas" for white settlements and the "low potential areas" for native settlement, thus privileging large-scale commercial agriculture for colonial export. The land allocated for native settlement was mainly for subsistence and pasture production. This was reinforced by the Swynnerton Plan of 1955 which sought to increase Kenya's cash-crop production through improved markets and infrastructure, the distribution of appropriate inputs, and the gradual consolidation and enclosure of land holdings (Anderson 2005). Even though food and cash-crop production increased in the country, urban areas still remained food insecure (Guyer 1987). Further complicating and thus exacerbating the issue was that fact that, under the Swynnerton Plan, Kisumu town fell under native land but was also designated as an urban centre for commercial and residential neighbourhoods.

At independence in 1963, the Sessional Paper No. 10 on African Socialism and Its Implication to Planning in Kenya (Republic of Kenya 1965) endeavoured to spur the development of Kenya to be self-sufficient. In doing this it aimed to address food security issues through increased agricultural production and economic access. It was stipulated that production would be improved through provision of quality plant and animal seeds, land consolidation, extension services, development credit, provision of agricultural supplies like fertilizers, and training in modern technologies. Agricultural produce boards were established to process and market farm produce, thereby providing income to farmers. The gained income would be used to economically acquire other food items not produced by the farmer in question. Food price controls were exercised to ensure that a majority of people in the country, especially the urban poor, had access to food (Gow and Parton 1992). Additionally, food exports were restricted and imports substituted to minimize spending that would be used to develop the country's food system. This shift in policy approach impacted the Kenyan urban food systems in various ways. For instance, it saw Kisumu obtain a grain storage facility provided by the National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB).

In the 1980s, food and agricultural markets experienced liberalization. This led to the increased export orientation of the food system. Consequently, this

meant that in Kisumu the main sources of protein, namely the fish Nile perch (*Latesniloticus*) and tilapia (*Oreochromis niloticus*), become less available for local markets. Thus, the city's residents were obliged to depend on rejects or juveniles or consume more silver fish or sardine (*Rastrineobola argentea*). Subsequently, traditional fish-smoking kilns have disappeared from Kisumu's food system, giving way to modern fish processing factories (Abila and Kisumu 2003). Some positive impacts of the increased fish exportation include the modernization of fish landing beaches in the city and improved hygiene in fish handling.

Urban policy

Just as food policies have not explicitly addressed, but have profoundly affected, urban food systems, urban planning and policy has equally been silent on food systems issues. In Kenya, "Urban Planning" as a governance tool can be traced back to the 1931 Town and Country Ordinance, the Town Planning Act of 1948, and the Land Planning Act of 1961. These Acts were geared at controlling the development of urban and rural land use, but they failed to adequately address urban food system issues. These three pieces of legislation were repealed as urban planning and governance tools in 1996 by the Physical Planning Act (PPA) Cap 286. Sections 16 and 24 of the PPA provide for the preparation of regional and local physical development plans respectively. Subsequently, certain urban areas have been designated as markets where stalls and shops can be constructed while other areas have been designated as industrial areas for wholesale outlets for food and non-food items. Although markets are explicitly referred to, there is no specific mention of food within the Act.

One way in which urban planning specifically engages food is through the by-laws that prohibit urban agriculture. These colonial-era by-laws are still in place today, even though the city's borders have since expanded to include rural areas. As such, almost 80% of the city's land is rural and predominately used for subsistence farming – a technical violation of the city's by-laws (Mireri *et al.* 2007; Mr. Aluoch Orombe, personal communication, 25 May 2016). Despite the fact that these laws are rarely enforced, even within more urban areas of the city (Mireri *et al.* 2007), this continued prohibition of urban agriculture suggests a framing in which the rural is imagined as the site of production and the urban solely as the site of consumption. This reflects a wider ambivalence towards the governance of food at the urban governance scale.

Kenya Vision 2030

Kenya's current strategic development plan, Kenya Vision 2030, has seen a number of flagship projects started in the country. Although not explicitly focused on the food system, these projects are reshaping many aspects of the food systems in various direct and indirect ways. For example, one project focuses on the improvement of road networks connecting Kisumu City with other towns and cities in the country. This has notably reduced the time and increased the

physical ease with which food is transported into the city, as these roads were formerly in bad condition and too narrow for fast and safe transportation of food. Another example within Kisumu City is the expansion and improvement of storm water drainage infrastructure which has improved market hygiene and food safety.

Constitutional provisions

Article 43 in Kenya's new constitution (2010) provides for the right to food. This provision has seen county governments seek to ensure food security in their areas of jurisdiction in various ways. For example, Kisumu County is in the processes of developing an Agriculture and Food Security Bill. Additionally, the new constitution has led to the establishment of county governments through the County Governments Act of 2012. This Act, together with others such as the Land Act of 2012, the Urban Areas and Cities Act of 2011 (Amendment 2016), and the Physical Planning Bill (2015), has enabled Kisumu County and City to prepare spatial and other plans through their own relevant departments and boards. The Kisumu County Integrated Development Plan (ISUD) (2013–2017) is one such plan. While this plan has various food system implications, it also does not explicitly identify food as an object of planning.

How Kisumu City's food system is shaped by planning and governance

Production, harvesting, and storage

Kisumu City currently has no policy on agricultural production, harvesting, and storage. The existing Agricultural Act of 2012 governs land use in the city's rural areas. As noted above, existing by-laws in the city prohibit urban agriculture. Whereas there is limited crop and livestock keeping within the urban areas of the city, the practice is common in the rural unplanned areas of the city. The CUP survey data reveal that less than 15% of Kisumu City residents grow some of their own food and only 26% keep some livestock. The production of vegetables and grains that does take place in Kisumu City is largely for subsistence purposes and involves minimal storage or processing. Observations from the field indicate that commercial production of chicken and indigenous vegetables is increasing to meet the increased food demand of the city. However, this is not well supported by the city or county government in terms of infrastructure, market provision, or funding.

Kisumu City is a net food importer due to the effect of the long-term export orientation of the food and agricultural sector in Kenya. Moreover, it is impacted by the city's rapid population growth which has increased demand well beyond the productive capacity of its peri-urban areas. Food imports are not only sourced from other counties in Kenya (Figure 8.1), but also from other countries, like Uganda. Kale and cabbage are imported from Kericho and

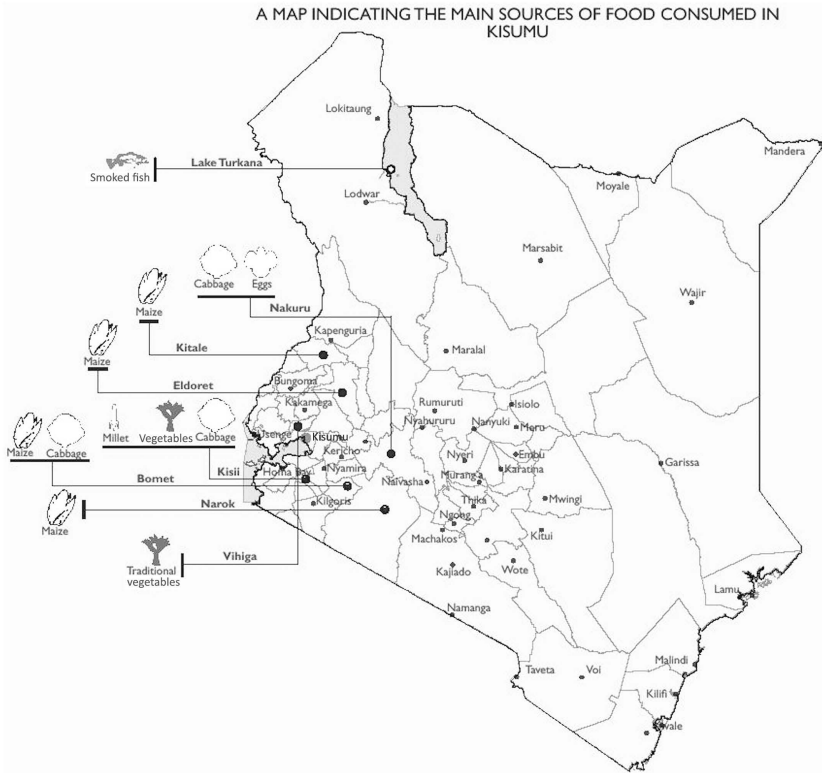


Figure 8.1 Kisumu City’s sources of food as established via 2017 field survey (Authors’ map)

Bomet, milk from Nandi and Kakamega, while some fish and eggs are imported from Uganda, making them more expensive in Kisumu. While fish is one of the staple proteins in the city, its supply from local fishing does not meet the local demand (Mairura 2010). The adoption of cage fish farming and other fish farming techniques have been promoted locally to meet this demand, although this has not had much traction as the cultural preference is to catch fish from the lake. It has also meant that fish from China have been brought into the market to supplement local supply. The sources of food consumed in Kisumu are discussed further in Chapter 13.

Food processing and preparation

County governance plays an important governance role within the food processing and preparation components of Kisumu City’s food system.

Food processing in the city is largely small scale and farmer or retailer based, with the exception of fish for export, which is commercially processed in the city at Peche Foods fish factory. Fish and other animal foods for local consumption are usually processed (i.e. the removal of scales and innards from fish and chickens) by farmers and retailers. This is made possible in Kisumu's fish market by the availability of sinks for cleaning and processing. Most chickens are, however, processed at home instead of the market, and some are even further processed by deep frying, not only to enable them to last longer but also to prepare them for consumption. Sukuma wiki (*Brassica oleracea*) and some indigenous vegetable leaves are often destalked and sliced as a means of processing for sale. In these processing processes, public health officials, as empowered by the Public Health Act Cap 242 (Revised 2012), are pivotal in ensuring food safety for the public.

Another way in which Kisumu City governs its food system is through the regulation of food safety by the city's Department of Public Health. Those who process and prepare food for consumption in canteens, hotels, and restaurants are required by law to undergo medical check-ups for food-borne diseases like typhoid, amoeba, and tuberculosis. A number of tests are carried out but only urinalysis and stool microscopy are required for licensing. Another test that is technically required by the Department is for hepatitis B, but this is never done because of the cost implications. The operation of food outlets such as markets, slaughter houses, eateries, restaurants, cafes, fresh food kiosks, and stalls are required to conform to the Public Health Act (Revised 2012), Food, Drugs and Chemical Substance Act (Revised 2012), Meat Control Act Cap 356 (Revised 2012), Animal Diseases Act Cap 364 (Revised 2015), Fisheries Act Cap 378 (Revised 2012), and Dairy Industry Act Cap 336 (Revised 2012). To ensure compliance, food outlets are routinely checked for cleanliness and availability of sanitary facilities, clean water, and general health infrastructure. While these checks are supposed to cover the whole market, limited staff and equipment means that regulation tends to focus on food outlets as perceived hot spots for the spread of food-borne diseases.

Food safety surveillance is implemented in Kisumu according to certain provisions, for example an aflatoxin management programme and Anti-Microbial Resistance (AMR) in meat value chains. Inspection services are carried out by government regulatory agencies such as the Department of Veterinary Services, Department of Livestock Production, Department of Fisheries, Kenya Bureau of Standards, Kenya Plant Health Inspectorate Services (KEPHIS), National Public Health Laboratory Services (NPHLS), Government Chemist, and National Biosafety Authority (NBA), among others. Government regularly performs import control activities and domestic food control activities including certification (Oloo 2010).

Transportation

Kisumu's food system depends on a range of transportation means. Supermarkets use vans and trucks to transport stock from their suppliers to their branches in

the city. Trucks deliver food to major markets in town. The small-scale informal sector depends either on foot transportation or an array of informal or formal public transport. Marginal businesses depend on food transportation with wares carried by means of plastic containers (basins or baskets), woven baskets, sacks, or milk containers. Less marginal businesses use bicycles, motorbikes, or tricycles – often in the form of boda-boda bicycle taxis – or travel with their wares on buses. While there are no specific food transport requirements within the Public Health Act – outside of the assertion that transport should be safe – the state plays an important role in shaping the transport system that in turn impacts upon the food system. As such the quality of road infrastructure and the regulation of public transport play an important role in Kisumu's food system. It is therefore important to consider the nature of transport infrastructure investments within Kenya Vision 2030 and development plans funded by external agencies.

Marketing and retailing

The 2013 ISUD for Kisumu (Nodalis 2013) identifies three metropolitan markets: the Fish Market and Kibuye Market, which operate as wholesale and retail markets, and Jubilee Market, which operates as a retail market. Sixteen other urban markets are identified, with six of these identified for partial or total demolition based on their limited economic importance. A further ten rural markets that serve the needs of the peri-urban population of Kisumu were listed. There also exists several informal neighbourhood markets (often adjacent to main arterial roads), as well as street traders and mobile vendors. Of these retailers, the CUP survey established that 28% of them trade on the street edge and 8% as mobile vendors, disregarding city by-laws.

Designated markets have been identified by the city government as the primary legal retail sites for vendors. Within these markets, the city collects daily rates from small-scale traders as a form of business permit to use the space and cleanliness infrastructure. However, there is not sufficient space to accommodate the small-scale traders. Consequently, many operate outside these formal markets. In the recent past, this led to the illegal occupation of a green park (Oile Park) in the city. This park has since been reclaimed but amid fierce protests from the occupying traders. The CUP findings indicate that traders traded outside designated markets in order to compete for customers. City health officials objected to this practice, indicating that when food items are displayed on pavements they can easily get contaminated with dirt from wind and passing wayfarers. Furthermore, health officials suggest that by so doing they obstruct pedestrians who often risk their safety as they are forced to walk on the roads.

An interview with the city's Finance Department, and corroborated by observations, established that taxes are collected from street traders in a bid to collect more revenue even though they trade on undesignated food retailing spaces. It was also observed that some of these are not receipted and are consequently given as bribes. As a result, many traders operate only in the evenings in an effort to evade authorities.

Planning of future market places should be informed by an understanding of the economic and spatial logics of small traders. There has been an increase in the construction of roadside stalls ('kiosks') as market spaces by private developers. They are, however, largely used for non-food business.

Waste management

The city government plays an important role in the governance of waste management, which is a key component of the food system. Consequently, the city attempts to ensure that waste is properly managed and disposed. However, proper waste management is hampered by the city's insufficient resources and a "callous" culture of waste management by the city's residents, a culture which is common across Kenya (Okaka 2014). This reflects limited awareness of the impact of waste on public health, public aesthetics, and drainage systems.

Organic waste, much of it food waste, comprises about 63% of the waste at the city's main dumpsite, Kachok (Ombara *et al.* 2015). While there are efforts to compost manure from organic waste in the city, the city's waste management system is not designed to produce manure as an output for farmers in the peri-urban and rural areas of the city and county. The city's urban food system is therefore largely linear with waste being the end point of the food system, rather than moving towards a circular system in which waste is reincorporated into the productive cycle.

How Kisumu's food system is shaped by extra-governmental forms of governance

As explained above, there are multiple intersections between formal governance and the food system in Kisumu, many of which are not explicitly food focused. However, governance extends well beyond formal government structures. This section considers the impact of extra-governmental forms of governance on Kisumu's food system.

Market organizations

In Kisumu City, like most urban areas in Kenya, legal and illegal forces shape the local food system. Legal entities include trader or market associations and farmer or producer cooperatives while illegal ones include cartels. An example of these cooperatives is Jubilee Community Based Organization for informal traders. These legal entities shape Kisumu's food system by organizing services that the city cannot satisfactorily provide like cleaning of market spaces and toilets, planning for the storage and security of their goods, maintaining order in the markets, setting price ranges for their goods, resolving conflict among traders, and forming a united front to dialogue with the city management on issues of interest to them. They additionally leverage through their numbers to get cheap reliable transport and storage facilities like freezers for their goods.

Whereas legal market entities are often associated with positive impacts on the food system, cartels are frequently linked with negative ones. For instance, cartels prevent new entrants into the market as they fear that they may spoil business by selling their goods at lower prices, thus spelling losses to other traders. Thus, new entrants may opt to sell their goods at another market in the city or in another town with lower volumes of buyers, thereby risking losses from some of their produce going bad. Alternatively, middle men and women in the food industry may collude with other big players or key institutions to their gain but at a high cost to the consumer (Mr. Charles Okwiri, Secretary Jubilee Market Traders Association, personal communication, 25 May 2016). For example, the high maize prices realized in Kenya in May 2017 as a result of maize shortage was a consequence of cartel-like behaviour between millers and traders (Kisero 2017). This kind of behaviour limits the economic accessibility of food to the urban and rural population.

Supermarkets

The number of supermarkets has been increasing in Kisumu. Formerly, these outlets were only situated in the Central Business District, but they are now increasingly located in or near residential areas. For instance, Tumaini Supermarket has two outlets near residential areas: one is located along the ring road delineating the boundary between Milimani residential area and Nyalenda slums and the other at Kondele junction near Manyata informal settlement. Nakumat Supermarket has an outlet at Kachok junction, which is near Polyview residential area and Nyalenda slums. Choppies Superstore, formerly Ukwala Supermarket, recently opened an outlet at Nyamasaria, an area which is at the extreme edge of the city's urban area. The city's peri-urban areas are also witnessing the opening of smaller supermarkets like Desmart.

These outlets are changing the food system and the way in which consumers engage with retailers. They provide opportunities for consumers to access all their required food from one shop, instead of purchasing from multiple shops and stores. Moreover, supermarkets' supply chains are different from those of small retailers. They source their food items from supplies with produce of consistent quality and supply, unlike small-scale retailers, who most of the time will go to the local markets or farmers and source what they perceive to be of good quality and at a cheap price (Neven and Reardon 2004). Furthermore, they are making available food items like imported fruits (e.g. oranges, apples, grapefruit, pears, kiwi fruit) and nuts (e.g. walnuts, cashew nuts, almonds), among others, that would ordinarily not be available in local municipal markets and from small-scale food vendors in informal neighbourhoods.

Large food stores are similarly impacting on the cooked food system. While in the past meals were only taken in eateries, restaurants, and food kiosks, supermarkets have also evolved to provide the same. It is not uncommon to see people buy and carry home cooked food or eat it within supermarket cafes. Consequently, supermarkets and new international entrants like Kentucky

Fried Chicken compete with established food outlets and street cooked food vendors for wealthier consumers.

According to Neven and Reardon (2004), the establishment of supermarkets will ultimately displace stalls and small retail shops. However, the CUP household survey found that 55% of households bought less than a quarter of the food they purchased from supermarkets and new international entrants. Therefore, it seems that the direct displacement of stalls and small retail shops is not yet a reality. However, the increased presence of the kinds of food sold by supermarkets may be shifting diets through increased exposure to highly processed and sugary foods, which may change the food profile of the city.

Development agencies

International development agencies are playing an important governance role in shaping Kisumu's food system. For example, the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) in partnership with the World Bank and Agence Française de Développement (AFD) are supporting infrastructural developments (roads, drainage channels, footpaths, and water and sanitation infrastructure, as well as the installation of floodlights) in Kisumu. It is hoped that these developments will improve accessibility, and thus make it easier to transport local produce to markets in the city. Improved sanitation will decrease disease outbreaks in the city. The Kisumu Urban Project, a 40-million-Euro AFD project, has as a core project objective the reconstruction of Jubilee, Kibuye, and Otonglo markets and the removal of hawkers from Kisumu's streets to the newly constructed markets. Through its Accelerated Value Chain Development Programme, USAID seeks to boost food security in six western Kenya counties including Kisumu. They hope to achieve this by assisting farmers to invest in dairy farming, growing of sweet potatoes, pineapples, groundnuts, and drought-resistant crops such as sorghum. This programme is expected to shape Kisumu's food system by increasing production in the city's suburban and rural areas. Development agencies therefore play an integral role in shaping the food system and the conditions shaping the accessibility and utilization of food by Kisumu residents.

Private land developers

Since the start of the county governance system in Kenya in 2013, county government headquarters have witnessed rapid urban growth. Kisumu City, as Kisumu County's headquarters, is no exception for the city has witnessed an exponential growth in commercial and residential developments (Abdallah 2016; Owino *et al.* 2017). This, in turn, leaves less land for food production. This is due to the fact that commercial and residential developments are more profitable than food production on small pieces of land. Local food production as part of the food system is therefore likely to become even less significant as urban development pressures increase. Owino *et al.* (2017) report that land for food production is being converted to commercial and residential use.

Conclusion

Kisumu's food system is shaped by spatial plans and governance at the national and local levels, which often do not have an explicit focus on urban food systems. Furthermore, market organizations and supermarkets play important roles in the local food system that support, influence, or impede the efficient function of a food system. In planning for the food system of a city, it is important therefore to include all these actors, as it has clearly been shown that the forces that influence a food system go far beyond the governance of a municipality, city, county, or national government. In Kisumu, local planning processes at the county and city levels give little direct attention to the city's urban food system and therefore its food security, and yet they must be understood to be powerful actors in shaping this system.

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