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The COVID-19 pandemic has caused an unprecedented disruption of food systems worldwide. City lockdowns, travel restrictions, border closures and slew of containment measures has affected the production, supply and diversity of food available. The vulnerabilities of our global food system have been exposed. The hardest hit are the marginalised rural and urban communities who have lost incomes, with direct implications on the availability of food on the family dinner table.

The pandemic is a stark reminder of why the right to food is an inclusive human right recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There are three basic elements that underpin the right to food. Food must be available, accessible and adequate. Even before the emergence of the coronavirus health crisis, Africa faced food insecurity challenges that have since worsened. Many countries in Africa are heavily reliant on international food imports and with disrupted supply chains coupled with protectionist food policies, the crisis has pushed up food prices as incomes are reduced across all sectors of society.

With the effects of climate change, poor soil quality and declining biodiversity exerting immense pressure on regional food systems, the toll of COVID-19 on African economies, places the continent into a prolonged food and poverty crisis whose impact is still bound to be felt in years to come.

The shock of COVID-19 on the long-term outlook of food security in Africa has generated a robust debate. This debate inspired the collaboration for the second edition of the “Food Series” between the Route to Food Initiative and the Nairobi based online platform The Elephant. The series gathered a number of African voices addressing the multiplicity of concerns and pointing out opportunities arising from the pandemic.

This edition of Cha Kula grapples with the food challenges exacerbated by the COVID-19 health crisis and lays out some compelling paradigms to shift the conversation towards the prospects that the crisis presents.

Oyunga Pala sets the tone by calling on a new philosophy towards sustainability in agriculture away from the capital intensive industrial models to homegrown solutions that meet local realities. This is informed by the development of new knowledge systems built on generational experience that are harmonious with nature. Harmony in food and farming systems is an antidote to modern industrial food production directly contributing to climate change, loss of biodiversity, pollution of natural resources, depletion of our ecosystems and malnutrition.

Mordecai Ogada tackles food as a cultural identity and as a distinct embodiment of a people’s way of life.
Editorial

revealing the aspirations to tame, transform and reinvent nature. Cultural identities can become an imposition when dominant media narratives from the West, denigrate the value of food cultures and security in the global south and subject them to endless negative stereotyping rooted in colonial legacies. At the heart of Ogada’s argument is the media characterization of wet markets in Asia as sources of unacceptable food practices and the ways dominant global environmental conservation practices dictate food cultures and undermine regional food supply realities.

Joe Kobuthi builds on the need for resilient local food supply chains and the lessons learned from the COVID-19 challenges. What are the ways local authorities can plug the gaps in food systems and implement measures to safeguard the provision and production of food at the local community level? It becomes apparent that, the focus of transformation must begin with those hardest hit by the present crisis.

Wangũi wa Kamonji tells us her story of nourishment during the lockdown and offers us a new perspective on embracing our vulnerabilities, instead of pushing them away. Her story focuses on the opportunity that lies in the food crisis that can serve as a motivation for changing our relationship with food and potentially lead to societal transformation.

Dauti Kahura’s article centers street food as a core part of urban cultural existence for millions of poor urban residents. Street food is more than just a cultural experience and here it is seen as a grassroots response to financial and policy challenges of urban living in Kenya, showing why it has come into prominence during this global health pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic has provoked an existential crisis across the world. History teaches us that past major pandemics have ushered in new ways of living. This particular crisis must be viewed as a great opportunity for comprehensive systemic transformation of our food systems towards true service of millions of people condemned to perpetual food insecurity, and in pursuit of achieving the right to food for all.
Glossary

**Bush meat:** Any wild animal from the countryside (the bush) that has been killed for food.

**Eco-pedagogy:** A project and a model for a new sustainable civilization from the ecological point of view. It can also be viewed as a new kind of science for how to create a more just, more ecological and more peaceful sustainable civilization.

**Environmental conservation:** This is the protection, preservation, management, or restoration of natural environments and the ecological communities that inhabit them.

**Food justice:** This is a holistic and structural view of the food system that sees healthy food as a human right and addresses structural barriers to that right. The movement draws in part on environmental justice. Food justice efforts work not only for access to healthy food, but for an end to the structural inequities that lead to unequal health outcomes.

**Game meat:** Meat from non-domesticated, free-ranging and farm-raised wild animals and birds that are either legally hunted for personal consumption or commercially sold for food.

**Green revolution:** A large increase in crop production in developing countries achieved by the use of artificial fertilizers, pesticides, and high-yield crop varieties.

**Indigenous knowledge:** Unique knowledge confined to a particular culture or society.

**Indigenous farming knowledge:** Traditional practices that are related to cultural traditions and can regenerate local food systems while increasing socio-environmental sustainability and resilience. Such practices can also be applied in innovative ways to help tackle today’s problems.

**Local food system:** Food systems that are characterised by a short agriculture value chain within a designated place or local area.

**Monocultures:** Agricultural practice of growing one single crop.

**Permaculture:** A system of agricultural and social design principles centered on simulating or directly utilizing the patterns and features observed in natural ecosystems.

**Resilient food systems:** Refers to the capacity of people to produce and access nutritious and culturally acceptable food over time and despite environmental or other changes.

**Sustainable farming:** This is farming in sustainable ways, which means meeting society’s present food needs, without compromising the ability for current or future generations to meet their needs.
**Traditional knowledge:** This refers to the knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities around the world. Developed from experience gained over the centuries and adapted to the local culture and environment.

**Wet markets:** An open space / markets selling fresh seafood, meat, fruits, and vegetables. Some wet markets sell and slaughter live animals on site, including chickens, fish, and shellfish.

**Zoonosis:** A disease or infection that is naturally transmissible from vertebrate animals to humans.
Beyond the hustle and towards a new philosophy for agriculture

By Oyunga Pala

The COVID-19 crisis presents an opportunity to renew our relationship with nature as the living system on which we depend. Africa’s leaders, you and I, have to deepen our thinking on the fundamental root causes of food insecurity and re-imagine new systems of agriculture by returning to basic values and practices.


In the 2019 Global Hunger Index, Kenya ranked 86 out of 117, a position categorised as serious. But long before COVID-19, Kenyans have endured hunger and famine attributed to climatic factors, the rising cost of basic food commodities and a fractured food distribution system.

In Nairobi, where 60 per cent of the population lives in informal settlements, rising prices of basic foodstuffs have reduced millions to a hand-to-mouth existence.

After a three-month restriction of movement out of Nairobi was lifted, a number of my cousins and friends told me that they were headed straight to their rural homes to set up food security bases. Among some of the urban middle class, farming had been a side gig whereas now, agriculture has evolved into the main hustle.

Under these circumstances, to escape the city is a matter of pragmatism. Inhabitants of African cities have one foot firmly planted in a rural village somewhere, ready to seek refuge at “home” if the city turns hostile. And so, as the labour market struggles and industries shed jobs, many Kenyans have fled Nairobi as a temporary measure, retreating to the security of the rural areas where ancestral land provides a buffer against hunger and guarantees the basics of living and rent-free shelter.

A day before restriction of movement was lifted, my cousin Oluoch sent me a message telling me of his plans to go back home to the village to start work on the shamba. Oluoch is a father of four children who has stopped hedging his bets on things returning to “normal”. He got me thinking about my own small rural farm 7,000 kms away as I cycled along a straight, narrow road cutting through farmland in the Dutch municipality of Amstelveen, 10 kilometres south of Amsterdam.

Sheep and dairy cows grazed on pasture as ducks swam in a canal in the early summer sunshine. I stopped to take a picture of this idyllic scene and sent it to my cousin Oluoch who promptly replied, “Ondiek, we have to learn how to farm like the Dutch. This is the future”.

As small-scale, part-time farmers who had inherited family land in our rural homes, we had believed we would be the generation that would adopt modern farming techniques, our motivation for commercial agriculture driven by the...
While the Netherlands is without doubt a leader in efficient agriculture, the focus on volume, efficiency and profit has produced negative consequences that can no longer be ignored. This is the model many small-scale farmers in Kenya aspire to.”
promise of high yields and maximum profit. Just like the Dutch, we imagined.

The Netherlands is a flat country of green fields stretching far off into the distance, subdivided by water canals and fences in a symmetrical pattern. From the air, the land resembles a huge chessboard. The country has one of the world’s most efficient agricultural and food production systems and is the world’s second largest exporter of agricultural produce after the United States, whose landmass is 237 times the size of the Netherlands. In 2019, Dutch exports of agricultural products were worth 94.5 billion Euros.

The success of agricultural productivity in the Netherlands is buttressed by science and innovative solutions developed by institutions such as the Wageningen University, one of the world’s top agricultural institutes. Here, a brain trust is pioneering the thinking to meet the challenge of feeding a global population expected to exceed 9.7 billion by 2050.

The story of the Netherlands agricultural revolution can be traced back to 1888 with the formation of the Heidemaatschappij, the Association for Wasteland Redevelopment that introduced the reclamation and cultivation of wastelands by improving the soil quality of vast areas of heath. The Heidemaatschappij laid the foundation for a new culture of farming, based on generating high yields from fallow and neglected land and the input of new knowledge and skills. Land consolidation became a matter of industry policy, combining fragmented pieces of land and taming idle land around the country for agricultural exploitation.

€94.5bn
Value of Dutch agricultural exports in 2019

1888
Year the Heidemaatschappij, the Association for Wasteland Redevelopment was formed
The result is the grand design of the country’s landscape with geometric precision and infrastructural support, roads and water, and the move from small, mixed agriculture farms to the consolidated mono-cropped large farms that define contemporary Dutch agriculture.

The major cost of the green revolution has been the disappearance of nature as the practice of monocultures has led to a visible decline in animal and plant biodiversity. In a series on nature curated by Amsterdam’s De Correspondent, writer Jan Van Poppel investigates the Dutch policy on nature, which he describes as little more than putting a fence around a patch of green and building on the rest of the country.

The natural environment in the Netherlands is almost entirely lost, and what appears to be natural is in reality an elaborate environmental design, a kind of colonialisation of the natural world. As an example, the Amsterdamse Bos, a forest that sits between Amsterdam and Amstelveen that measures over 1,000 hectares (equivalent to the size of Karura Forest in Nairobi) is man-made. All the trees were planted in the 1930s as part of a work-relief programme.

The Netherlands is now proactively dealing with the negative consequences of agriculture monocultures, applying a stringent pesticide policy, cutting down on nitrogen emissions from livestock operations and facing up to the problem of ground water pollution.

As an amateur farmer who arrived in the Netherlands brimming with the ambition to learn the best practices, I grapple with this contradiction. While the Netherlands is without doubt a leader in efficient agriculture, the focus on volume, efficiency and profit has produced negative consequences that can no longer be ignored. This is the model many small-scale farmers in Kenya aspire to but I am no longer a true believer in intensive agriculture as a model for small-scale farms.

Small-scale farming in Kenya accounts for 75 per cent of the total agricultural output and meets 70 per cent of the national food demand, so I know I am part of an important constituency. The challenge of my generation, those with access to land under 3 ha in size, is to craft a new farming philosophy that is built on progressive ideas through investigation, dialogue and exposure to alternative sources of knowledge grounded in the African experience. We need more philosophers and fewer technical experts to redefine what we call sustainable farming. Africa’s own knowledge systems and philosophy in agriculture are held in the memory of a generation that is dying out and dismissed as backward. Yet my grandmother’s practices resonate with those of emerging natural farming systems around the world that espouse new ideas grounded in the environmental, social and historical realities of the non-western world.

In the work of Masanobu Fukuoka, a farmer and philosopher from southern Japan, I encounter farming concepts of my childhood rural experience, farming techniques that used no machinery, no chemicals, involved little weeding and that are now back in vogue, in particular in the permaculture concept that advocates for the harmonious integration of the environment and the people.

Where land is valued as a collective resource that sustains a community, its conservation and sustainability become sacred, as opposed to being merely the source of perpetual extraction of profits. So, as custodians of the land, what becomes our mission? To be socially engaged and philosophically grounded, my farming decisions must consider the long-term consequences of the choices I make.

The principle of sustainability guides the needs of the present without compromising the needs of future generations. This involves thinking beyond consumption-oriented values that are dictated by our industrial economies to evolve a deep ecological philosophy that challenges the toxic ideas of dominance, colonialisation, exploitation and extraction where nature is viewed purely as a resource repository to be conquered and dominated.

Nature is the life source and, beyond the concept of mere conservation, an eco-pedagogy is needed to transmit culturally relevant forms of knowledge. There are ideas out there – such as Arnes Næss’ Deep Ecology, Bill Mollison’s Permaculture, Masanobu Fukuoka’s One Straw Revolution, the Slow Food movement – that all share a philosophy and
Beyond the hustle and towards a new philosophy for agriculture

Small-scale farming in Kenya accounts for 75% of the total agricultural output and meets 70 per cent of the national food demand.
a set of principles that place humanity and its connection to nature at the core of enlightened agriculture.

Chinese artist, activist and filmmaker Ou Ning – whose work titled, *The Bishan Commune: How to start your own utopia* explores ideas for an alternative community in rural China – has become a leading voice in the new rural reconstruction movement at the forefront of reimagining rural-urban relations.

The COVID-19 crisis presents an opportunity for artists to lead a call for a return to the countryside and to renew the rural-urban relationship as a mutually beneficial support system. Philosophers have to deepen their thinking on the fundamental root causes of food insecurity and re-imagine new systems by returning to basic values and practices.

For a generation undermined by the immorality of policy-makers and the political leadership’s bankruptcy of ideas, this global crisis is an opportunity to meet the challenge of truly achieving food sovereignty and to resist the allure of the industrial model as the only one suitable for the development of small-scale agriculture.

According to his account in *The One-Straw Revolution* (Fukuoka, 1978/2009), Fukuoka’s journey to natural farming began with a philosophical realisation. After working as a successful agricultural researcher for several years, he found himself one morning struck by the realisation that all human knowledge is empty, all human action is meaningless and that nothingness is the fundamental nature of reality. With this basic existential insight, he began to approach life’s problems with a fundamentally different attitude. He would resist the futile human urge to impose being onto nothingness and structure onto formlessness. Rather than attempting to solve ‘problems’ through actions – new interventions to ‘fix’ things – he began to adopt a more ‘subtractive’ approach. Instead of action, he would experiment with inaction. His philosophy of farming is based around this negative, somewhat Taoist disposition. Rather than solve the problems of agriculture by adding work, he would attempt to do less.

This philosophy assumes that most of the world’s problems arise because of human interventions into nature. Our disruption of the natural balance tends to create problems, which we then attempt to solve through further interventions. Natural farming involves taking a step back, recognising that problems tend to stem from human intervention, and finding a path to not-doing the problematic action – that is, a path towards minimal intervention. Importantly, Fukuoka (2009, p. 15) acknowledges that this does not mean a complete withdrawal from activity. He makes it very clear that natural farming is not ‘abandonment’ – as this can lead to a complete collapse of the farming system. Rather, it is a methodology for the gradual transition of the farming system back to nature, in such a way that less work is required with each passing season, as the natural system builds upon itself.

Racist undertones in the media’s reporting of COVID-19’s origins

By Mordecai Ogada

The media’s portrayal of the consumption of wild animals is one of the most overt and widely accepted expressions of racial prejudice and has been re-invigorated in response to the causes of the COVID-19 outbreak. The pandemic has exposed our class, racial, and cultural prejudices about environmental conservation.

The current crisis precipitated by the COVID-19 global pandemic has severely restricted travel for recreation and business and the sharing of experiences and ideas across the world. In a manner of speaking, it has put globalisation on "pause" as countries must look inwards for ways to mitigate its impact on health, social, and economic systems.

The complexity of the COVID-19 pandemic lies in the fact that there is still no universally accepted approach to its mitigation or management. Individual countries have, therefore, been compelled to draw on their own intellectual and material resources to address the impact of the pandemic, with varying levels of success. Some countries have taken a reactionary approach, while others struggle to find direction, illustrating the need for us to retake control of our living heritage and re-imagine ourselves in the light of our own needs and aspirations.

Double standards

The true origins of this pandemic may never be known, so those of us who are lay people take what the media give us. The spectre of a zoonosis "jumping" from wild animals into humans through the consumption of their meat and the sheer speed of communication (or mis-communication) about this are among the most startling features of the pandemic.

When the pandemic started, the media were instantly awash with images of people of Asian descent eating whole bats in soup. Suddenly, newly-used terms like “wet markets” were de rigueur in news bulletins, as were images of Chinese markets with live and dead creatures of all kinds for sale, either whole, live, or in various stages of dismemberment. It was only a matter of time before the racist dog-whistle “bush meat trade” hit the airwaves.

Mordecai Ogada is a carnivore ecologist from Kenya and co-author of The Big Conservation Lie.

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Racist undertones in the media’s reporting of COVID-19’s origins

The portrayal of the consumption of wild animals is one of the most overt and widely accepted expressions of racial prejudice in our times. It has long been the norm that the meat of wild animals must be described in genteel terms when it is consumed by white people, as is the killing of all manner of creatures. The nature of conservation discourse has normalised the use of the different terms “game meat” and “bush meat” even to describe consumption of flesh from the same animal species, based on the ethnicity of the procurer. Slaughter is routinely described as “sport” and dignified as “noble” all over the world when perpetrated by white people, and occasionally elites of colour.

It was, therefore, a feeling of déjà vu when the tone taken by the Western media during the early days, portrayed the outbreak almost as some kind of “divine retribution” visited upon the Chinese people for the consumption of meat from wild animals. Indeed, scientists were falling over themselves to look for coronaviruses in all manner of trafficked animals, like pangolins.

Racial undertones have always been part of global conservation practice. When wildlife is used as food in the global South, it draws near universal revulsion in the West with regards to the “cruelty” of the activity. Those who have visited the United States, however, are familiar with the seasonal hunting and eating of deer, elk, moose, squirrels, opossum and rabbits, not to mention turkeys, ducks, and other wild birds. Those who are so irked by “wet markets” would do well to familiarise themselves with the “rattlesnake roundup”, an annual activity in the state of Texas in the United States. The roundup is a display of extraordinary cruelty where thousands of rattlesnakes are collected from the wild, mostly by being flushed out of their dens with petrol. It takes around two weeks to collect the required number of snakes for the festival, during which time the captive reptiles are kept in the dark without food or water. Come the weekend of the festival, the entertainment of visitors will include the ritual decapitation of snakes and the participants (including children) competing to strip skins off the still writhing snake bodies and flaying them for meat (which is served on site and consumed with a variety of drinks). Children also engage in making murals from hand prints in snake blood, amongst other activities.

Characterising the consumption of reptiles, rodents, chiroptera (bats), marsupials (opossums) as “Asian” traits is simply racial prejudice. Similarly, the capture, caging and sale of wild animals in Asian markets is described as cruel whereas sport hunting, whaling, and foxhunting by Caucasian peoples are accepted, celebrated, and even defended robustly, when need be.

Conservation, tourism and dietary tastes

The variety of dietary tastes and preferences around the world are one of the most prominent indicators of human diversity, and have long been celebrated and studied by travellers and scholars. This pandemic, however, has upset the genteel veneer with which we present our differences and has left our class, racial, and cultural prejudices ruthlessly exposed. If indeed the slaughter of wildlife is a vile aspect of human nature, then why is Theodore Roosevelt’s 1909 hunting safari in Kenya where the hunters killed and trapped more than 11,000 animals, so celebrated by a conservation body (The Smithsonian Institution) over a century later?

Conservation and tourism have long been an arena that struggles with racism and classism, and Kenya has for the last 100 years been the poster child for what is good and wrong about the nexus of conservation and tourism in Africa. Due to travel bans and lockdowns, tourism in the country has largely collapsed. The obsession with foreign tourists has left established facilities struggling to appeal to indigenous and local clients for whom they had very little time under normal circumstances.

The real tragedy, however, is in the wildlife conservancies, where conservation NGOs had been going out of their way to convince and coerce previously resilient pastoralist communities to spurn their livelihoods and identities and to share landscapes with wildlife. The narrative was that livestock was bad and their numbers had to be suppressed.

Conservation, tourism and dietary tastes
The capture, caging and sale of wild animals in Asian markets is described as cruel whereas sport hunting, whaling, and foxhunting by Caucasian peoples are accepted, celebrated, and even defended.”
The landscape didn’t belong to the people, but to the wildlife, and the wildlife had no intrinsic cultural value. It was for tourists, and pastoralists’ livelihoods would reside in service to the tourists.

To be a “good” (read: compliant) community worthy of handouts, the community needed to move to the periphery of their lands, leaving the best parts for tourism. They had to reduce their herds (or move them away to go and overgraze someone else’s turf), and learn to serve (be a waiter, ranger, cook, or beadwork maker) at the altar of tourism.

Since the COVID-19 outbreak, reports from community conservancies invariably feature penury – communities struggling to make a living and depending on food handouts, all due to the collapse of tourism. For those who understand the livestock economy, pastoralist communities depending on food handouts is unthinkable in a year that has seen such abundance of rainfall and pasture growth. The conservation cult had succeeded in compromising the resilience of entire communities.

The language of environmentalism and assistance

200 years after its initial foray, Western neoliberalism is once again bringing rural Africa to its knees by destroying resilience and creating dependency. The only difference is that this time it is hidden in the language of environmentalism and assistance.

The world today needs to wake up to the threat of social stability posed by the global environmental movement fashioned in the West. The pursuit of its goals is relentless, and has the hallmarks of a cult. Nonagenarian Westerners like Sir David Attenborough routinely prescribe future goals to young populations in the global South (backed by environmental cinema that deliberately excludes human populations from the frame).

As African students of environmental sciences strive to make their voices heard in academia, they get confronted by ludicrous theories like the half-earth theory, proposed by E. O. Wilson, a pioneer of ecology from Harvard University, one of the pinnacles of academia. This theory proposes that half the earth should be “protected” for the survival of biodiversity.

However, what proponents of this theory don’t state is that this biodiversity will be protected mostly in the tropics, because the temperate lands do not have biodiversity worth protecting in such a drastic manner. Any attempt to actualise such a move would amount to genocide, but the world routinely accepts such fascism when environmental reasons are used to support it.

Indeed, the United Nations and other global bodies like the Convention for Biological Diversity (CBD) have taken up the cause, proposing to raise the recommended percentage of land under protection, from the current 14 per cent to 30 per cent. The voices pushing this movement are varied, but two uniformities persist – the voices are of white people and they say nothing about the difference in consumption patterns between themselves and the global South.

So-called “global” environmental targets must be tailored to meet the needs and aspirations of individual nations, or we run the risk of imperialism. Yellowstone National Park was created by violence and disenfranchisement, but it is still used as a template for fortress conservation over a century later, and celebrated as a world heritage site.

For generations, our consumption patterns have never been spoken about globally, because to do so would be to acknowledge that we in the global South have always been sustainable societies. Logic dictates that our consumption patterns shouldn’t now be used to vilify us as the source of a scourge, which strangely appears not to have affected us in the way the global North expected.

The term “new normal” has been bandied about ad nauseam to describe the post-COVID19 world. In reality, the manner in which the people and the environment of the global South have been exploited by the Occident over generations has been abnormal. The coronavirus crisis may have just set a few things right.●
Recipe corner

In the spirit of being creative, local, sustainable and promoting foods that nourish us, we got in touch with Shiru Macharia from *My Planted Kitchen*, to share two of her favourite (and easy) recipes. We hope you love them as much as we do.

**Ginger Wellness Shots**

**INGREDIENTS**

- 2 thumb size pieces of fresh ginger, peeled and sliced
- 4 large garlic cloves
- Juice of 2 medium lemons
- 1-2 tbsp of raw pure honey (depending on how sweet you like it)
- 1 tsp baobab powder
- 1 thumb size piece of fresh turmeric (optional)

**DIRECTIONS**

1. Squeeze the juice out of the lemons. Add this in to a blender, together with the ginger and garlic.
2. Blend until smooth. If too thick, add more lemon juice.
3. Strain through a sieve to remove the pulp. Proceed to add the honey and baobab powder and mix in well.
4. Serve in shot glasses and enjoy. Leftovers can be stored in the fridge for up to 2 days.
INGREDIENTS

• 2 tbsp olive oil
• 1 ¼ lb. boneless, skinless chicken breast, pounded to even thickness
• 4 large eggs, beaten
• 2 red bell peppers, finely chopped
• 2 small carrots, finely chopped
• 1 onion, finely chopped
• 2 cloves garlic, finely chopped
• 4 small onions, finely chopped, plus more for serving
• ½ cup frozen peas, thawed
• 1 medium cauliflower
• 2 tbsp low-sodium soy sauce
• 2 tsp rice vinegar
• Sea salt and pepper

DIRECTIONS

1. To make the cauliflower rice, take a medium cauliflower head that has been rinsed and cut into 4-6 large pieces. Using a greater, shred the cauliflower into rice like sizes. You can also use a food processor for this.

2. In a large, deep skillet over medium-high, heat 1 tbsp oil. Add the chicken and cook until golden brown, 3 to 4 minutes per side.

3. Transfer to a cutting board and let rest for 6 minutes before slicing. Add remaining 1 tbsp oil to the skillet.

4. Add the eggs and scramble until just set, 1 to 2 minutes; transfer to a bowl.

5. To the skillet, add the bell pepper, carrot, and onion and cook, stirring often until just tender, 4 to 5 minutes.

6. Stir in the garlic and cook, 1 minute. Toss with onions and peas.
Curfews, lockdowns and disintegrating national food supply chains

By Joe Kobuthi

Joe Kobuthi is a writer and analyst based in Nairobi, Kenya. He is an editor with The Elephant (theelephant.info); his work focuses on deconstructing the Kenyan body politic - its perspectives, contradictions and blindspots. Article originally published on The Elephant (theelephant.info/editions/food)
On July 6, 2020, President Uhuru Kenyatta announced phased reopening of the country as the government moved to relax COVID-19 restrictions. That day found me seated in a fishmonger’s stall in Gikomba market, located about five kilometres east of Nairobi’s Central Business District and popularly known for the sale of second-hand clothes. The customer seated next to me must have received a text message because she began howling at the fishmonger to tune in to the radio, which was playing Benga music at the time. It was a few minutes after 2 p.m.

“I order and direct that the cessation of movement into and out of the Nairobi, Mombasa County and Mandera County, that is currently in force, shall lapse at 4:00 a.m. on Tuesday, 7th July, 2020,” pronounced the president on the radio.

The response to this news was cathartic. The female customer, on hearing the words “cessation of movement shall lapse” ululated, and burst out in praise so loudly it startled the fishmonger. The excited customer jumped on her feet and started dancing around the fish stalls, muttering words, “Oh God, I can now leave the hardship of Nairobi and go back to my homeland and my people. Oh God, you have heard my prayers. Oh God, you are good to me.”

“She, like most of us are very happy that the cessation measures have been lifted. Life was becoming very hard and unbearable,” said Rose Akinyi, the fifty-seven year old fishmonger. “Since the lockdown, business has been bad. Most of my customers have stopped buying fish because they have either lost their sources of income while others have been too afraid of catching the coronavirus that they have not come to make their usual purchases,” explained Akinyi.

Gikomba market is also Nairobi’s wholesale fish market. Hotels and restaurants flock there to purchase fish from Lake Victoria and Lake Turkana. But with the regulations to close down eateries, fish stocks have been rotting, lamented Akinyi. She has had to reduce the supply of her fish in response to the low demand.

“With the re-opening of the city, I plan to travel to my home county of Kisumu and go farm. At least this way I can supplement my income,” she explained.

Two days later, I found my way to Wakulima market, popular known as Marikiti. The stench of spoilt produce greets you as you approach the vicinity of the market.
Nairobi’s most important fresh produce market. News of the president’s announcement had reached the market and the rush of activity and trade had returned.

“Since the lockdown, business has been dire to say the least,” complained one Robert Kharinge, a greengrocer and pastor in a church based in Madiwa, Eastleigh. Robert, who sells bananas that he gets from Meru, noted that “business has never been this bad in all my years as a vendor. Now, I’ve been forced to supplement my income as a porter to make ends meet. Before COVID-19, I would sell at least 150 hands of bananas in a day. Today, I can barely sell five hands,” he explains.

Robert, who is also a clergyman, leans on his faith and is hopeful that things will get back to normal since the cessation of movement has been lifted. He also hopes that the County of Nairobi will expand the Marikiti market to cater for the growing pressure of a city whose population is creeping towards five million.

Divine intervention is a recurring plea in these distressed economic times, but unlike Robert, who remains hopeful, this is not the case for Esther Waithera, a farmer and miller based in Mwandus, Kiambu.

Kiambu, with its fertile rich soils, adequate rainfall, and plenty of food produce, is a bustling administrative centre in the heart of Kikuyuland. After the president’s announcement of the quasi-lockdown and curfew, Waithera has been spending her afternoons selling fresh produce from her car parked opposite Kiambu mall on the weekends and in Thindigwa, a splashy middle-class residential area off the busy Kiambu Road, on weekdays.

“Before COVID-19, I used to supply farm produce to eateries across the city. But now I have been forced to sell my produce from my car boot because if I don’t, my produce will rot in the farm. My husband runs the family mill and even that has been doing badly since the coronavirus came to plague us. We have had to decrease our milling capacity and the cost of maize flour to adjust to new market prices as demand reduces.”

Waithera, a mother of three children, doesn’t seem hopeful about the future. “This government has let us down. They have squandered the lockdown and have caused economic harm without containing COVID-19. Now we are staring at an economic meltdown and a food crisis.”

A devout evangelical Christian, Waithera deeply believes that “God is punishing the country because we have turned away from him and taken to idol worship.” And like the biblical plagues, “the infestation of desert locusts and the coronavirus are signs from God that he has unleashed his wrath on his people unless we repent and turn back to God”, laments a bitter Waithera.

For Joyce Nduku, a small-scale farmer and teacher based in Ruiru, this new reality has provided her with opportunities for growth. She acknowledged that her sales have increased during the COVID-19 pandemic, saying, “I now have more customers because there are not enough vegetables available in the market from upcountry”.

Localised and more resilient food systems

At a time when regular food supply chains have not been assured, some food markets have closed, mama mbogas are out of business, and the cessation of movement is deterring travel, Nduku attributes her increased food production to meet the growing demand to a business model that lays emphasis on a localised food system and short food supply chains.

Approaching food production through a localised food system, she says, “gives me local access to farm inputs”. She adds, “I get my manure from livestock keepers within my locale and my seeds from local agrovets. I have direct access to my consumers, removing middlemen who expose my produce to unsafe and unhygienic handling and high logistical and transport costs. Hence I’m able to increase the access to safe and affordable food.”

Agriculture, forestry and fishing’s contribution to GDP in 2019 was 34.1 per cent, according to the Economic Survey 2020. Another 27 per cent of GDP is contributed indirectly through linkages with other sectors of Kenya’s economy. The sector, the survey revealed, employs more than 56 per cent of the total labour force employed in agriculture in 2019. It also provides a livelihood to more than 80 percent
of the Kenyan population and contributes to improving nutrition through the production of safe, diverse and nutrient dense foods, notes a World Bank report.

Yet, in a matter of weeks, Nduku tells me, “COVID-19 has laid bare the underlying risks, inequities, and fragilities in our food and agricultural systems, and pushed them close to breaking point.”

These systems, the people underpinning them, and the public goods they deliver have been under-protected and under-valued for decades. Farmers have been exposed to corporate interests that give them little return for their yield; politicians have passed neoliberal policies at the peril of citizens; indigenous farming knowledge has been buried by capitalist modes of production; and families have been going hungry due to untenable food prices, unhealthy farm produce and volatile food ecosystems.

Nduku firmly believes that the pandemic has, however, offered a glimpse to new, robust and more resilient food systems, as some local authorities have implemented measures to safeguard the provision and production of food and local communities have come together to plug gaps in the food systems.

Food justice

Many Kenyans have also emerged to offer leadership with more intimate knowledge of their contexts and responded to societal needs in more direct and appropriate ways. If anything, Nduku tells me, “we must learn from this crisis and ensure that the measures taken to curb the food crisis in these corona times are the starting point for a food system transformation.”

To achieve the kind of systematic transformation Kenya needs, we must “borrow a leaf from Burkina Faso’s leader Thomas Sankara”, Nduku adds. Sankara emphasised national food sovereignty, advocated against over-dependence on foreign food aid, and implemented ecological programmes that fostered long-term agro-ecological balance, power-dispersing, communal food cultivation, and the regeneration of the environment, which remain powerful foundations for food justice today.

Indeed, we must also not rely on discrete technological advances or conservative and incremental policy change. We must radically develop a new system that can adapt and evolve to new innovations, build resilient local food systems, strengthen our local food supply chains, reconnect people with food production, provide fair wages and secure conditions to food and farm workers, and ensure more equitable and nutritious food access for all Kenyans.

Importantly, Nduku emphasises, “We must start thinking about the transformation of our food systems from the point of view of the poorest and those who suffer the greatest injustice within the current framework of our food systems.” This will provide a much more just, resilient and holistic approach to food systems transformation.
COVID-19 has offered us an invitation to rethink our relationship with food as a source of nourishment, recognising that food is the way in which human beings connect with Earth, and the way Earth connects with human beings. We are prompted to embrace our vulnerability with courage. Here is how I am learning to do this.

Wangũi wa Kamonji is a regeneration practitioner exploring how to heal the colonial traumas of past and present, and (re)create new-old regenerative realities for the present and future of the Afrikan continent in partnership with human, earth and unembodied spirit relations. Find her online @fromtheroots
When I fell ill earlier this year, my mum brought me soup bones from the butchery. Bone broth is a healing food. I had never made my own soup before, so we cobbled together a recipe. We put the bones in a big pot, filled it up with water and threw in some onion, ginger and garlic for flavour. We then let it boil furiously for an hour. I drank the soup. It was OK, but it wasn’t amazing. Usually you use your bones at least twice to make soup, but since I was underwhelmed with the meal I’d made, I fed the bones to my neighbours’ dogs and that was that.

I only later realised that to make good bone broth, you need to do it on a low heat over a long period of time. And that properly made bone broth is gelatinous and jiggles when cold. This realisation came after my illness invited me to interrogate nourishment.

During the months when I was unwell, I had difficulty feeding myself. My landlady and neighbour realised this because she didn’t hear my pestle and mortar pounding spices anymore – a sign that I wasn’t cooking. For weeks she brought me delicious food three times a day, always asking, “Have you eaten?”

In a ritual I did at the beginning of 2020, I set a desire and intention for nourishment to hold me through the coming year. According to indigenous knowledge, when you make a stand for what you want, all that you don’t want gets up so it can leave.

Illness seems the opposite of nourishment, yet it created the conditions that allowed for nourishment to happen. It revealed my vulnerability in an incontrovertible way. Just like COVID-19 has revealed the vulnerabilities and therefore, interdependence of us all, as humans and Earth. Vulnerability does not sound like a virtue – it sounds like the opposite – something to avoid and reduce by whatever means necessary.

The Western modernity project, beginning in the European Enlightenment, asserted the individual (hu)man’s control over all life, Earth included, and created an illusion of invincibility. These ideas and ways of being were later transplanted violently across the world through colonialism. I would argue that to regain one’s wholeness from this illusion, involves regaining one’s acknowledgement and comfort with vulnerability.

There is another reason to want to reduce one’s vulnerability. Trauma from living within dehumanising systems such as extractive capitalism, sovereignty robbing imperialism, controlling patriarchy, boxed in heteronormativity, and so on, creates a need for certainty and control to counteract the powerlessness one feels when experiencing harm.

Paradoxically, acknowledging our vulnerability is crucial to having nourishment, and therefore, life. To be human is to be vulnerable and (inter)dependent.

Nourishment – that which aids growth and development – involves beings outside of ourselves. In order to have nourishment, we must be able to receive.

It sounds easy, but when we believe we are complete impervious selves (the illusion of Western modernity), or when we carry trauma, receiving becomes difficult. It reminds you that you are vulnerable. That you need other people. That you need the Earth.

When I was ill, I needed other people, and thankfully they were there. I also needed food, and food showed up. In fact, food showed up with her bags packed to stay and teach me some more life lessons from when we had last had a major encounter eight years before.

My story with food begins with refusing to learn how to cook at home so that as the only daughter, I wouldn’t be asked to cook for my brothers. I learnt how to cook by myself, far away from home. I experimented, made mistakes, and a fascination with indigenous foods was born. At that time, I realised that the nature of colonialism had been to freeze us, and consequently our knowledges and practices, such as the importance of communal eating, were lost. Only recently have we begun to recover these knowledges and practices.
that we ceased to innovate upon them. I questioned why ndũma, for example, was only eaten in one predominant way: boiled for breakfast with tea. I wondered what else might be possible when we break out of frozen suspension and continue to innovate. For ndũma, maybe ugali, stews, breads, desserts, or lots more.

During this COVID-19 period, food came back to continue our lessons. As working from home became the new normal, I moved the big table from where I worked and had meetings into the kitchen, to create space to teach dance classes online. Food had begun to call me back to her bosom and another re-adventure of inquiry and experimentation began.

One of the diagnoses I had received from the many trips to the doctor, was of polycystic ovarian syndrome (PCOS). Doing research to understand what this condition was and how to alleviate it without relying on allopathic medicine, I came back to food (and trauma). In fact food became an all-consuming presence, and for weeks, I constantly had food on my mind: how often to eat, when to have my largest meal, what to include in a new diet to rebalance hormones, what to say goodbye to. In essence, how to nourish myself in a new normal that had finally been given a name by this acronym – PCOS – although I had lived with it for some time already. Through it all, food’s agency in my learning was evident.

So, I learnt how to bake with wimbi flour: it requires more liquid than baking with wheat. I made biriani with sorghum: soak the sorghum for at least 1-2 days prior to allow softening and slight fermentation. I made porridge from ndũma: blend with coconut milk, it’s a match made in heaven.”
clay pots I had bought a year ago, and I even learnt how to make bone broth that gelatinises.

Gelatinous bone broth is an indication that collagen, a protein found in connective tissues and which is critical for maintaining bone, skin and tissue health, has been drawn into the broth. I sometimes joke that I am the dancer and not my food, but when my bone broth jiggles, I know I am nourished. I also know that making broth is a skill that my Maasai ancestors probably had, to gain all the nutrition available in cows that are revered and rarely slaughtered.

To create regenerative realities in the present and future, we will need to recover and reimagine skills and ways of being that have been forgotten or discarded along the way. And, learn some new ones. One of the places to reskill is to understand nourishment, both in terms of nutrients in our food, and the ways of being that allow us to recognise, affirm and celebrate our vulnerability and interdependence, so we can receive and give nourishment.

COVID-19 was one more in a series of invitations to come home again and again, and with each time, discover new layers to a rock I thought already familiar. At the hearth and the table, I continue to learn from food, and not only about food – to reskill, embrace vulnerability, and receive nourishment.

Recipe for bone broth that jiggles

1. Have a conversation with your butcher about the source of the beef – where are the cows from?
2. Ask to buy soup bones: the best ones have a lot of connective tissue: knuckles, feet, tailbones, etc.
3. At home wash these. Brown the meaty bones on a rüego or in an oven. Meanwhile soak the bonier bones in a water and cup of vinegar solution in a deep pot.
4. Add the browned meaty bones to the pot and cover with water.
5. Put the lid on and bring the mixture to a gentle boil, and then reduce the flame to the very lowest, so that the cooking proceeds with only the slightest intermittent bubbles.
   For beef 8-12 hours of this gentle heat is ideal. You can start in the morning and finish in the evening for ease of mind.
6. Sieve out the bones and spices. You can re-use the bones to make another batch of broth.
7. Drink your nourishing nutrient-dense bone broth as is, use it in soup bowls with noodles or whole grains like mawelev, or freeze into cubes to add to meals as stock.
It is 1 p.m. on a hot, sunny, Friday. Across from the Sigona Golf Club on the Nairobi-Nakuru dual highway that is under construction, Phyllis Ikoa’s food kiosk is teeming with men in helmets and overalls munching their hot, fresh lunch after a gruelling morning shift.

Ikoa’s food kiosk, popularly known in local parlance as kibanda (shed), is small with limited sitting capacity, which comprises form benches and makeshift tables. The kiosk is occasionally smoky because she often uses firewood.

Despite the apparent “discomfort”, nothing beats Ikoa’s steamy, well-cooked food served at the most affordable prices and in an atmosphere filled with camaraderie.
"I practically know all my customers by their first names," said Ikoa. "It is important for me to know them because they keep my business going. Without them, I wouldn’t be in Kikuyuland."

For Sh70, you get, depending on your preference, a big brown or white round chapati served with madondo or ndengu.

Ikoa is a Mteso from Adungosi village in Malaba town, Busia County, 400 kilometres from the Sigona area, (located 17 kilometres from the Nairobi). Ikoa’s culinary skills from Tesoland has introduced diversity that was not commonly found. The local cuisine is unsophisticated and
usually consists of githeri – a stewed broth of maize and beans, occasionally spruced up with potatoes and chopped carrots.

Ikoa’s food menu is diverse: Chapati and madondo (beans), rice and ndengu (green grams), ugali and tilapia from Lake Victoria, stewed matoke (bananas) from Uganda, and stewed or boiled meat accompanied with chapati, ugali or rice.

Ikoa told me her customers prefer to eat her specially cooked meat, Teso style, with ugali. But it is her chapatis that have made Ikoa popular in Sigona, a location within the larger Kikuyu constituency in Kiambu County. The popularity of her chapatis, saw some customers demand the inclusion of tea in her menu, to enjoy the option of a tea and chapati snack.

Phyllis Ikoa’s chapati-making skills have turned her into a household name in and around the Sigona area. “They’re people who come from Kikuyu town to eat my chapatti,” said a proud Ikoa. Kikuyu is just about three kilometres southwest of Sigona. There are others who come all the way from Kiambaa five kilometres north of Sigona. I asked her why her chapatis are such popular food item on her menu: “What now can I tell you? I prepare them well, they’re soft and they are big enough for one to enjoy them with either tea or with an accompaniment of your choice.”

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I found a female customer who works at the Sigona Club house at Ikoa’s eating joint. Looking sophisticated with her permed hair, she heaped praise on Ikoa’s chapatis. Despite looking out of place, the lady said she was not restrained by those concerns.

“Because of the lady, I’ve been getting orders to make her chapatis for ‘important’ people,” said Ikoa. By important people, Ikoa meant upper class people who ordinarily would never be seen ordering chapatis at her kibanda. Ikoa does home order requests for families with busy schedules and people who live alone.

“Phyllis’ food is the best around here: it is well-prepared, it’s nutritious, it’s fresh, it has variety, but above all, it’s affordable,” said mzee Santana, one of her loyal customers. After 46 years as a caddie at the Sigona Golf Club and now in his mid-70s, he has seen it all. Without food sheds like the one run by Ikoa, Santana told me, many caddies would be going hungry. “Where would we be eating and there isn’t a food kiosk inside the club? In any case, the club would never ever dream of having such a structure inside the club’s precincts,” he said.

The golf club only caters for a wealthy elite in the country. At lunchtime, as the golfers take their break and troop to the club house, the poor caddies’ are left to fend for themselves. Before the arrival of Ikoa, 10 years ago, the caddies would just laze in the sun during the lunch hour while the golfers enjoyed the sumptuous meals.

Prior to the recent real estate construction boom around Sigona area, caddies comprised nearly all of Ikoa’s customers. Over time, she developed a rapport with them and begun to afford many a credit facility. Ikoa has an exercise book in which she records her debtors’ names. Today, most of the people who are in that book are casual labourers who are paid once a week on Fridays.

“When I began my business here, I realised two things”, said Ikoa. “My customers were the lowly-paid rough and tumble workers who operated on a shoe-string budget, hence they required pocket-friendly priced foodstuff, if they were going to afford to eat it. It’s true, people can’t do without food, but only if they can afford it.”

The food seller said that to keep her customer base satisfied, she wasn’t going to compromise on the quality of the food and or the correct pricing. “If you want to keep your customers intact in this industry of ours, quality of food is of utmost importance.”

For Sh50 Ikoa’s serves you with a hot plate of rice and madondo and a spattering of vegetables (either cabbage or sukuma wiki), or rice with ndengu, or stewed matoke. For Sh70, you get, depending on your preference, a big brown or white round chapati served with madondo or ndengu.

Ikoa’s sumptuous delicacy of ugali and tilapia with staked soup, at Sh100, is a favourite among her customers. “She introduced a delicacy that was not known in this area. Now people eat fish here with the expertise of the lake region people,” observed Kimani.

Friday is a particularly busy day for Ikoa. It is when the casual labourers are paid their weekly wages. On Fridays, Ikoa knows that she has to prepare lots of chapatis and bean and ndengu stew because of loyal clients that pass by in the early afternoon. Some Muslim youth who work at an adjacent Shell petrol station have formed a good habit of passing by her kibanda on their way back from the mosque, which is 600 metres up from her food kiosk. They order lots of chapatis, with bean stew served in a large bowl for the four lads to share, and eat with their bare hands. After eating chapati with madondo, the lads drown the food with copious cups of black tea.
Food kiosks are revolutionising Kenya’s urban culture

Photography by Joe Ngui of Phyllis Ikoa Food.
Ikoa told me that with the onset of coronavirus, her kibanda business has been badly affected. “Many of my customers have been laid off and I had really to scale down on the food I was used to preparing. Some of my customers would come to me and beg to be given food, with the promise of paying me later, but from what work? It was difficult.”

Mzee Santana told me once coronavirus was declared in Kenya, “the first thing our bosses did was to lock themselves in their houses and keep away from the club. When they gathered the confidence to trickle back to the club, they said they didn’t want to see us near the club and near them. Can you imagine?”

So, outside the club’s main gate, one can see many men waiting outside in groups of three and four. Santana said the club’s management had decreed that all caddies, henceforth, would only be let in the club’s premises with the express permission of their respective golfing bosses. “This means that work becomes intermittent and therefore unpredictable. But one cannot stay at home waiting to get a call from his boss for work.”

Likewise, Ikoa cannot afford to stay at home doing nothing. “After a couple of weeks into the lockdown, I was getting calls from my customers, asking me to venture out and make some food for them. Some of them just wanted a place to hang out, away from their restrictive homes, which they were not used to staying at all day long.”

Hence, during this coronavirus crisis, Ikoa’s kibanda has become a meeting place for her customers, who discuss their trials and tribulations, and pool their little cash and buy food from her, while persuading her to provide them with food and keep a record in her exercise book.

Not an entirely new phenomenon, vibandas have always been around since the early 1970s, when they served only tea (in heat-resistant glasses) and mandazi, mainly in estates in Eastlands, which lies in the south-eastern part of Nairobi. Today, they are found practically along every road and street in the city, especially in working class and informal settlements. They, in essence, have become an integral part of the city’s culinary food parlours, serving exotic indigenous dishes and foods that were once only made at home.

Street food embodies the essence of Nairobi’s culture, and during the COVID-19 crisis, it is street food vendors that have sustained people who do not have the luxury to have a home-cooked meal or to order food from restaurants. It is the likes of Ikoa, revolutionising the culture of street food in the city:

Many of my customers have been laid off and I had to scale down on the food I was used to preparing. Some of my customers would beg to be given food, with the promise of paying me later, but from what work? It was difficult.”

PHYLLIS IKOA

Food kiosks are revolutionising Kenya’s urban culture
The Route to Food Initiative is a publicly funded programme of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung in Nairobi. Through the initiative, a Route to Food Alliance has formed that works towards realising the Human Right to Food in Kenya. Our activities aim to influence the political approach to food security and target avenues related to policy development and implementation at national and county-level. Additionally, the initiative relies on creative communications and an influencer-led campaign to promote innovative solutions to the problem of food insecurity. We engage with mainstream and alternative media to shift the emphasis of hunger and unaffordable or inadequate food to a discussion about food rights.

You can join the Route to Food Alliance via www.routetofood.org. If you would like a copy of this publication, it will be available on our website or can be ordered by emailing info@routetofood.org or calling Layla on +254(0)202680745.
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