

Addressing Urban Food Security: Rural Bias and Food System Governance in Kenya and Tanzania



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Abstract

The rapid urbanization of sub-Saharan countries such as Kenya and Tanzania poses new challenges for policy makers. Increasing rates of urban food insecurity are one of these challenges. This thesis investigates how the governments of Kenya and Tanzania address food security in relation to urban areas. It especially scrutinizes the role of a rural bias at the expense of urban policies that address the distinct and complex character of urban food security. The findings are analyzed through the lenses of post-neoliberal urban governance as well as spatial governance of food systems. Moreover, the research design is qualitative and conducts a content analysis of policy papers published by the governments of Kenya and Tanzania, as well as the Food and Agriculture Organizations of the United Nations. The findings suggest three key points. At first, the assessment of the state of food security in both countries has a rather holistic perspective. However, when it comes to policies their perspective is distorted by a one-sided focus on rural production, and in further consequence, the availability of food. Secondly, the food security agenda of Kenya and Tanzania is subject to rural bias and mirrors the very same in the international food security agenda. The distinct character of urban food security is not adequately addressed in the analyzed documents. Thirdly, the thesis affirms that actors under the corporate food regime aim to tame food systems instead of understanding it. Simultaneously, the governance of food security is not only susceptible to neoliberal influences, but also subject to extra-neoliberal processes.

Key words: *Urban food security, Food system governance, Corporate food regime, Rural bias*

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1. Introduction

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO 2018) 821 mio. people were undernourished in 2018. The numbers have been on the rise since 2014 (ibid.). Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and South America are the most affected regions. Nonetheless, food security as a problem is not exclusive to the majority world (global south). In fact, there is an abundance of literature (Dixon & Richards 2016, Guthman 2008, Meenar et al. 2012, Lewis et al. 2018, Raja et al. 2008) regarding food security in the cities of North America and Europe. Yet, the focus differs significantly. Research within the minority world (global north) points out structural injustices such as food deserts (Lewis et al. 2018, Meenar et al. 2012) or the racialization of food (Raja et al. 2008). In the majority world on the other hand food security is often associated with rural production of staple food (Crush & Frayne 2011). When it comes to urban food security household income and food prices are emphasized (Battersby 2012). Structural injustices and geographical factors receive little attention (ibid.). The thesis seeks to shed further light on the discourse that accompanies food security in relation to urban areas within the majority world, especially in East Africa, with the final focus laying on Kenya and Tanzania.

The urbanization process in sub-Saharan Africa is unique in its rapid pace. By the midst of the century half of the sub-Saharan population is assumed to live in towns or cities (Battersby & Crush 2016:4). Parnell & Pieterse (2014) even term it the *African Revolution*. Kenya and Tanzania are among the countries with the highest urban growth rates in sub-Saharan Africa (Brown 2015). The pace of the shift from rural to urban challenges governments beyond their capacities (Guarneros-Meza & Geddes 2010). In 2015, FAO (2015:9) reported that 29% of urban dwellers in sub-Saharan Africa live in extreme poverty. Whereas some problems transition from rural sites to urban ones, others are unique in their urban contexts. Urbanization is often characterized to be accompanied by intersectional conditions such as poverty, precarious housing, informality, lack of health facilities, and food insecurity (Warhowsky 2014). The focus of the thesis lays on the latter. It is especially unique because it combines two major themes of the development project in itself. Namely, urban development and food security. Two of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals are directly linked to it: Goal two *Zero Hunger* and goal eleven *Sustainable Cities and Communities*. Both are interconnected. Nonetheless, Crush and Frayne (2011, also see Brown 2015, Maxwell 1998) argue that there is relatively little effort to emphasize this linkage by the core institutions that set the mainstream development agenda such as FAO or the World Bank. In further consequence, they reason to understand urban food security as an explicitly urban problem that requires localized and distinctively urban policy solutions. Throughout this thesis the urban areas are referred to as *the urban*. It is acknowledged that *the urban* is not an absolute concept, but one that only exists within a thought dichotomy of *the rural* and *the urban*.

1.1 Aim and research questions

The research aim of the thesis is to gain a better understanding of how the governments of Kenya and Tanzania conceptualize food security and food security governance in relation to urban areas, and how this can be interpreted through the lenses of post-neoliberal urban governance and spatial governance of food systems. The research questions are split into three parts. The first one seeks to investigate how the governments of Kenya and Tanzania attribute urban food security within policy papers. By doing so it examines which aspects are addressed and how, while simultaneously scrutinizing the absence of other factors. The *pillars of food security* serve as the main trajectory in this step, with a focus on *availability* and *accessibility*. In the second step, the thesis scrutinizes the sources to expose a potential rural bias. It uses rural-urban distinctions in the codes as the main tool of analysis. Furthermore, it links the findings with the international food security agenda. Thirdly,

the thesis connects the findings to theories of urban food governance and post-neoliberal urban governance. The research questions are the following:

1. How do the governments of Kenya and Tanzania conceptualize the problem of food security in relation to urban areas?
2. What is the role of rural bias in the selected cases?
3. How can the findings be understood through the lenses of post-neoliberal urban theory and spatial governance of food systems?

1.2. Delimitations

The study has several delimitations due to its scope and methodology. In this passage the most essential ones are commented on. At first, a potential discrepancy between the analyzed content and actual governmental actions in the field exists. Policy papers are of high importance for governments. They pose a guideline for political trajectories. Yet, they are not synonymous with the political actions of countries. Instead they might have a rather representational role for countries to attract donors and align with international guidelines. It is important to be aware of that. However, it does not undermine the analysis itself when acknowledging the natural delimitations of interpreting government documents. The goal is not to understand what exactly governments do, but how they conceptualize their actions in the public. Secondly, the thesis applies theories of neoliberal hegemony such as the corporate food regime and post-neoliberal urban governance. These macro-oriented theories serve as analytical lenses to make sense of processes and observations of the researcher. However, one should be aware that they are limited when describing complex processes. Thirdly, the thesis applies a deductive analysis. It does not seek for entirely new findings. Instead it tests existing assumptions and potentially enhances these. That is not a problem, but sets the scope of the research. Furthermore, the qualitative research design does not provide causality. Any conclusions are based on the individual interpretation of the researcher. Fourthly, the thesis points out vehemently the problem of rural bias in the context of food security. It is important to note that the thesis acknowledges the severity of rural poverty. Pointing out the needs of the urban is not an attempt to weigh different forms of structural injustices against each other. It does not suggest a neglect of the rural, but a holistic perspective that provides a distinct toolkit for the complexity of urban food security.

1.3 Positionality

As mentioned in the delimitations the researcher interprets the findings through their individual perspective. I am a white, cis-male researcher from the minority world. In further consequence, I am exposed to a wide range of biases, that are inherent to the experiences and privileges that come with the aforesaid characteristics. I acknowledge these characteristics without claiming to be fully aware of their multitudinous dimensions and how they shape my research.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The following thesis investigates policy papers of Kenya and Tanzania in the light of urban food security. After the outline of the research aim it continues with a literature review that provides a compact overview of previous research in the field of urban food security. Furthermore, the thesis draws out a background of Kenya and Tanzania, the two investigated countries. Subsequently, the conceptual framework is laid out. Here the pivotal concepts and theories for the analysis are elaborated. Based on the prior sections a hypothesis is drawn. Afterwards the thesis explicates the methodology that provides the methodological framework for the analysis. In sequence, the analysis

is performed in three steps. Eventually, the thesis gives a concluding discussions that takes up the essential findings and puts them in relation to the hypothesis.

2. Literature review

The following section provides a brief overview of the context in which the discourse of food security is embedded in. In further consequence, it makes a case for the significance of the topic. At first, it points out the rural bias of the food security agenda. Secondly, it lays out how urban food security has been responded to by researchers in the past. Lastly, it touches upon similar work of researchers in comparison to this thesis.

2.1 Urban food security

Food security is by no means peripheral within the development context. However, it is predominantly perceived as a rural issue (Battersby 2012, 2015, Brown 2015, 2011, Haysom 2016). Yet, in their comprehensive study Crush & Frayne (2010) exhibit the magnitude of urban food security. The reliance on cash makes urban dwellers especially vulnerable to fluctuating food prices in comparison to rural ones (Brown 2015). Throughout the food price crisis in 2008 violent protests occurred across African cities, because of the effects of the international financial crisis on food prices in Eastern Africa. Households and individuals cope with food price shocks by eating less nutritious food, cheaper food, and less food overall (ibid.). Yet, the integration urban food security into the mainstream food security agenda remains slow. Hence, some scholars (Crush & Frayne 2010, 2017, Battersby 2012, 2013, 2015, Brown 2015, Haysom 2016, Maxwell 1998) argue that the food security discourse is subject to a rural bias that is partly reinforced by the international development and food security agenda. The debate ranges from a wide variety of perspectives.

The research in regard to urban food security in sub-Saharan Africa can be split into two major fields. On the one hand, researchers (Gallaher et al. 2013, Marshak 2008, Zezza & Tasciotti 2010) promote urban agriculture as a strategy against urban food insecurity that simultaneously fosters bottom-up change. The idea received increasing attention by international donors which has subsequent implications for the quantity of such studies (Battersby 2013). Other researchers criticize this by claiming it does not stand in adequate proportion to the actual challenges urban food security poses (ibid.). The second approach mainly refers to the research of the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) and the Hungry Cities Partnership. Both networks provide a platform for urban food security research. Their studies do not generally reject urban agriculture, yet they agree that it is not a viable option for the vast majority of urban dwellers. Satterthwaite (2011, in Battersby 2012:143) correctly poses the question “*why do almost all discussions of food and nutrition in urban areas of Africa and Asia (...) stress only urban and peri-urban agriculture as the solution, when in every successful city, the possibility of low income groups getting access to agricultural land and water is limited?*” Instead, they point out the importance of urban policy that addresses the complexity of local urban food systems (Battersby 2012, 2013, Haysom 2016, Riley & Legwogeh 2014). The term *food system* describes the process from the production to the consumption of food.

2.2 Urban food economies

Procuring food relies on a complex system of markets and retailers that are of informal and formal, as well as rural, and urban character (Raimundo et al. 2016). However, not everyone in urban areas has the same access to these markets. Studies (Mohamed et al. 2016, Riley & Dudson 2016, Riley

& Legwegoh 2014) point out how the geographical situation within the city heavily contributes to food access. Many cities in sub-Saharan Africa have so-called poverty belts. These are usually informal settlements that surround the city center and are diverse in terms of population density, income levels, demographics and proximity to the center (Raimundo et al. 2016). Typically, they lack formal food markets that provide affordable food of high quality. Thus, urban dwellers living in the poverty belts are more likely to be food insecure. Riley & Legwegoh (2014:64) term the problem “*geographical vulnerabilities*”. Battersby (2012:141) suggests an approach that “*takes the household’s assets, abilities and decision-making as the starting point and overlays this with the market and non-market foodscapes accesses by these households*”. The quote leads to the second geographical aspect that received increasing attention by researchers (Battersby 2013), the geographies of formal, and especially *informal* retail (Battersby et al. 2017, Kimani-Murage et al. 2014, Owuor 2018). These are strongly linked a wide range of factors. The demographics of neighborhoods partially determines the source of food (Battersby et al. 2016:5). Poor households for instance, are much more likely to purchase from informal food retailers (ibid.). Furthermore, retail markets adapt according to commuting routes of urban citizens (ibid.). Unfortunately little attention is given to the geographies of retail. Partly due to the *invisibility* (Battersby et al. 2016:1) of it. They do not operate in formalized business frameworks, and are therefore more difficult to understand for researchers. Especially the mapping of informal food sources requires larger resources.

Parallel to studies regarding informal food economies, researchers (Battersby et al. 2016, Demmler et al. 2017, Reardon et al. 2012) investigated the role of supermarkets for the urban food security. Battersby et al. (2016) state that supermarkets in Cape Town provide higher qualities of food, while the prices are not significantly higher. Nonetheless, poor urban dwellers are not capable of consistently purchasing in supermarkets, because of the high quantities, the impracticality of not being able to buy on credit, and the geographical disadvantages of people living in informal settlements (Riley & Legwegoh 2014). Demmler et al. (2017:300) even concludes that supermarkets did not contribute to the overall calorie intake of urban dwellers in Kenyan cities. Yet, policy makers seek to push further on the “*supermarket revolution*” (Reardon et al. 2012:12332), while simultaneously seeking to regulate urban food systems by imposing legal frameworks on the informal retail sector (Demmler et al. 2017, Haysom 2016).

Gaining deeper knowledge of urban food economies could help understanding food insecurity beyond household capabilities. Instead policy makers initiate processes of *taming* food systems by promoting supermarket development (Haysom 2016). The comparative study of Riley & Legwegoh (2014) shows how the complexity of urban food systems requires complex place-based solutions. Yet little resources are provided for local governments to respond to the complexity of urban food systems with localized place-based policies. Brown (2015) rightfully claims that urban policy is inherently political, not only a technical exercise. Empowering municipalities to address the complexity of local food systems is a crucial aspect when approaching urban food security (Drimie & Ruysenaar 2010).

2.3 Urban food security and the international development agenda

Crush & Frayne (2010) have provided a thorough background paper that systematically addressed the vulnerability of the urban poor to food security. In doing so they argue that “*rural bias is being reproduced and perpetuated in international, regional and national policy agendas*” (Crush & Frayne 2010:7). Furthermore, it sheds light on the *invisibility* (ibid.) of urban food security. In addition, it investigates trends of urbanization in relation to the dimensions of urban food insecurity and poverty in Southern Africa (ibid.). The study formed the baseline for many following ones. Its data sets and scope of analysis are comprehensive, but lacks a clear stance on the governance of food security.

Five years later Brown and Battersby followed up on the article by highlighting the role of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the urban food security discourse. Brown (2015) locates her study in East Africa. According to her study, the sampled countries, Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda, fail to address urban food security. However, she does not provide deeper insights of what drives the analyzed food security policies, nor does she mention the relation to theories of neoliberal governance of food security. Instead, she focuses on analyzing the specific vulnerabilities of urban dwellers in the cities of Dar es Salaam, Kampala, and Nairobi (ibid.). Battersby (2015) has no country-specific focus. Instead she provides an in-depth analysis of the relation between the SDGs and urban food security. She concludes, that the food goal proposed in the SDGs neglects the increasing trend of urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa. Instead the SDGs would fuel particular sets of development agendas (ibid.). Nevertheless, Battersby (2015) identifies promising approaches that could serve as points of reference for future studies. For instance, promoting a stronger intersectional approach that emphasizes the interconnectedness between SDG two (zero hunger) and SDG eleven (sustainable cities and communities).

This thesis ties into these studies by providing an additional perspective that highlights the cases of Tanzania and Kenya with special emphasis on (post-)neoliberal urban governance of food security and spatial governance of food systems.

3. Background

Tanzania and Kenya both are complex and unique in their policies and urban landscape. Yet they share common grounds. Most importantly, previous studies identified urban food security as a problem in Kenya (Brown 2015, Kimani-Murage et al. 2014, Owuor 2018) and Tanzania (Brown 2015). Generally speaking, food is available in urban centers in Eastern Africa (Brown 2015). However, the proximity to affordable and safe sources of food poses a problem for urban dwellers, just as the erratic and low wages paid in many cities (ibid.). Exacerbated is the state of urban food insecurity by the rising rates of urban growth.

Table 1 shows the urbanization process in Kenya and Tanzania (data retrieved from: UN-DESA 2018, table generated by author)

	Urbanization rate 2017	Urban population 2018	Projected urban population 2030	Urbanization in 2018 (% urban)	Projected urbanization 2030 (% urban)	Projected urbanization 2050 (% urban)
Kenya	4,3	13 201 000	22 383 000	27	33,4	46,3
Tanzania	5,3	19 959 000	33 977 000	33,8	42,5	55,4

In 2017 13 mio. of Kenya's 50 mio. citizens were considered urban dwellers, a bit more than one fourth (table 1, World Bank 2017a). This proportion does seem relatively small. However, in 2017 Kenya had an urban growth rate of 4.3 %. That is more than the average of the rapidly urbanizing sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank 2017b). Challenges of urban growth are especially urgent in the region (Goodfellow 2013). In Tanzania the urban growth rate is even higher with 5,3%. Only

Burundi and Uganda have higher rates (World Bank 2017b). In 2017 about one third of the population lived in cities across Tanzania (World Bank 2017a).

Both country's urban centers are characterized by cash-dependent economies, which has direct implications for urban food security. Urban dwellers are much more dependent on prices and market access (Kimani-Murage et al. 2014). Yet, Kenya and Tanzania have a strong history of rural development and have prioritized the agricultural sector as the means to achieve economic growth in general, but also to approach food security (Freidberg & Goldstein 2010, Wenban-Smith et al. 2016).

3.1 Kenya

Kenya is characterized by a relatively strong rural sector, considering the region of East Africa. It emphasizes smallholder agriculture enhanced through capacity training, technology and credit accessibility (Freidberg & Goldstein 2010). Its Harambee¹ system of self-help and international donor support has proved successful for some time, but stagnated in the last two decades (ibid.). Due to its dependence on financial aid Freidberg & Goldstein (2010:4) name it a “*squeaky wheel development*”. Rising efforts of establishing a Green Revolution in Africa and in further consequence, a sustainable agricultural transformation turned out to be an alternative form of aid rather than an alternative to aid (ibid.).

Urban food security in Kenya has not been in the center of the food security discourse, but receives an increasing attention. Owuor (2018) provided a comprehensive report of food insecurity in Nairobi. They found out that 70% of the randomly sampled household experienced food insecurity throughout the course of one year. In the study of Kimani-Murage et al. (2014:1109) even 85% of the households experienced mild to severe food insecurity in “*normal times*”. This study took place in the informal settlements of Korogocho and Viwandani. Additionally, Owuor (ibid.) stresses the importance of small shops in the informal sector for the food procuring strategies of the urban poor. Supermarkets would be on the rise, but could only supply some of the urban dwellers due to the high prices, quantities, inflexibility, and long travel distances for the consumers (Demmler et al. 2017, Owuor 2018). Therefore, more nuanced solutions would be required. Moreover, Kenya's urban centers are characterized by a difficult political landscape that experienced multiple conflicts in the last ten years such as the violent post-election crisis in 2008 (Brown 2015).

3.2 Tanzania

Just as Kenya, Tanzania has a strong focus on agricultural growth. Especially in the last years. For example, it is part of the “*Delivering as One*” approach under the guidance of the UN Development Assistance Plan (FAO Tanzania 2014:i). The approach is characterized by ambitious national policies to improve agricultural productivity and alleviate rural poverty (ibid.). In comparison to Kenya, Tanzania has a lower net productivity and is therefore, more dependent on food imports (Brown 2015). Wenban-Smith et al. (2016) characterize its countryside by rather low productivity and little technological progress. Its rural policies are the central tool to reverse this performance.

The urban landscape of Tanzania is slightly different to Kenya in terms of population distribution. Apart from Dar es Salaam few larger cities exist (Wenban-Smith et al. 2016). Thus, Dar es Salaam is the overarching urban center that concentrates much of the rapid urban growth (ibid.). In further consequence, most of the urban poor are located in the city. They are specifically vulnerable to price spikes during crises (Brown 2015). Overall Tanzania has significantly less data regarding urban food security than Kenya. Yet in Tanzania the Tanzanian Federation of the Urban Poor (TFUP)

¹Harambee is a Kenyan Tradition of community self-help events such as fundraising or development activities in rural areas.

emerges as a grassroots base that shows promising signs of mobilization and tools to engage with policy makers (Brown 2015). The increasing role of urban agriculture in the urban policy frameworks led to rather disappointing results as Brown (2015) points out.

4. Conceptual framework

The following section provides an overview of the conceptual framework that forms the foundation for the research problem. At first, it provides a basic understanding of urban food security, and its sub-consequent implications for the research. Secondly, the thesis draws from Haysom's (2016) conceptualization of spatial governance of urban food systems in the corporate food regime. Thirdly, the framework introduces post-neoliberal urban theory and its use for this thesis (Parnell & Robinson 2012).

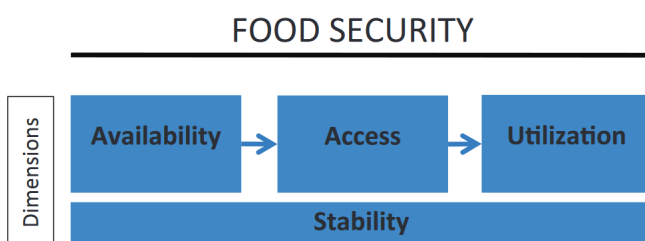
4.1 Understanding urban food security

Food security has been a central theme in the international development agenda throughout the last decades (Crush & Frayne 2011). It is widely accepted that food security is dependent on four aspects, namely accessibility, availability, utilization, and stability (figure 1). Together they condition the state of food security. Stability has a specific role as figure 1 indicates. It conditions the other three aspects by providing the baseline on which the others function. When using the terms pillars or dimensions of food security, this thesis uses an advanced version of Gross et al. (2000:5):

“Availability is achieved if adequate food is ready to have at people's disposal. Access is ensured when all households and all individuals within those households have sufficient resources to obtain appropriate foods (through production, purchase or donation) for a nutritious diet. Adequate Utilization refers to the ability of the human body to ingest and metabolize food. Nutritious and safe diets, an adequate biological and social environment, a proper health care to avoid diseases ensure adequate utilization of food”.

However, as indicated earlier, this thesis uses an enhanced understanding of *accessibility*. Instead of reducing it to the sufficient resources of households it also includes structural drivers of accessibility such as geographical vulnerabilities.

Figure 1 illustrates the four dimensions of food security (retrieved from: Leroy et al. 2015:170)



Despite the ubiquity of food security in the development agenda, with few exceptions (see FAO 2019 or 8.1 in this thesis) institution such as FAO, the World Bank, or the United Nations Development Programme fail to make the necessary distinction between urban and rural food security. Both are conflated, assuming they would require the same approach, because they produce the same outcome (Crush & Frayne 2011). Yet multiple scholars (Battersby, 2012, 2013, Crush & Frayne 2010, 2011, Fan et al. 2017, Haysom 2016, Maxwell 1998) point out the specific character of urban food security that distinguishes it from rural food security as it has been dealt with. Some literature draws from Sen's (1981) work *Poverty and Famines: an Essay on Entitlement and*

Deprivation. Sen found out that even in times of severe famine there is often enough food available. Instead of availability it is rather accessibility that poses the problem. The urban food insecure are much more dependent on access to food than availability which is often provided (Brown 2015). Battersby & Crush (2016:7) even claim that availability received more attention by policy makers and academics than the other three pillars of food security together. Moreover, they conclude that

“urban food security is not primarily a problem of food availability, nor one that can be addressed with social safety nets, as these fail to address the systemic drivers of food insecurity. (...) It is a problem of structural poverty, markets and market structure, policy dysfunction, relative affordability of different types of food, food safety challenges wrought by inadequate urban infrastructure and inadequate storage, refrigeration and cooking technologies in the home.” (p. 7)

The thesis takes this conceptualization as a starting point for its understanding of urban food security. Scholars (Battersby 2012, 2013, Crush & Frayne 2011, Haysom 2016, Maxwell 1998) suggest that several obstacles prevent urban food security to be treated with the necessary means. At first, urban food security is *invisible* (Battersby et al 2016, Maxwell 1998). It does not receive the adequate attention because it is less apparent than other problems. For instance housing, sanitation or infrastructure. Hence, these issues are put on the agenda by politicians, while urban food security is being depoliticized. The food riots of 2008/09 in Eastern African cities were rather a rare exception than the general rule (Brown 2015). Secondly, urban food security suffers from a rural bias towards food security. Maxwell (1998) early argued that the urban population is increasing at a much faster rate than the rural one. Thus, more attention is needed to address urban needs such as food security. Nonetheless, the rural bias remained throughout the last two decades (Crush & Frayne 2011). International institutions such as FAO, the World Bank, or the UNDP framed the international agenda of food security with a rigorous focus on rural production (ibid.). Last but not least, policy makers tend to reduce the complexity of urban food security (Warhowsky 2014). The focus almost solely rests on food production, either rural or urban (Battersby 2012, 2013, Battersby & Crush 2016, Crush & Frayne 2011, Satterthwaite 2011), and household capabilities (Battersby 2012, Riley & Legwegoh 2014). Other vulnerabilities of geographic nature that imprint the local food system are neglected (Riley & Legwegoh 2014).

This thesis takes the explicated understanding of food security as a point of departure for the analysis. It provides a framework of how urban food security may be addressed, and comparing this understanding to the one presented in the sources.

4.2 Spatial governance of urban food systems

In the following section the concept of the governance of urban food systems is introduced. It serves as one component of the conceptual framework of this thesis. As touched upon urban food security is closely tied to local food systems. Academic literature of the last years has a tendency to draw a typology of the *typical* African city (Riley & Legwegoh 2014). Also in relation to urban food systems. Other studies on the contrary, provide evidence of the multi-faceted urban food geographies in cities across sub-Saharan Africa that differ vastly (Battersby et al. 2016, Kimani-Murage et al. 2014, Mulenga 2013, Owuor, 2018, Riley & Legwegoh 2014). The processes that enable urban dwellers to participate in the urban food system are complex (Haysom 2016). Adding up to this complexity are the city-specific contexts that provide a physical, but also cultural and political framework for the urban food systems. In their study Riley & Legwegoh (2014:64) compare the urban food geographies of Blantyre, Malawi, and Gaborone, Botswana. The results show that households in the more-developed Gaborone were less likely to be food secure than in the *less-developed* Blantyre. In the latter, the food system is rather localized and informal (Riley & Legwegoh 2014.). Gaborone on the other hand, has a modernized food system with an abundance of supermarkets and well-built urban infrastructure. Yet the system seems to not work for the very

poor of the city. On the same note it is questionable whether the system that operates in Blantyre could be applied in Gaborone (ibid.). The study (Riley & Legwegoh 2014:64) concludes that

“the fundamental question of food access within urban food security studies exposes the complexity of urban poverty in the context of African development. Economic growth and the provision of urban services and infrastructures do not inherently provide improvements in urban food security and may, in fact, introduce new forms of vulnerability embedded in the global capitalist food system. The complex relationship between economic development, household food security and urban poverty becomes evident through the comparison of Blantyre and Gaborone”.

The statement has two further implications. At first, there is a need to better understand the complex dynamics of urban food systems and their imprinted geographical characteristics. That includes the conditions and processes on the surface such as physical access to markets, but also the “invisible” (Battersby et al. 2016) food economy of informal retail. Secondly, it raises the question of how to govern urban food systems. Here Haysom’s (2016) concept of spatial governance of urban food systems, and its premise the corporate food regime, are applied.

Friedmann (1987) first discussed the international regime of food. In 1989 McMichael contributed by explaining how political economy, political ecology and historical analysis are crucial for understanding the global regime of food that supplies the reproduction of global capitalism. They define a food regime as a “rule-governed structure of production and consumption of food on a world scale” (Friedmann 1993, 30–1, in McMichael 2007). This *food regime* consists of international institutions such as the World Bank, the FAO or the IMF as well as private projects and corporations such as the Gates Foundation, and nation-states. These actors promote the importance of smallholder agriculture and an *African Green Revolution* (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck 2011, McMichael & Schneider 2011, Patel et al. 2009). By that they tie in with traditional development approaches like the agricultural transformation and the idea of modernization. Overall the corporate food regime is consistent with neoliberal values such as trade liberalization, market-oriented economies, and neoliberal governance (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck 2011).

Building on this premise, Haysom (2016:77) argues that “one of the principal processes of the third food regime [here: corporate food regime] is a desire to tame”. It reduces the diversity and vibrancy of local food systems. Considering the previously presented study of Riley & Legwegoh (2014) this has the potential of causing more harm than benefits for urban dwellers. The *taming* becomes evident in the current supermarket transition that occurs in sub-Saharan cities (Demmler et al. 2017, Reardon et al. 2012). As a response to the hegemonic paradigm of *taming* urban food systems, Haysom (2016) argues for governance that puts the city in the foreground as the facilitator of food system processes. In this role it encourages localized and place-based actions that ensure urban food security (ibid.). In further consequence, that requires adequate agency and resources of cities to fulfill this role. Ensuring urban food security would not anymore be coordinated by national governments that solely focus on issues of rural production and availability, but in the hands of cities who facilitate *untamed* collaboration between local actors (Haysom 2016). In the thesis, this concept provides an alternative framework and point of critique towards the hegemonic corporate food regime in combination with the national coordination of food security that is anchored in the developmental state, and in broader scope in the international food security agenda.

4.3 Post-neoliberal urban theory

Urban theory is significantly influenced by neoliberalism as a concept. Researchers provided profound insights into the contemporary urban conditions in cities across the world. Parnell & Robinson (2012) even state that the critiques of neoliberalism dominated urban studies at times. However, within the last decades the world has seen high rates of urban growth in the majority world. Hence, the majority of urban population shifts from the minority to the majority world

(Parnell & Robinson 2012). It brings up the question whether present urban theory of neoliberal critique is an adequate tool to describe processes in the majority world (Parnell & Robinson 2012, Van Noorloos & Kloosterboer 2017). Ferguson (2006:38) argues that capital is *globe-hopping* not *globe-covering* in a lot of African contexts. In other words, capital only reaches certain spaces where it is concentrated. New governance and city models in sub-Saharan Africa vary from *strongly neoliberal*, to *more-than neoliberal* to ones that are *not neoliberal at all* (Bunnell 2015, Van Noorloos & Kloosterboer 2017). Neoliberalism is potentially a strong driver for urban injustices such as structural poverty, but can also be irrelevant or even absent (Leitner et al. 2007). Instead other factors might be much more significant to understand urban contexts in the majority world. Thus, Parnell & Robinson (2012) argue for an alternative to the euro-centrist paradigm of urban theory. Post-neoliberal urban theory acknowledges that processes of neoliberalism are dominant in many contexts and cause a wide range of social injustices. Yet it states that solely focusing on neoliberalism can be misleading. Especially, when studying poorer cities of the world. Within the thesis post-neoliberal urban theory is used to decipher different ways of framing urban food security into a macro-political context. It acknowledges urban processes of neoliberalization as hegemonic and provides a normative frame, but also gives space for extra-neoliberal processes that cannot be explained by neoliberalism. These processes could be racialized conflicts, authoritative regimes, or cultural practices. Thus, it does not fall into the same trap as other theories, by assuming that the same theories developed in the minority worlds could account for every case in the majority world (ibid.). It does not contradict the concept of the corporate food regime, because the latter is a structure that is deeply rooted in the neoliberal structures of the minority world, but influences the global food security agenda, and in further consequence national food security agendas in the majority world.

In summary, the conceptual framework builds upon the four dimensions of food security in combination with Battersby & Crush's (2016) understanding of urban food security as a structural problem that is explicitly urban and reaches beyond household income. In addition, the thesis applies a concept of spatial governance of urban food systems deriving from Haysom (2016). It is complemented by post-neoliberal urban theory. From there it draws a line to the identified research problem, which is the non-existent or inadequate response of urban food security by actors within the (inter-)national food security agenda.

5. Hypothesis

The hypothesis derives from the conceptual framework as well as the literature review and the background. As mentioned, researchers (Battersby 2012, Battersby et al. 2015, Haysom 2016, Riley & Legwegoh, 2014) argue that governments predominantly focus on rural areas when it comes to food security. In consequence, that creates a neglect of the urban. Especially when considering the rapid process of urbanization. At foremost, governments are assumed to emphasize the *production* of food in rural areas. Moreover, urban agriculture, also referring to *production*, is expected to be identified as a major concept in the policy papers when addressing urban food security. In other words, the policy papers are assumed to prioritize the rural, and productivity, while at the same time neglecting the distinct character of urban food security. Secondly, the hypothesis deduces the investigated content to neglect geographical aspects of urban food security, and instead focusing to a disproportional extend on the capabilities of individual households. Thirdly, it hypothesizes that the governance of food security is shaped by neoliberal tools of the corporate food regime such as the *taming* of urban food systems, decentralization, and market-oriented policies. Additionally, the paper assumes that these are complemented by context-specific extra-neoliberal processes.

6. Methodology

The following section guides through the applied methodology of this thesis. At first, it introduces the research design. Secondly it proceeds with the elaboration of the case selection and the selected sources. Thirdly, the segment explains the approach towards data analysis that was used in this thesis. Eventually, it gives an induction on the data.

6.1 Research design

The overall research design is qualitative. In other words, it analyzes written data from a qualitative angle. In this study a content analysis is conducted. The content analysis provides a well-equipped tool to investigate *what is being said* (Bryman 2012:556), in contrast to a discourse analysis that focuses on semantics (Bryman 2012:528). Hence, the content analysis is most suited to answer the research questions which investigate if *and* how urban food security is addressed by actors.

The analysis uses a sample of policy papers and reports. The former represents the countries of Tanzania and Kenya. Reports on the other hand are used to analyze the contribution of FAO to the discourse of urban food security. Furthermore, the paper employs a purposive sampling strategy (Bryman 2012:418). The data sources are selected according to characteristics that suit the overall research design. Moreover, the thesis follows the epistemological standpoint of Critical Realism, which is briefly elaborated.

6.1.2 Philosophy of science

As a philosophical perspective the proposed study applies Bhaskar's (1989) conceptualization of Critical Realism. Therefore, it is assumed that the "*social world is reproduced and transformed in daily life*" (Bhaskar 1989: in Bryman 2012:616). Mechanisms produce social phenomena. However, although they are real they cannot be grasped through observation alone. Instead one can study the outcomes and, sub-consequently draw hypotheses. The purpose of science is to provide improved understandings of reality, to get a closer picture that will never be complete.

6.2 Case selection and sampling

The study covers two cases without having a specific focus on comparing these. Thus, it is classified as a multiple case study. Having more than one case allows a wider range of data. In further consequence, the external validity of the study increases (Bryman 2012:390). The number of cases is balanced between the resources of the researcher and the amount of data that is required to generate valid findings.

Besides the basic pre-conditions depicted in the background, Kenya and Tanzania are selected due to three reasons. At first, AFSUN and the Hungry Cities Partnership the two major research networks for urban food security published many papers situated in Southern Africa. A small share of these also focus on policy responses of actors within South Africa (Battersby et al. 2015, Frayne et al. 2010). Other regions such as Eastern Africa merely play a minor role in the research. Therefore, the thesis argues that further research should focus on sub-Saharan regions beyond Southern Africa. That leads to the second point. Although many East African countries have comparatively less population within urban areas (World Bank 2017a), they have the highest urban growth rate as a region within sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank 2017b). Especially Kenya and Tanzania (Brown 2015). Hence, urbanization is arguably one of the central themes in the development of Tanzania and Kenya. Thirdly, the chosen countries have a rich enough selection of policy papers that are accessible.

6.3 Sources

The following section elaborates the data collection and the sources. The former is based on secondary data. Therefore, no process of data collection in the field is required. Nonetheless, the studied content is collected by the researcher. The analyzed documents are retrieved from online sources. Twelve documents were selected for the analysis. Each of them has characteristics related to time of publication, author, and content that have implications for the analysis. They are illustrated in table 2. In terms of format, they are categorized as either report or policy paper. Thematically, the documents are either in regard to urban development, or food and nutrition security. Thus, the papers cover both themes that could potentially address urban food security. However, in line with the hypothesis sources regarding *food and nutrition security* are prioritized in comparison to *urban development* sources, because urban food security would rather be addressed within agricultural departments, in contrast to urban development departments (Battersby 2012).

Documents that mirror the research theme better have naturally more coverage in the analysis than other ones such as the Habitat III Report which barely address food security. FAO 2019 turned out to be exceptional in its character when comparing to the other sources. It could possibly mark a change in priorities of FAO. However, in the analysis the findings would have distorted the overall picture. Accordingly, the decision was made to not integrate FAO 2019 in the main analysis, but in the further prospects (see 8.1). Only three of the documents focus on the urban. These are the two Habitat III reports (Kenya 2016, Tanzania 2015), and the Urban Food Agenda (FAO 2019). However, it is crucial to note that none of the other sources claims to focus on the rural. Instead every report despite the Habitat III ones emphasize food security as their first and foremost focus. Including the Habitat III reports is not based on the assumption that it provides an abundance of material regarding urban food security. Rather it serves as a control mechanism to address the argument that urban food security might not fit into the conventional sphere of food policies that is set up around agriculture. By controlling for urban food security within the context of urban policy this argument is addressed.

The sources are published within a time span of ten years between 2009-2019. That accounts for possible changes in the policy documents. In addition, the 2015 adopted SDGs are of major importance for the international development agenda. Whether the documents are published before or after 2015 potentially has implications for the respective focus of the paper (Battersby 2015, Brown 2015). Moreover, investigating the availability of policy papers revealed that Kenya and Tanzania both publish suitable documents in intervals of a few years. Often these might even build upon each other. Therefore, the documents are expected to show cohesive strategies in the respective countries, rather than varying from source to source. In further consequence, the time span of one decade seems suitable to grasp the strategy of Kenya and Tanzania without generating more work than this thesis can lift.

When organizing according to the origin, the sources are split into documents published by FAO, the Republic of Kenya, and the Republic of Tanzania with an equal share. Yet, the documents are partly intertwined. The country-specific reports by FAO are in partnership with both states and recognize their expressed needs. They rather view their reports to “*support the alignment and implementation of national policies, legislation, strategies and investment plans to county priorities*” (FAO Kenya 2014:18) or to “*realign the Organization’s development support to the Government’s revised priority programmes*” (FAO Tanzania 2014:i). Hence, this clear linkage between the reports and the respective governments of Kenya and Tanzania is further scrutinized throughout the analysis. Besides that, the individual reports published by Tanzania and Kenya do not exceed five references to FAO. The other two analyzed reports by FAO (FAO 2013, FAO 2019) are in no direct reference to Kenya or Tanzania.

Table 2 illustrates the sources used in the content analysis (generated by author)

Name	Author	Date	Info	Affiliated Ministry
Food Security in Kenya	R. Kiome, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya	2009	Assessment of Food Security in Kenya, with subsequent recommendations and conclusions for future policy interventions	Ministry of Agriculture
National Food and Nutrition Security	Republic of Kenya	2011	Assessment of Food Security, and Food Security Interventions/Policies in Kenya	Ministry of Agriculture
National Food and Nutrition Security Implementation Framework	Republic of Kenya	2017	Assessment of Food Security in Kenya, measures of implementation and governance of food security policies	Ministry of Agriculture
National Report on Human Settlements and the New Urban Agenda Towards Habitat III	Republic of Kenya	2016	See title	Ministry of Land, Housing, and Urban Development
Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (CFSVA)	United Republic of Tanzania, in collaboration with WFP	2010	Analysis of the state of Food Security, Livelihood Strategies, and Household Vulnerabilities to Food Security in rural Tanzania	None expressed, Ministry of Agriculture implied
Tanzania Agricultural and Food Security Investment Plan (TAFSIP)	United Republic of Tanzania	2011	Investment plan for the agricultural sector in Tanzania with the overarching goal of tackling Food Insecurity	None expressed, Ministry of Agriculture implied
Comprehensive Food Security and Nutrition Assessment Report	United Republic of Tanzania	2017	Analysis of the state of Food Security, Livelihood Strategies, and Household Vulnerabilities to Food Security in rural Tanzania	Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, and Fisheries
Habitat III National Report Tanzania	United Republic of Tanzania	2015	Report regarding the state of Urban Development in Tanzania in the context of Habitat III	Ministry of Lands, Housing, and Human Settlements Development
Country Programming Framework for Kenya	FAO, in collaboration with the Republic of Kenya	2014	Framework to set out priority areas of FAO's collaboration with Kenya	None
Country Programming Framework for Tanzania	FAO, in collaboration with the United Republic of Tanzania	2014	Framework to set out priority areas of FAO's collaboration with Tanzania	None
The State of Food Security in the World	FAO, in collaboration with IFAD and WFP	2013	See title, especial focus on the multiple dimensions of Food Security	None
FAO Framework for the Urban Food Agenda	FAO	2019	Introducing a Framework of Action regarding Food and the Urban	None

6.4 Data analysis

The data analysis applies analytic deduction (Bryman 2012:566). In other words, it presumes a hypothetical explanation of the problem issued in the research questions. Throughout the study the hypothesis is tested, and if needed, adapted. Hence, the set of theories and literature that is used has direct implications for the coding. Therefore, the main tool of the data analysis follows a directed content analysis. The developed codes are pre-determined according to the theoretical assumptions that are made in the conceptual framework and the background analysis (Hsieh & Shannon 2005). Yet, new codes were formed throughout the process when necessary.

In the analysis the terms *theme* and *code* are used. The former serves as umbrella term for themes and their respective sub-codes. Themes refers to the overarching core categories They may include several sub-codes that may unfold into further ones. For example *distribution* as a theme has the sub-codes *market* and *infrastructure*. Both sub-codes unfold into rural and urban. The sub-code *urban markets* has the additional sub-code *informality*. When looking at figure 2, *rural production* has a smaller surface than *production*, because it is a sub-code. Although sub-codes can be analyzed individually they are still an inseparable part of the greater theme in which they unfold. This system ensures that the codes remain structured without losing their nuances.

The analysis applies the steps of a content analysis explained by Bengtsson (2016:9). At first, the researcher reads through the text to receive an overview. Starting with the decontextualization (ibid.), units with meaning are identified. In this case the analyzed units are words. Units of meaning “*contain some of the insights the researcher needs, and it is the constellation of sentences or paragraphs containing aspects related to each other, answering the question set out in the aim*” (Bengtsson 2016:11). In the second step the data is recontextualized. *Content* is included, whereas the units that are of no importance for the analysis are excluded. The third step involves the categorization. It operates with different levels of categorization that range from broad to specific. Throughout the analysis the belonging of certain units might change (Bengtsson 2016). Because the analysis applies a deductive analysis a major parts of the used codes are pre-determined by theory. Parts that do not fit into these are given new codes (Hsieh & Shannon 2005) The following key points served as a basic guideline throughout the process of developing codes:

- a) How is urban food security conceptualized? What attributes is it given?
- b) Is urban food security mentioned? In which frame is it embedded (urban vs rural)?
- c) What approaches are suggested (contextualized vs blueprint, coordination vs place-based)? Which political actors are responsible? How is food security governed?

New categories were constantly reviewed and compared in relation to the pre-determined ones. Fourthly, conclusions are drawn from the analysis. Naturally, the coding is set in relation to the hypothesis.

The data analysis uses the software Nvivo. The program is developed for qualitative data analysis. It allows to structure the data by uploading files, generating a coding system, and classifying the sources according to selected characteristics. Furthermore, it provides a range of tools to illustrate data.

6.4.1 Coding trajectories

When further refining the codes two trajectories emerged as most helpful. At first, the base of the coding process were the three pillars of food security and stability as the underlying baseline (figure 1). Each of the four aspects is related to a large share of other codes. They are mentioned in almost all of the analyzed documents (not in the urban development reports). Moreover, they play a crucial

role in the conceptual framework. They are referred to as one of the two trajectories, because many of the other themes are linked with either of the four aspects of the concept. Understanding how the themes link to the pillars of food security therefore helps identifying how food security is attributed in the sources. Thus, it forms the red thread throughout the analysis. Secondly, a strong emphasis lays on the distinction between urban and rural. As elaborated within the conceptual framework urban food security is significantly different from rural one. The same applies for other analyzed aspects. Hence, this distinction is found within the respective codes. Instead of looking on poverty as a sole concept it is sub-divided into rural and urban poverty. By that the analysis distinguishes between the two aspects of poverty that require different solution approaches as the conceptual framework points out.

Table 3 explaining the themes that were used in the coding process (generated by author)

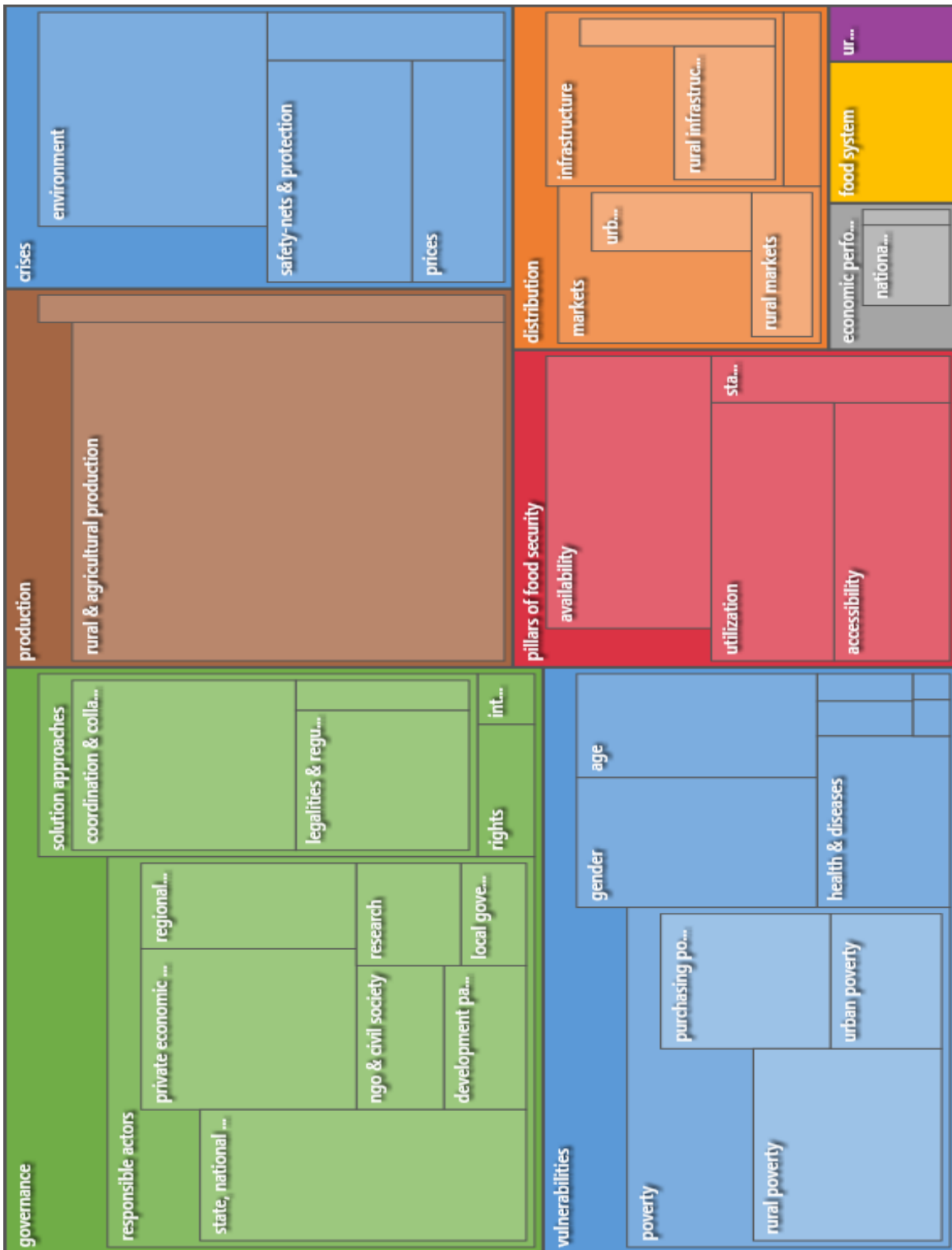
Themes	What?	Why?	Number of sub-codes
Crises	The occurrence of change and disasters and the reposes to those.	Refers to stability, but also to the balance between emergency response, and structural change and long-term policies.	4
Distribution	The physical linkage between production and consumption. Such as infrastructure and markets.	Related to urban food security, due to its links with physical access to food and food systems. Also relates to other dimensions of food security.	8
Economic Performance	The medium-to-long term economic performance of States and the international economy.	Illustrates how much the sources link food security with economic performance	2
Governance	Pays attention to how food security is governed	Relates to the conceptual framework regarding governance	14
Food System	A concept that describes the complex range of actors and processes from the production to the consumption of food	Controls whether the sources acknowledge the complexity of food security and its geographical implications	/
Pillars of Food Security	Describes the four dimensions of food security.	Main trajectory that derives from the conceptual framework	4
Production	The rural and urban productivity of food production	Refers to rural bias, and focus on production	2
Urban Food Security	The concept of food security in relation to urban areas	Controls whether urban food security it is recognized, and addressed	/
Vulnerabilities	Various characteristics or conditions that influence the status of food security of individuals or groups	Shows which characteristics that impact the status of foods security are emphasized, and which are neglected	13

6.5 Introducing the final codes and data

The following section provides an overview of of the themes and sub-codes that are used. Moreover, it briefly elaborates on the distribution of codes. Table 3 lists the used themes. In addition, it gives a short explanation what they entail and why they were chosen. The analysis takes up these themes and their implications to investigate how food security is understood in the sources. In figure 2 the quantitative distribution of the themes with their respective sub-codes are displayed

in a hierarchy chart. The more often a code was referenced, the more relative space it takes in the chart. As elaborated in the methodology, the codes derive from the conceptual framework and literature review. Therefore, they are subject to a deductive research design.

Figure 2 shows the *distribution of themes across all sources (generated by the author through Nvivo)*



What table 3 does not capture are the multiple sub-codes of the themes. Notably, *distribution*, *governance*, and *vulnerabilities* have a high number of sub-codes that might slip the readers eye in figure 2. *Distribution* has eight sub-codes because, considering the conceptual framework, the two main sub-codes, markets and infrastructure, were split into several sub-codes such as *rural markets* and *urban markets*. On the other hand, *governance* and *vulnerabilities* possess such a high number of sub-codes as a result of their diverse character. *Vulnerabilities* for instance can reach from *gender*, to *age*, until *geographical location*, and different forms of *poverty*. *Governance* includes a wide range of different character that enfold in the theme. To sum up, the themes are explained in table 3. However, the table does not cover the whole amplitude of the used codes, because they unfold into various sub-codes.

Secondly, the distribution of the codes in figure 2 provides an overview. It shows that the themes *governance*, *pillars of food security*, *crises*, *production*, *vulnerabilities*, and *distribution* are significantly more referenced than the rest. As implied in table 3 *Food systems* and *urban food security* were foremost used to control for their appearance. Thus, their small role in the quantitative distribution is not surprising. Also in the light of the conceptual framework that indicated the prevalence of a rural bias. Lastly, *economic performance* receives little coverage through the codes. Partly that might be explained by the fact that in increase of agriculture production is manifested in the production theme, whereas reduction of poverty is found in *vulnerabilities*. Furthermore, one could rightfully argue that the problem of food security is not primarily one of economic growth, but of a range of other factors (Battersby 2012).

However, the quantitative distribution of codes is limited in its scope, because it does not necessarily capture the complexity of the sources. For example, one paragraph could include five different codes, but gives each one little attention, while another paragraph contains extensive content marked with only one code. Solely using the quantitative distribution is prone to flaws in the personal selection of the researcher throughout the coding process. Throughout the coding process this was addressed as much as possible. The said distribution is used to give a brief overview, but paired with further evidence in the analysis.

7. Analysis

The following section is the main body of the analysis. It puts the findings into relation with the theoretical framework and literature review, and discusses them thoroughly. At first, the analysis discusses the implications of the distribution of codes across the sources, taking the descriptive summary of the findings and the relations between codes and themes as a starting point. It focuses on the dominance of certain themes and the lack of others, in the light of the theoretical framework. The *pillars of food security* serve as the main trajectory. Further emphasis is put on the mismatch between the problem analyses and the respective policy responses. Secondly, it proceeds by laying out how the examined sources are subject to a rural bias. In further consequence, the analysis links this observation to the international food security agenda. Thirdly, it analyzes how the governance of food security is linked to post-neoliberal urban governance. Furthermore, it relates its findings to Haysom's (2016) concept of the governance of urban food systems in the corporate food regime.

7.1 Pillars of food security or accessibility vs availability

As elaborated earlier the rural/urban distinction serves as one of two main trajectories of the analysis. The other one are the *pillars of food security*. They form a tool to disentangle the different aspects of food security. Throughout the analyzed sources, each of the four dimensions of food

security is asserted to be important. In Tanzania 2017 (p. 5) for instance, it is claimed that “*the assessment considered a holistic livelihood-based approach incorporating the four pillars of food security (availability, accessibility, utilization and stability)*” whereas in Kenya 2017 (p. 4) the authors state that “*the policy provides an overarching framework covering all the four dimensions of food security— availability, accessibility, utilization and stability*”. Yet, the analysis shows that some aspects are more dominant than others in the documents. Particular focus, in line with the conceptual framework, lays on the (im-)balance between *availability* and *accessibility*. It remains to be said that the discourse should not be about weighing two different problems against each other, but to argue for a holistic approach that does not neglect urban vulnerabilities.

Governance is the most frequently referenced theme. To some extent that is explained by the characteristics of the documents. They either express policy recommendations or have a very concrete framework for policy implementation (Kenya 2017, Tanzania 2011). Different to the other themes *governance* has little direct linkage to the *pillars*. It rather focuses on *how to do things*, instead of *what is the problem*. Because an approach always impacts the outcome, *governance* is loosely connected to every *pillar*. It moderates them. The further implications of the theme are discussed in the third section of the analysis. The same applies for **vulnerabilities**. They cannot be linked exclusively to one or two *pillars of food security*. Instead the theme describes characteristics of individuals or households that make them more prone to food insecurity. Each characteristics can be intertwined with each aspect of the *pillars*.

The most dominant code across all sources is **rural production**. It forms a red thread throughout all documents, but the Habitat III reports (Kenya 2016, Tanzania 2015) and the Urban Food Agenda (FAO 2019). As pointed out *rural production* is closely tied to *availability*. The higher the agricultural productivity the higher the yields, so the assumption. In further consequence, more food is available to meet the national consumption needs that are proclaimed by the government. In addition, FAO (2013:10) claims that “*increased agricultural productivity generates higher incomes and creates income generating opportunities for otherwise destitute population groups, offering a recognized way to escape the poverty trap in many rural areas*”. Both arguments are not wrong per se, but as scholars (Brown 2015, Crush & Riley 2017, Haysom 2016, Sen 1981) point out, solely focusing on a higher availability does not solve the problem for many of the urban dwellers that suffer from the lack of food *access*. Targeting *availability* at the expense of *accessibility* simplifies the problem. Nevertheless, *rural production* is the most central theme in the analyzed sources. In the second part of the analysis further light is shed on the issue of rural bias.

Crises as a theme is divided into *urbanization, safety nets & protection, prices, and environment*. The latter was the most prevalent throughout the coding process. There is no doubt that climate change has a strong impact on food security (Mitchell et al. 2019:1). FAO (2013:22) correctly states that “*the vulnerability dimension of food security is increasingly cast in the context of climate change*”. Providing adequate tools to cope with the consequences of climate crises is important. Nonetheless, these consequences impact the availability of food. A drought for example has the potential to massively impacts the yields of farmers, and in further consequence the overall national production. The role of *environment* is another point adding up to the focus on *availability*. *Prices* on the other hand, rather relate to accessibility, which is linked to the accessibility to food for individual households. For instance, if enough food is available, it might still not be accessible for the poor because the prices are too high (Brown 2015). Yet, it received comparatively less attention than *environment*. Therefore, one could argue that hinders for an implicit emphasis on *availability* over *accessibility*. *Safety nets & protection* are essential for many urban dwellers and receive an adequate amount of attention. However, as Battersby & Crush (2016) point out, safety nets do not address the structural drivers of urban food security. They are necessary, but need to be combined with long-term solutions.

Distribution is an additional theme, that is associated with *accessibility* and *availability* depending on what sub-codes are highlighted. In addition, *stability* is impacted by the *distribution* of food. Yet, it is important to note that the theme mostly relates towards *accessibility*. The main paths in the theme are *markets* and *infrastructure* which unfold into distinctions of rural and urban. To a large extent they relate to the physical access to food, which is the crucial linkage with *accessibility*. Generating sufficient infrastructure and (physical) markets are pivotal to ensure the latter (Mulenga 2013:10, Riley & Dodson 2016). The analysis of the coding shows a strong emphasis on *rural markets* and *rural infrastructure*, in relation to their urban counterparts. In Kenya 2011 (p. 15) the authors state that “*poor physical infrastructure limits efficient food distribution and market access by farmers in areas with excess production*” (Kenya 2011:15). Although it emphasizes physical access, its lenses are those of *rural production*. In Kenya 2009 (p. 3) claims that “*as a result of poor transport, high fuel prices and market infrastructure, food either does not reach those who need it most (from surplus regions) or reaches them at excessively high prices*”. This notion could be applied on issues of accessibility in the context of *urban food security*. Yet, any attention on *rural-urban linkages* is barely existent. The analysis shows a focus on accessibility, but from a rural perspective without highlighting its relation to the urban. Beyond the physical access, the infrastructure also ensures that enough food is provided. It links *production* and *availability*. Merely sufficient *rural production* does not automatically results in food availability at all times. In that regard, infrastructure is also linked to *stability*. Especially considering the strong urban-rural divide in the food production in Kenya and Tanzania (Owuor 2018, Wenban-Smith et al. 2016). Food systems require infrastructure not only to transport food from A to B, but also to prevent it from spoiling or to provide food in times of low availability due to crises. This includes also the provision of storage facilities to respond to emergency cases such as price shocks or droughts. In Tanzania (2017:34) it is recommended to create “*food storage structures*” that are to “*be strengthened and developed at various administrative levels*”, whereas Kenya (2011:15) aims to create a “*Strategic Food Reserve (SFR)*”. Both efforts target the *stability* and *availability* of food during shortages or crises.

To what exact extent the theme is attributable to which pillar is beyond the capacities of the thesis, because it would require a much more micro-oriented coding system. Nevertheless,, the theme provides an important insight. The theme with the strongest linkage to *accessibility*, which is *distribution*, is the one with the lowest coverage of all the themes that have a significant coverage across the sources. In addition, it is of complex character and also relates to the pillars *stability* and *availability*. Thus, the contribution to *accessibility* is even weaker. Further, issues of *accessibility* received rather little attention when looking at *distribution*, the theme most related to it. Moreover, the dominance of *rural production* but also *environment* hints an imbalance in the sources that favors *availability* over *accessibility*.

7.1.1 Discrepancy between analysis and policy

This imbalance between *availability* and *accessibility* brings up the question of how it is expressed throughout the documents when at the same time no source, besides FAO 2019, asserts an emphasis on one of the four aspects. Instead they merely call for holistic approaches that include all four dimensions of food security (Kenya 2017:4, Tanzania 2017:5).

When analyzing the documents it became apparent that all country-specific documents were structured in a similar way. At first, they start with an introduction. Secondly, the authors provide an overview of the background and conceptual framework such a the four pillars of food security. Thirdly, they analyze the state of food security. Fourthly, the text advances into stating what measures need to be taken to tackle food insecurity. This section would merge together with concrete policy recommendations or implementation frameworks. When performing the analysis the different sections of the sources were divided into *cases*, a tool that Nvivo provides to analyze

the distribution of codes according to contextual variables that are determined by the researcher. Here, the cases were *problem analysis* and *solution approach*. In the analysis, the sources were put into cases according to this distinction. The data could now be analyzed individually according to the cases. Through the application of the cases an interesting trend became evident. The analysis shows a mismatch between both cases in relation to *accessibility* and *availability*. Throughout the *problem analysis* the sources explicitly reflect upon the relationship between *accessibility* and *availability*. In Kenya 2009 (p. 1) for example it is claimed that “*food security therefore is not the physical availability of any single commodity; such as maize in the Kenyan context. Neither does it imply just availability but must be accessible in terms of affordability in adequate quantities, containing essential nutrients*”. In addition, in Kenya 2011 (p. 6) it is stated that “*the limited scope and focus on supply-side issues highlights the need for greater attention to access dimensions*”. Both statements seem to be clear signs that the actors are aware of the role of *accessibility*, and vice versa the dominance of *availability* in the food security discourse. On the other hand, in Tanzania 2010 (p. 13) and Tanzania 2017 (p. 5) the intertwined relationship between the different aspects of Food Security are acknowledged at least. Yet, they do not show the same reflections on *availability* and *accessibility* as the Kenyan documents. Applying the two cases shows, that each of the four references is part of the *problem analysis*. The same counts for the distribution of sub-codes. Across the country-specific sources a mismatch between *problem analysis* and *solution approach* becomes apparent. The latter shows a strong focus on issues of *rural production*, and in further consequence *availability*.

Besides *availability*, also *stability* and *utilization* are highlighted as issues that are dealt with through policies and/or policy recommendations. *Accessibility*, on the other hand appears to shrink in importance when it comes to *solution approaches*. Policy recommendations are vastly focusing on *rural production*. The majority of strategies to improve the *accessibility* in the Kenyan sources (2017:11) target the creation and support of small enterprises. In Tanzania 2017 (p. 34) none of the medium to long term interventions is related to *accessibility*. The same applies for the investment priorities in Tanzania 2011 (p. 35). Lastly, the documents of Tanzania had an overall smaller share of *accessibility* or *accessibility* related codes. Yet, the gap between analysis and policy response is observable in every country-specific document.

7.1.2 Explaining the mismatch

Partly the mismatch can be explained by the character of *accessibility* and how it is traditionally thought of. Battersby (2012) points out how any conversation regarding *accessibility* happens to be about the individual capacity of households. In Kenya 2017 (p. 10) the accessibility chapter is initiated by the claim that “*food access is ensured when all households and individuals within those households have sufficient resources to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet*”. The statement illustrates how the assessment of food access is limited to the household level. Especially *purchasing power and household capacity*, and *poverty* are the most referenced sub-codes in regard to food access determinants. Following this logic governments occur to assume that the only way to approach *accessibility* is the generation of income through economic growth and entrepreneurship. The multi-faceted dimensions of geographical vulnerabilities (Riley & Legwegoh 2014) are ignored. For instance the structural disadvantage many dwellers in informal settlements suffer from. Such are travel distances to procure food, the physical characteristics of markets, environmental suitability for local food production, and the way land use is governed (ibid.). In the distribution of sub-codes this point is echoed. While *geographical location* (in *vulnerabilities*) received barely any coverage, *purchasing power & household capacities* is rather dominant. *Food systems* are only addressed in FAO 2019, although understanding them is pivotal to understand the geographical factors that determine *access* to food. As elaborated in the conceptual framework and literature review studies across sub-Saharan Africa (Battersby et al. 2016, Kimani-Murage et al. 2014,

Mulenga 2013, Owuor 2018, Riley & Lewewgoh 2014) provided sufficient evidence of the importance of geography and place-based approaches when tackling food insecurity.

A possible second explanation is the linkage between the governments and international development partners such as FAO. In Kenya 2017 (p. 4) it is pointed out that “*the policy provides an overarching framework covering all the four dimensions of food security— availability, accessibility, utilization and stability, as recognized by the World Food Summit*”. Important is the reference to the World Food Summit. It indicates that the *problem analysis* is not only based on academic data collection, but happens in reference to international development partners. Applying their assessments of food security might merely be a formality. When it comes to actual policy blueprints though, governments seem to have different priorities that favor *rural production/availability*. However, the relationships are complex and need further investigation. FAO Tanzania 2014 (p. 1) for instance clarifies that their recommendations are based on countries priorities, pointing out that “*the Government of Tanzania intends to use agricultural development as the main engine towards reaching middle level income status for the country by 2025*”.

To conclude, the analysis shows how *availability* and *accessibility* are both emphasized throughout the problem analysis along *utilization* and *stability* measures. When analyzing the sources through the lenses of the themes and sub-codes however, it becomes evident that many of them are rather related to *availability* than *accessibility*. Hence, an implicit dominance of *availability* is observable across the sources. The further analysis provided evidence that the role of *accessibility* shrunk in regard to policy recommendations and policy frameworks. A major factor that plays into this neglect is the limited understanding of *accessibility* that only relates to individual household capacities, instead of acknowledging the complexity of food systems and their geographical implications that could be addressed by urban place-based policies.

7.2 Urban food security and rural bias

As elaborated in the methodology some of the applied sub-codes were distinguished into rural and urban. The following section of the analysis builds on the distribution of codes that was analyzed beforehand as well as the urban-rural distinctions that were made in the sub-codes. First of all, urban food security has not been a major topic in any of the analyzed documents, but FAO 2019. Yet, nuances exist between the various sources and their view on food security in relation to the urban. Therefore, the following section analyzes the country-specific sources separately. Afterwards both parts are merged when analyzing them in the light of the international food security agenda. It is important to note the formulation of *food security in relation to the urban* since no document, but FAO 2019 adopts the specific term *urban food security*, which implies a distinct character from food security. Nonetheless, the following paragraph uses both terms due to convenience.

7.2.1 Kenyan documents

In the context of rural-urban distinctions the Kenyan documents are not fully coherent. In the Kenyan documents of 2011 and 2017 the urban is acknowledged as a space of intervention that has some characteristics different from the rural. Only in Kenya 2009 no significant references to the urban are made, whereas in Kenya 2011 (p. 10) for instance, it is stated that “*special issues include food access of the urban poor, the Strategic Food Reserve, and cultural, social and political factors*”. Urban poverty and informality are assessed as the two key determinants of urban food insecurity (Kenya 2011:18). Withal, both aspects are acknowledged as problems that are “*increasingly on the forefront*” (Kenya 2017:11). In addition, urban food security is primarily linked to accessibility (Kenya 2011:18, Kenya 2017:10). Three aspects are primarily identified as spaces for policy interventions in the Kenyan documents of 2011 and 2017: market access, poverty alleviation, and urban food production.

At first, both sources state that urban dwellers are much more dependent on (in-)formal markets (Kenya 2011:16, Kenya 2017:11). As a response, the access to these markets shall be improved. Yet, there is a lack of any concrete measures how to approach the issue. Kenya (2011:16) claims the aim is to “*ensure that the urban development plans provide for additional and better functioning wholesale and retail markets*”. However, looking at the later published Habitat III Report for Kenya (2016) shows that such measures are not included. Kenya (2017:12) lists a number of strategic interventions that shall improve the access to food for the urban. The list aims to improve the functioning of markets by enhancing the capacity of vendors and producers, providing a better infrastructure and governance of markets, and by generating a data base for food market players. Especially remarkable is the statement to “*enforce the physical planning rules and regulations in market systems*” (p. 18). Additionally, in Kenya 2011 (p. 19) “*suitable zones*” for informal retailers are put forward. Both approaches correlate with the principal process of governing urban food systems in the corporate food regime by *taming* actions that are outside of the control reach of policy makers (Haysom 2016:77). Overall, market access does not receive the adequate attention considering that it is one of the essential challenges of the urban food insecure.

Secondly, poverty alleviation plays a major role in the Kenyan documents to approach food insecurity of the urban. In this context employment creation and income generation are set to be the prime priorities (Kenya 2017:12). According to the documents this shall be achieved by strengthening small-scale entrepreneurship. Especially the difficult conditions of the informal sector are highlighted (ibid.). Concurrently, in Kenya 2011 (p. 18) it is acknowledged that this strategy might be little benevolent for the most poor. Hence, direct measures such as food aid and safety-nets are required to ensure their food access (ibid.). Poverty alleviation strategies are without doubt crucial for the improvement of food security. However, they are macro-oriented approaches that are tailored to work within a certain economic ideology. It is not unlikely that a country with no issues of food insecurity would adopt the same policies of poverty alleviation. They are not specifically related to urban food security, although they are presented as suitable responses. Thus, they have little impact on the food security situation of the very poor.

Thirdly, urban food production is identified as a viable strategy. In contrast to the other two aspects, urban food production is not only prevalent in the Kenyan sources of 2011 and 2017, but also in the Habitat III Reports of Kenya (2016) and Tanzania (2015). Across the four sources urban food production is framed as a practice with high potential (Kenya 2011:12, Kenya 2017:7 Kenya Habitat 2016, Tanzania Habitat 2015) that could “*improve food access and overall food and nutrition security*” (Kenya 2017:7). The Kenya Habitat III Report (2016:13) even states that “*urban food production is key to promoting household food security in urban areas*”. The role of governments is conceptualized as one of guidance and facilitation (Kenya 2011:12). In Kenya (2017:12) the expressed objective is to “*promote and regulate safe (peri-)urban agriculture*”. Similar to the approach towards markets that was outlined above, this drive to regulate food systems correlates with Haysom’s (2016) concept of *taming* urban food systems.

7.2.2 Tanzanian documents

In contrast to the Kenyan documents, the Tanzania-related sources barely address urban food security. In Tanzania 2011 (p. 17) it is acknowledged that “*food insecurity continues to be a challenge to some section of the population in both rural and urban areas*”. For the latter the focus lays on food price spikes and urban food accessibility during those (Tanzania 2011:28). Beyond that no measures regarding urban food security are seized. The Tanzanian food security reports of 2010 and 2017 aim to “*address hunger and food insecurity throughout Tanzania*” (Tanzania 2010:11). Yet the sampling solely focuses on rural areas in Tanzania (2010:16). Naturally, that brings up the question how the report can be comprehensive, when it excludes urban areas. It does not only

assume that urban food security can be solved by solely rural policies, but also that urban food insecurity is not significant enough. In Tanzania (2011:42) it is stated that “*food and nutrition security takes a number of forms, all of which affect the quality of life and productivity of rural people*”. It appears that urban people are simply not affected by food insecurity. Yet Tanzania (2010:97) claims that maize price increases during the international food price crisis in 2008 were much more dramatic in Dar es Salaam. This lack of cohesion is hardly explainable. Symptomatic is the fact that the agricultural ministry is responsible for food security measures in Tanzania (2011:22), in comparison to Kenya where the National Food and Nutrition Security Council, with admittedly strong ties to the agricultural ministry, is the highest decision making body (Kenya 2017:28).

A more detailed look on the underlying agenda of the Tanzanian documents and FAO Tanzania (2013) provides better insight of how the government of Tanzania conceptualizes food security. The distribution of codes in the analysis draws a rather clear picture when arranging the cases according to countries. *Rural production* is not only the overarching theme in the Tanzanian documents, but in comparison to the other documents, the prevalence of *rural poverty* is also significantly higher. The red thread that leads through the four sources and that became apparent in the coding process is the idea of an agricultural transformation (Tanzania 2011:45, Wuyts & Kilama 2016). It assumes that the modernization of the country is fueled by the mechanization and commercialization of the agricultural sector (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck 2011). In the long-run people would migrate into cities, which requires the agricultural sector to increase its production. If the sector fails to do so rural as well as urban population would suffer from food insecurity (FAO Tanzania 2014:1). Simultaneously to solving food insecurity the agricultural transformation would also alleviate rural poverty. It remains to be said that similar trajectories are mirrored in the Kenyan sources. Yet, they are not as dominant in comparison to the Tanzanian case. Partly, this might be reasoned by Tanzania's greater dependence on food imports in comparison to Kenya (Brown 2015). Understanding the logic of an agricultural transformation helps explaining the relation to the urban as well as the relation to the international food security agenda. The former is dominated by the assumption that urban food insecurity, if existent, can be solved by increasing the agricultural production. Hence, the national policy is mandated accordingly. The following part analyses how this narrative fits into a broader narrative fueled by the international food security agenda and the corporate food regime.

7.2.3 Food security and the international food security agenda

One cohesive international food security agenda does not exist. However, the *corporate food regime* provides a good tool to break down the central aspects that shape the international food security agenda. Although this thesis argues that food security has an inherent rural bias, it is nonetheless evident that any discussion about food security does not get passed agriculture. In the last two decades it has been subject to market-centrist perspectives that focus opportunities to reinvest in agriculture and to develop agricultural value-chains (McMichael & Schneider 2011:118). The World Development Report 2008 (World Bank 2008) clearly states that countries should shift from agricultural, to transforming, and finally to urbanized countries. Agricultural transformation is identified as the prime tool to do so (McMichael & Schneider 2011:124). International actors such as the World Bank aim once again for an African Green Revolution (ibid.). Especially mechanized and commercialized smallholder production is pursued (Patel et al. 2009). Simultaneously, the share of agricultural aid in sub-Saharan Africa declined since the 1990s. Instead private actors such as the Gates Foundation step into the breach that is left (McMichael & Schneider 2011:123). Not surprisingly in Kenya 2010 (p. ii) it is affirmed that “*financial support for this study was provided by the One UN Fund, USAID, and Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation*”. The self-proclaimed goal of the latter is to renew American leadership in the fight against global hunger and poverty (Patel et al. 2009). Brown (2015:6) correctly points out, that “*any policy choices supported by donors or*

different levels of government will need to navigate political and bureaucratic resistance in ways specific to individual government capacities and environments". This statement applies for any kind of food security policy.

Both countries, Kenya and Tanzania, are highly dependent on financial aid, and technical collaboration of international actors such as FAO or the UNDP. The country programming framework (CPF) by FAO regarding Tanzania for example is not only based on country-specific work, but also "*aligned with the organization's global priorities*" (FAO Tanzania 2014:9) in the context of the United Nations Development Assistance Plan 2011-2015/16 (UNDAP). In Tanzania 2011 (p. 44) the private sector is expected "*to invest in the [agricultural] sector and to undertake the tasks of agricultural production, commercialization and/or agro-processing*". FAO frames itself as a "*neutral broker among development partners*" that would "*allow FAO to play a coordinating and leadership role in government-donor negotiations*" (FAO Tanzania 2014:11). In Kenya 2009 (p. 28) the authors argue that "*food security can be achieved through embracing market oriented production*". The quote links well with Haysom's (2016) statement that the organizing principle of the corporate food regime is the market. Looking at the distribution of codes in the analysis (figure 2) affirms this observation by showing the importance of the *private economic sector* in the policy visions. Although the *state* is still central, it rather serves as a facilitator for a wide range of actors that is lead by the private sector (Kenya 2017:10, Tanzania 2011:44). In combination, with the discussed dominance of *rural production* and *availability* the findings in the analysis correlate with the international food security agenda that is manifested in the corporate food regime.

It is striking that the only issue of food security that is addressed in the Habitat III Reports is the one of urban food production. Urban markets or infrastructure remain untouched. Also in the Kenyan documents of 2011 and 2017 urban food production takes up significantly more space than other measures regarding urban food insecurity. Especially when considering Satterthwaite's (2011, in Battersby 2012:143) argument that urban food security is limited in its potential due to the lack of space and resources in a city. In particular, for the very poor. Yet, urban agriculture is promoted as a powerful bottom-up tool for households to escape poverty and food insecurity (Zezza & Tasciotti 2010). Battersby (2013:455) rightfully links urban food production with the trend of depoliticizing food security. Urban agriculture is a coping mechanism, and should not be misinterpreted as an adequate solution. Applying the same logic Maxwell (1998:46) argues the strong emphasis on urban agriculture in the urban food security agenda shifts the responsibility away from neoliberal food politics on the shoulders of the poor. The conclusion should not be the reverse turn, arguing against urban agriculture per sé. Instead, it is understood as a coping mechanism of the poor that results from neoliberal urban governance of food. Urban planning is not a technical exercise, but has deep political imprints. The findings regarding urban agriculture in the analyzed documents affirm this trend as well as the tendency of *taming* food systems instead of addressing their complexity.

In their discourse Kenya and Tanzania do not adequately address urban food security. Although Kenya acknowledges the different food security needs of urban population, they fail to provide a policy toolkit that reaches beyond urban agriculture, income generation, and the regulation of food systems. *Accessibility* is recognized as of particular importance for the urban population, but does not receive the adequate attention it would require. Tanzania on the other hand, follows the strict paradigm of addressing food security by exclusively rural measures. Urban food security is not identified as a significant problem that requires specifically tailored solution approaches. Furthermore, they have a fundamental rural bias that is demonstrated in the dominance of the codes that are related to the rural such as *rural production*, *rural poverty*, *rural infrastructure*, *rural markets*, and *availability*.

7.3 Food security and governance

So far the analysis focused on what are the identified problems and the respective measures that are undertaken. The coming passage deals with the question how the policy makers envision their conceptualized solution approaches in practice. In other words, it focuses on the governance of food security and how it differs in relation to urban areas.

7.3.1 Actors

The main actors that emerged throughout the analysis were the *state*, and the *private economic sector*. In addition, *regional governments* played a central role. *Research, NGOs & civil society*, and *development partners* were of minor importance. The Tanzanian sources are affected by a strong emphasis on the coordination and harmonization of the national food security policy. However, only Tanzania 2011 provides comprehensive information regarding the implementation and governance of food security measures. That is attributed to the character of the investigated sources. Tanzania 2010 and Tanzania 2017 included recommendations of what measures to undertake by providing extensive (rural) food security data, but little contribution of how these shall be governed. In the scarce material, *regional governments* and *national governments* are depicted as the crucial actors (Tanzania 2011:44). The agricultural Sector lead Ministries (ASLMs) are essentially responsible for food security policy and strategy development (Tanzania 2011:22). In addition, the government also aims to outsource responsibilities to regional governments in the light of the Tanzania's decentralization policy (ibid.). Here the sources seemingly become more ambivalent. On the one hand they emphasize the oversight of the prime minister and the final decision power of the national government (Tanzania 2011:45), while on the other hand the document voices a “*particular emphasis on creating conditions conducive to the participation of the private sector and non-state actors*” (ibid.). In fact, the *private economic sector* holds a pivotal position in the food security strategy of the Tanzanian government (Tanzania 2011:23). *Local governments*, such as municipalities are ignored.

In the Kenyan documents the National Food and Nutrition Security Council is the highest decision making body that “*provides leadership and a national platform*” (Kenya 2017:28). Its members consist of several officials that hold positions in the state or county government. For example cabinet secretaries of fields that are linked to the matter of food and nutrition security. Named is not only agriculture, but among others also planning, interior, education and industrialization (Kenya 2017:29). The list consists of further fields that are mostly related to matters of agriculture or rural production. Nonetheless, the range of fields is rather comprehensive, although it lacks a clear *urban* planning reference (ibid.). Furthermore, counties are enabled to establish local coordination structures incorporating recognized local institutions, communities and other stakeholders (Kenya 2017:30). If correctly implemented such mechanisms have the potential to better the involvement of local knowledge when governing complex food system. Yet, the framework appears to be limited in scope. For instance, it is explicit about the role of the National Food and Nutrition secretariat which “*shall be the center of coordination of all actors*” (Kenya 2017:29). It is set up in the office of the president. Additionally, county government actions must always be in line with the National Policy (Kenya 2017:30). The latter are controlled for in the earlier mentioned National Food Security and Nutrition Council. It ensures the “*mainstreaming of national food and nutrition policy function by the national and county governments*” (Kenya 2017:28). County and national governments are both essential, although the power balance is clearly in favor of national governance structures. Also here, *local governments* do not play a role.

7.3.2 Between coordination, collaboration, and regulation

Although the policy papers emphasize decentralization as essential, it does not fully reflect across all sources. Scholars (Mitchell et al. 2019:2) claim *local governments* would be increasingly at the forefront of the food security discourse. Yet, *local governments* were merely mentioned in FAO 2019. As mentioned earlier the role of the state was essential in the sources, with the regional government as the lower instance of governance. However, looking at the sources the state appears to have an ambivalent role that fluctuates between the central coordinating role of the developmental state (Nwapi & Andrews 2017) and the enabling character of the neo-liberal state that focuses on creating conducive conditions for private actors. The coding process mirrors this impression. Two sub-codes are especially dominant (figure 2). At first, *coordination & collaboration* was referenced more than any other code in the theme. In the documents the state takes on the role of a coordinator among a network of collaborators (Guarneros-Meza & Geddes 2010). This narrative fits neoliberal urban governance theories that criticize that the state for outsourcing basic services to the *private economic sector* and the civil society. The case of urban agriculture is a prime example where the state promotes a coping mechanism of the poor, instead of addressing the structural drivers that lead to it in the first place. Secondly, *legalities & regulation* were frequently referenced. Notable are the terms *streamlining* and *mainstreaming*, which were used for government interventions. Especially, urban sub-codes and *legalities & regulation* overlap in the analysis. In Kenya 2017 (p. 12) a part of the state's role in relation to urban areas is to “enforce the physical planning rules and regulations in market systems” as well as “review and streamline regulatory frameworks” (ibid.). Interestingly, this appears to be a contradiction between efforts of decentralization as part of neoliberal governance, and ones of centralization by not allowing agency to regional and local actors. To some extent this might be explained by the stark history of the developmental state in sub-Saharan Africa that has been depicted as the *one* pathway for countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Nwapi & Andrews 2017).

7.3.3 Spatial governance of urban food security

In the past, many sub-Saharan African countries developed ambitious large-scale projects for the agricultural sector that were partly funded by development partners (McMichael & Schneider 2011). For example, the agricultural investment plan of Tanzania 2011 (p. 58). Coordinating such large projects according to local needs is challenging. Drimie & Ruysenaar (2010:324) found that in the case of South Africa the collaborative institutional architecture of the food security project was merely scaffolding. In practice the structures were hierarchical with little resources and agency for regional and local actors. In the case of urban food security, food systems become even more complex and dynamic. The absence of *local governments* in the policy papers is especially problematic. In addition, the country-specific documents ignored the possibility of providing capacities for *place-based* solutions. Urban food systems require localized actions that include local actors without putting the task on their shoulders. Although such horizontal urban governance approaches are to be exercised carefully, because when badly implemented they can favor middle-class and elites interests (Guarneros-Meza & Geddes 2010). In the past, policy responses to urban food security seemed ill-equipped (Crush & Riley 2017, Haysom 2016, Drimie & Ruysenaar 2010). Haysom (2016) rightfully calls for an approach that empowers urban governments to take on urban food insecurity. The analysis in this section provides two major findings.

At first, the governance of food security can be conceptualized as neoliberal, and in further consequence imprinted by the corporate food regime. Yet, the findings also suggest that extra-neoliberal processes such as the sub-Saharan history of the authoritative developmental state influences the governance of food security. Secondly, the analysis showed how the corporate food regime, manifested in the international food security agenda, aims to *tame* local food system

(Haysom 2016), and in further consequence reduces the complexity of food systems, rather than embracing it.

8. Conclusion

The analysis is split in three sections in reference to the three research questions. Thus, the following segment summarizes the findings in the same structure, but with a specific emphasis on the interconnectedness of the findings. Moreover, it gives a concluding remark on the implications of the study.

At first, the analysis investigated how food security is attributed in the sources. The focus laid on the relationship between *accessibility* and *availability*. Although the documents claim to be holistic and do not explicitly assert whether one dimension of food security is more crucial than another, across all sources *availability* is the most dominant of the *pillars of food security*. It especially manifests itself in the emphasis on *rural production*. *Accessibility*, on the other hand received less codes, although the further analysis shows that the sources recognize its importance for urban dwellers. In addition, the documents linked *accessibility* predominantly to household capabilities, while neglecting geographical vulnerabilities and the importance of the food economy of the informal retail sector. Although both countries show differences they do not adequately address urban food security in the policy papers. Instead availability forms the locus of the country-specific sources.

Secondly, the analysis further scrutinized the role of a rural bias that is indicated in the discrepancy between *availability* and *accessibility*. The latter is especially significant for urban food security, whereas the former represents the traditional perspective that almost equates food security with *availability*. Analyzing the distribution of codes according to rural-urban distinctions affirms the hypothesized rural bias. Tanzania sticks out with an especially strong focus on the rural. Kenya includes urban measures as well, but does not address urban food security in its complexity, nor registers its distinct character. Both countries show a bias towards the rural that affects their problem analysis, and their policy response in particular. In further consequence, their strategies towards food security are ill-equipped for urban areas. The rural as the focal point of food security is mirrored in the international food security that still promotes structural transformation through agricultural transformation. A strategy that marked little success in sub-Saharan Africa.

Thirdly, the analysis shows how different trajectories influence the governance of food security. Actors attempt to *tame* instead of understanding the complexity of urban food systems. Hence, Haysom's (2016) concept of spatial governance of urban food systems is applicable. The focus on the rural contributes further to the neglect of urban complexity. In addition, the analysis displays known patterns of neoliberal governance that include market-oriented policies, decentralization efforts, and multi-actor approaches. In combination with the rigid focus on *rural production* they represent key dimensions of the corporate food regime that seeks for ways of generating capital from agricultural development. Yet, the analysis also provides evidence for processes that contradict findings of neoliberal governance. For example, the strong focus around the state when it comes to the coordination of policies. The mentioned efforts of decentralization seem to be pursued parallel with strong tendencies of centralized coordination. This could be attributed to the stark history of the developmental state in the sub-Saharan context as well as the authoritarian characteristics that are prevalent in Kenya and Tanzania. Here, the post-neoliberal urban theory proved to be a helpful tool to negate the trap of understanding every process of governance as compulsorily neoliberal. Acknowledging that food security is exposed to neoliberal processes susceptible to the neoliberal

agenda of the corporate food regime, as well as being subject to local extra-neoliberal processes has important implications for urban food security as a research problem.

Urban food security is not an apolitical matter, but is (re-)produced by policy choices on the one hand, and injustices that are inherent to the neoliberal corporate food regime on the other hand. Yet, dominant focus on the availability of food overshadows the political dimension of urban food security. Overcoming the fetishization of rural production in the food security context is not sufficient when addressing urban food security. Scholars (Battersby 2012 & 2013, Haysom 2016, Maxwell 1998) rightfully call for localized and politicized approaches towards urban food security. However, it is important to avoid neoliberal traps of decentralization that leave local actors with scarce resources and drives them into multi-actor approaches that favor the private economic sector.

To conclude, the analysis confirms the drawn hypothesis. The distinct character of urban food security in relation to food security as a broad concept is not acknowledged. In addition, the analyzed papers emphasize rural production as the key solution. Here, the sources differ, with Kenya having a slightly more holistic approach. Secondly, the sources give no attention to geographical vulnerabilities that influence the state of urban food security. Instead, individual household capacities are identified as the prime solution to tackle food insecurity for urban dwellers. Thirdly, the thesis found that the governance of food security is subject to neoliberal agendas, but also extra-neoliberal processes. Throughout the sources, the attempted *taming* of food systems is evident as well. Therefore, this thesis argues that the hypothesis is confirmed by the findings of the analysis.

Lastly, it remains to be said that this study does not proclaim the existence of a general rural bias over urban areas, but in the particular context of food security. In fact, urban areas receive higher cash flows than rural ones. Yet, a large share of people in informal settlements are deprived from any urban benefits. Their struggles are depoliticized in a neoliberal hegemony that praises coping strategies instead of deeming the structures that cause people resorting to them in the first place.

8.1 Prospect and further research

Among the analyzed documents is also the Urban Food Agenda (FAO 2019). It differs fundamentally from the other sources. It was decided, to not include it in the main analysis, because it would distort the findings. Instead the following segment provides a short overview of the findings of said document, and what they imply for this study.

At first, the Urban Food Agenda (FAO 2019) specifically aims to improve urban food security. In further sequence, it acknowledges its distinct character that requires “*urban design models*” (FAO 2019:32). It goes even further by asserting a “*striking lack of knowledge about the origins and flows of food, and about the power relations that shape urban food systems*” (FAO 2019:27). The authors specifically highlight the impact of rising inequalities, complex socio-spatial dynamics, the availability of natural resources, the role of forced and unforced rural-urban migration, different forms of knowledge between rural and urban citizens, diverse institutional frameworks, and existing power relations (FAO 2019:7). In other words, the document addresses multiple issues that are outlined in the understanding of urban food security, expressed in this thesis. In further consequence, one could argue that the prospects for the urban food insecure become brighter. However, every form of engagement with urban food security is also one with the corporate food regime and its multitudinous dimensions. Thus, addressing urban food security is also a political struggle where the first hurdle is the actual *politicizing* of urban food security struggles in the public perception.

This thesis highlights the significance of the international food security agenda for national strategies. The urban Food Agenda (FAO 2019) might be a first step in the right direction. However, such processes take time. Further research could pay attention whether this development has lasting effects on the way urban food security is thought of. Moreover, more research needs to address the multiple intersections between urban food security and post-neoliberal urban governance. Especially in the light of rural-urban migration. Additionally, much potential lays in unveiling the layers of urban food systems that unfold in a diversity of food procuring strategies, and informal markets. Especially the intersection between geographical vulnerabilities and gender remains scarcely researched.

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