

# Food networks in Africa - supermarkets and local markets in food provisioning

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# Food networks

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- Explore food networks in Africa
- Compare these ('structural features')
  - Focus a little more on supermarkets
- Dynamics of the food economy (when/where do these networks interact)
- What about food policy: Feeding the City?

# Follow the food

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- Following food and the social actors in their endeavor to make and access food one gets a good idea of what happens between *Farm and Fingers*
  - Eggs in Dar es Salaam as an example
  - Follow the eggs and one discovers a complex, but dynamic food economy
  - Raises some questions for policy and development

# Food Geographies

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- Food or value chains is *en vogue*, however,
  - Limiting notion: pre-empting and orders views before even empirical investigations
  - SM or the Chain as the optimal and most efficient way to bridge demand and supply
  - Cultural dimension of ignored: food has economic, social and cultural values, constructed in and during interactions between actors that make, transport, process and consume food

# Food Biographies

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- *Food biographies* as a methodological device is preferred
  - Allows one to discover what is happening locally without pre-empted ideas of efficiency
  - Attention the broader aspects of culture, taste and other preferences

# Food Biographies

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- Following food one encounters
  - Supermarkets (SM), islands of modernity
  - 'Local', Street or Wet markets
- Common that they are constructed by people, build on interconnections, deal foremost with processed and fresh food
- They differ substantially:
  - different dynamics, ways of connecting resources and social relationships



# Mangi's Duka



# Meet Samuel: Sold 13 Trays of 30 eggs that day







# And after 22kms





He has 100 Chickens (70 eggs p/d). His Sister in Law  
100 (90 eggs p/d). He buys others from neighbours







## *Muuzaji chipsi*



*Zege*





# Mama Abubakari's Shop







# “Nay Farm”



# Shoppers Plaza



- “Western Style Shopping”
- Eggs from “Nay Farm” and others





# Academic attention for SM

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- Relatively recent phenomena
- Ignored as an ingredient of the set of development questions
- Market research largely focussed on how markets functioned, demand-supply, prices, etc.
- Hardly an interest in relationships, interactions, diversity

# Supermarkets

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- SM understood as the vehicle for
  - Global capitalism and its expansion, structurally and linearly transforming the food economy from 'traditional' to 'modern'
  - Manifestations of modernity, progress, new life styles
  - Culturally preferred by policy makers, who shop after all in SM themselves after work and weekends
  - SM as the vehicle for the transmission of new technologies to Africa, new tastes, junk or fast food, economies of scale opportunities, lowering costs and efficiency

- Modern, capital intensive food outlets
- New forms of logistics, presentation, marketing
- Food procured globally, not just locally
- Processed and packaged food
- Value adding often globally, not in the region
- Urban and rural connected horizontally (less integration)
- Ownership often 'foreign'
  - AHold, Carrefour, Wall-mart,
- Also 'locally' owned:
  - Pick 'n Pay, Shoprite, Shoppers, Saveways, Okay Bazaar



# Supermarkt (SM) discovered African consumers

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- SM outlets has increased in numbers
- Expansion driven by globalisation, urbanisation, growth of the (urban) middle class, new food consumption patterns (fast, packaged food)
- Thrives because of open neo-liberal climate
- SMs also discovered poor consumers, in rural villages and neighbourhoods

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- Supermarket image
  - 'cheap and for all of you'
  - [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3wK9DPhue\\_w](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3wK9DPhue_w)





# SM

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- SMs as a space of modernity where global – local interconnections takes place
- Generate *specific forms* of interconnections
- Some are *contested*:
  - Food quality and taste: values not always shared
  - Resisted because of conditions of work (low wages)
  - Comments on foreign ownership
  - Access problematic: inclusion – exclusion

# Interconnections

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- Smallholders find it difficult to sell to SM
  - Quality standards is often the argument by SM to exclude smallholders
  - Low volumes increase transaction costs
- SM buy where commodities are cheap and easy to get
  - Often contract farming: not really preferred
  - Low output prices for crops (and high prices for inputs):
- the *squeeze on agriculture* continues

# A specific manifestation of interconnections is

- Millet is **not** for sale in SM





# Is image changing? Indigenous crops in South African SMs: looking for new forms of interconnections



- Research on *Amadumbe* in KZN shows:
- Procurement by Woolworth of organic Amadumbe has increased to substantial volumes
- Trend towards mono cropping of Amadumbe
- Quality standards are strictly applied:
  - Two markets emerged: Woolworth and 'local'
- Inequalities between producers



# Critical aspects of interconnections generated by SM's

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- Estate wine farm workers complaining about the unequal distribution of added value and benefits
- [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gu9MYV\\_An0A](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gu9MYV_An0A)
- Procurement practices (Gabon): most is imported
- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dx49LTXdEc4>

Loja nº1

HOYO-HOYO fregues

S. S. MANGANHE

CEL  
829592290

NESCAFÉ





# Rural realities

- SM model in SA
- Local markets fall away and replaced by SM



# Small scale, family based, street markets

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- *Mama Nthile* stands for a plethora of small food producers, processors and retail outlets that form an intrinsic part of 'local' community life
- Provides a substantial amount of food, adds value to food locally, generates employment, and links the rural and urban spheres more vertically
- Coexistence of *Mama Nthile* and SM is bound to turn into fierce competition
- Is this the case ?

# Consumers perspective

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- selectively adopted supermarkets
- regularly shop in supermarkets and continue to purchase fresh food on street markets
- Echoes continued retail diversity
- even in countries where supermarkets have expanded most
  - notably Kenya, Zambia, South Africa, Ghana and Tanzania to a degree

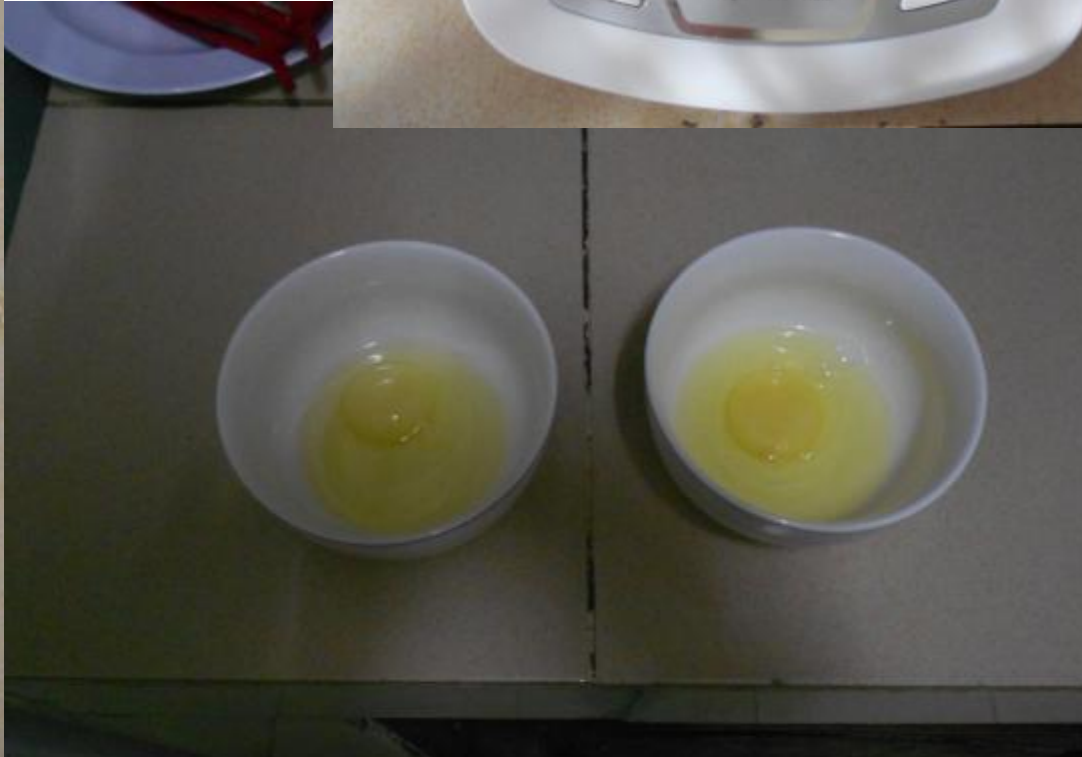
- On-going research concludes that extent of transformation of retailing ... as a consequence of *supermarketisation* is overestimated.
- In Kenya (2003 data): supermarket chains held less than 2% of the national urban fresh produce market
- nearly all fresh produce purchases in these outlets was bought by elites and upper middle class

- It is estimated that Kenyan supermarkets will hold at most a 16% share of total food sales by 2013;
- this corresponds to a 4%-5% share of fresh produce.
- It is unlikely that ... we will see supermarket growth for several decades
- Share of supermarkets in South Africa increases:
  - 60% of all food is purchased at SM's (2008 data)



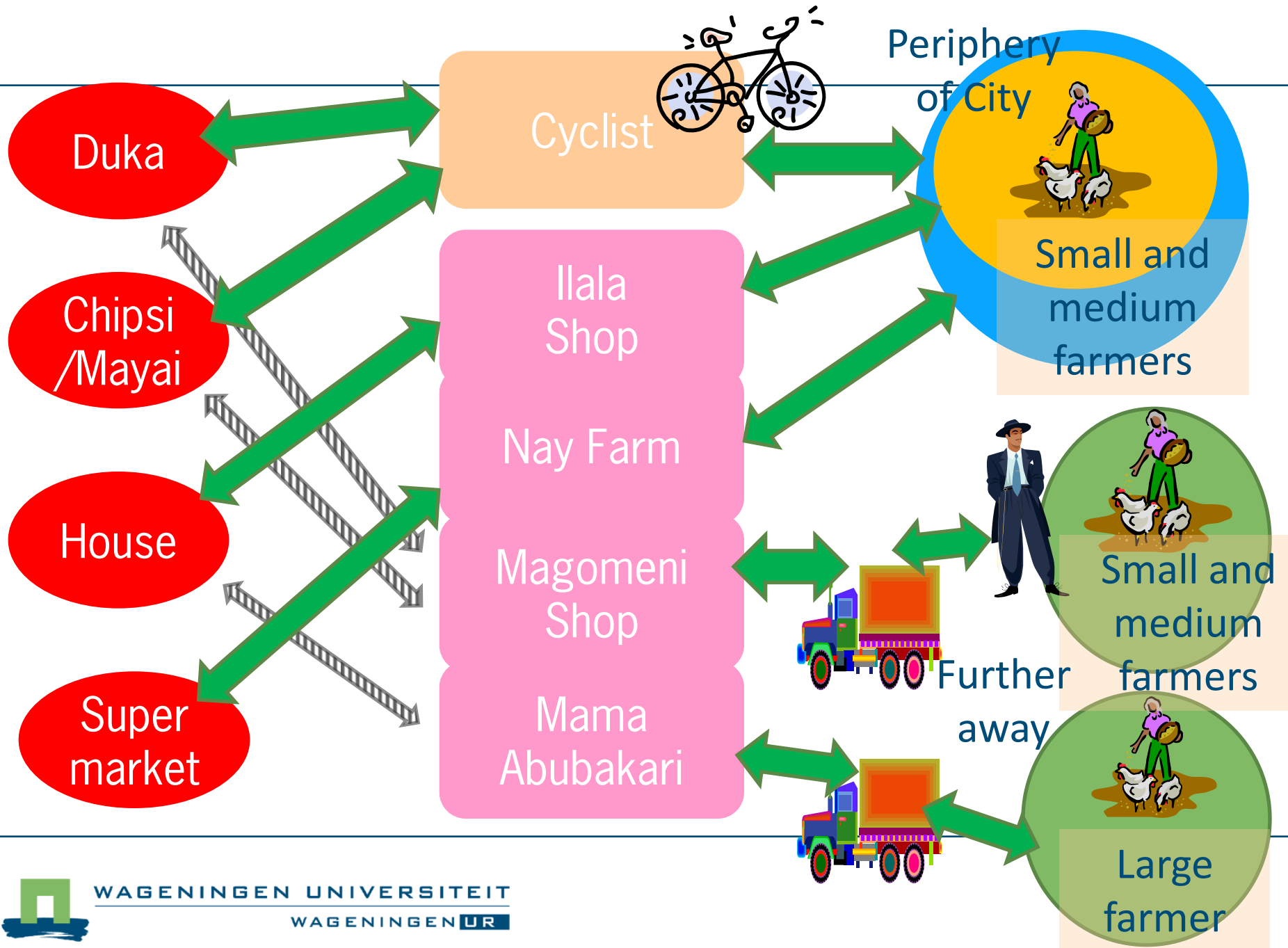
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- Challenges and development questions
  - Who feeds the city in Africa?
  - SM ?
  - Mama Nthile?

# What about the eggs?

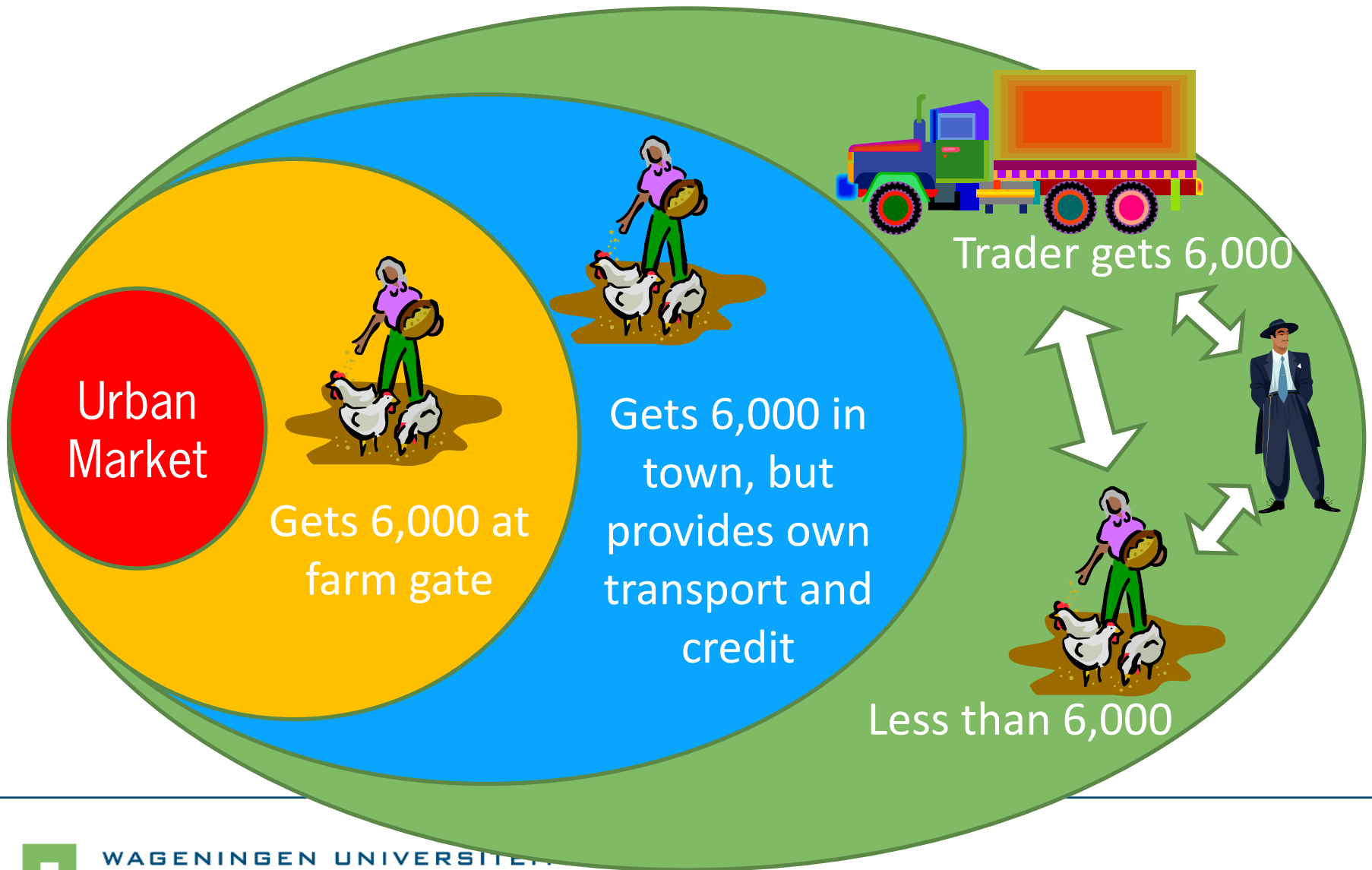


<b>Table 1: Egg prices and weights</b>	<b>TShs</b>	<b>TShs</b>		
<b>Eggs bought end November 2011</b>	<b>Price per 6 eggs</b>	<b>Price per egg</b>	<b>Weight per 6 eggs</b>	<b>Price per gram</b>
Asia's House	1,500.00	250.00	361.00	4.16
<i>Mangi's Duka</i>	1,500.00	250.00	355.00	4.23
Namanga Food Supplies in Shoppers	1,950.00	325.00	334.00	5.84
Fresh Lay in Shoppers	2,650.00	441.67	345.00	7.68
<b>Eggs bought February 2012</b>				
Mama Abubakari's Shop	1,500.00	250.00	374.00	4.01
Asia's House	1,500.00	250.00	351.00	4.27
<i>Mangi's Duka</i>	1,800.00	300.00	309.00	5.83
Nay Farm in Shoppers	2,100.00	350.00	289.00	7.27
Fresh Lay in Shoppers	3,150.00	525.00	361.00	8.73
'Local Eggs' in Shoppers	3,200.00	533.33	261.00	12.26
<b>Eggs bought March 2012</b>				
<i>Spar Supermarket eggs, Wageningen, E.1.33</i>	2,793.00	465.50	426.00	6.56
<i>Spar Supermarket Bio eggs, Wageningen, E 1.89</i>	3,969.00	661.50	398.00	9.97

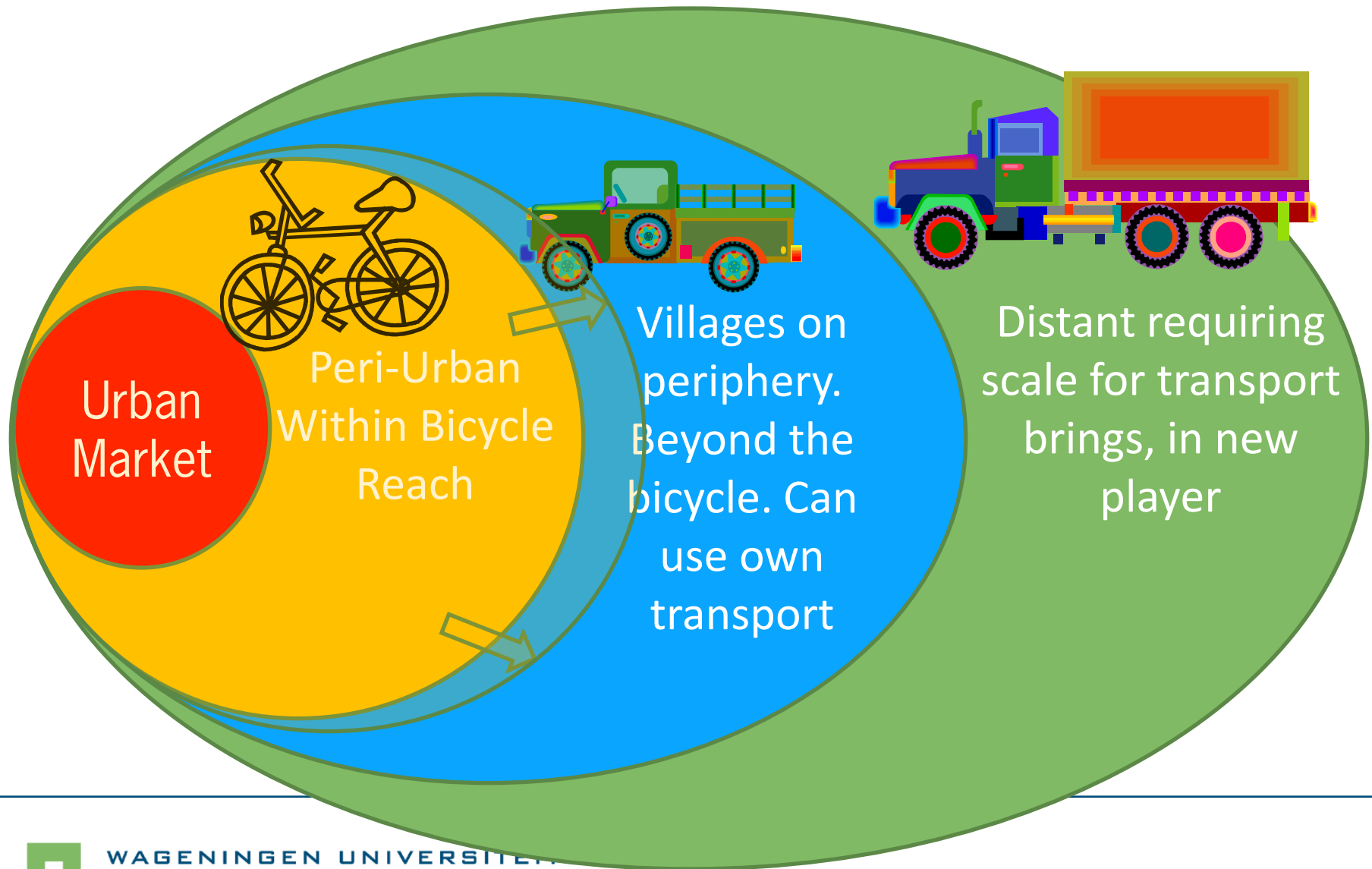








# Mode of transport is critical to position in market



# One road, many bikes, over 600,000 eggs a week



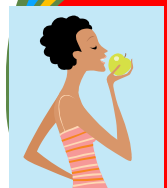
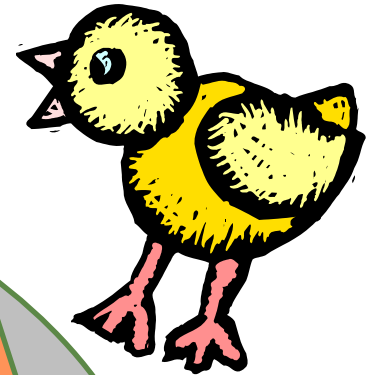
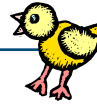
Farmers from few villages sell over \$4million of eggs/yr





Shariff  
'Local'

Fauzia



Super-  
market  
'Organic'



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WIEN VIENNA  
UNIVERSITY OF  
VIENNA

Different  
companies,  
basically one  
chick  
technology

Different  
factories,  
basically one  
type of feed

Dependence  
on imported  
chick  
technology

# Supermarket?



- It does buy from local business and farmers, but not always ✓
- It is an energy consuming, carbon, rubbish and traffic jam creating system (unsustainable)
- Creates an elite social space
- Costs are externalised and built into price to consumer.
- > 16.6% more expensive
- Big risk if no other options





Local *Duka* ←



Bicycle  
distribution

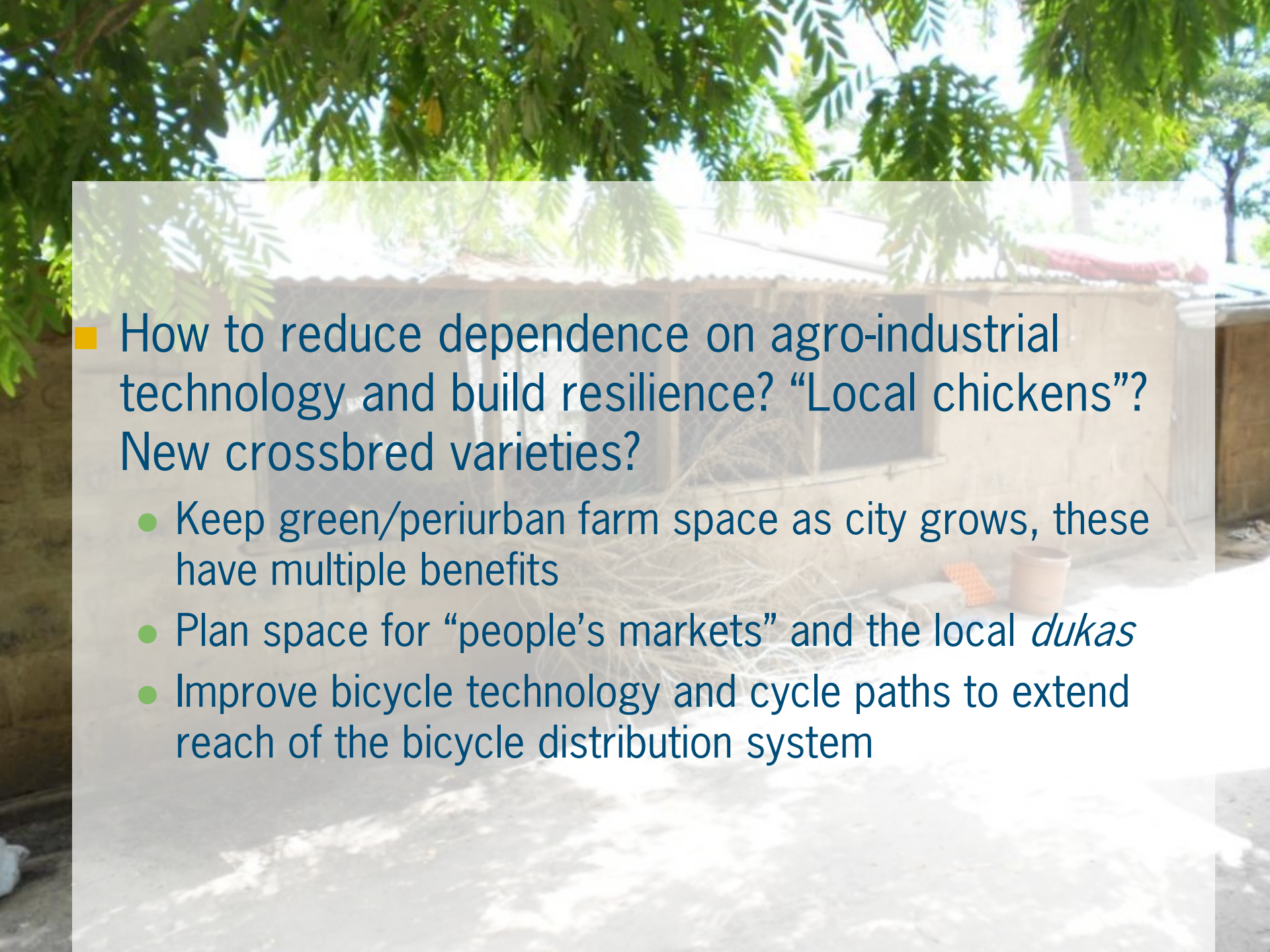


← Small Peri-urban  
farm

- Support local producers (many women)
- Large self-employment creation
- Fresh eggs, affordable and flexible
- Buy within walking distance quantity you want
- No traffic, no carbon, low energy consumption
- Can sustainably meet egg needs + demand





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- How to reduce dependence on agro-industrial technology and build resilience? “Local chickens”? New crossbred varieties?
    - Keep green/periurban farm space as city grows, these have multiple benefits
    - Plan space for “people’s markets” and the local *dukas*
    - Improve bicycle technology and cycle paths to extend reach of the bicycle distribution system



# Just a few thoughts ...

# Thank you

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