



# SABABU ZA KULA TUNACHOKULA

Why we eat what we eat

*Understanding what influences food choices in an urban Kenyan community*



African Population and  
Health Research Center





# **SAUTI ZA JAMII** | **COMMUNITY VOICES**

*Sababu za Kula Tunachokula*

*Why We Eat What We Eat*

**Suggested citation:**

*Why we eat what we eat: Understanding what influences food choices in an urban Kenyan community.* APHRC 2018

**African Population and Health Research Center**

APHRC Campus, 2nd Floor, Manga Close, Off Kirawa Road

P.O. Box 10787-00100 Nairobi, Kenya

Email: [info@aphrc.org](mailto:info@aphrc.org) | [www.aphrc.org](http://www.aphrc.org)





# SABABU ZA KULA TUNACHOKULA

## Kwa nini utafiti juu ya uchaguzi wa chakula ni muhimu

Karibu theluthi (1/3) moja ya Wakenya wanaishi mijini, na idadi ya wanaohamia mijini kutoka vijijini inaongezeka.

Miji inavyoendelea kukua ndivyo mabadiliko yanatokea katika jamii na mazingira yanayotuzunguka- yaani, mahali ambapo watu wanaishi- na kusababisha mabadiliko katika tabia zao na mazoea ya lishe. Hii inamaanisha kuwa chakula kisicho bora ikiwa ni pamoja na chakula cha haraka ambacho kina kiwango kikubwa cha mafuta, sukari na chumvi kinaendelea kuwa chakula cha kawaida. Watu kuhamia mijini na matumizi ya chakula kisicho bora zinahusishwa na unene wa mwili (overweight), fetma (obesity) na kutokea kwa magonjwa yasiyo ya kuambukizwa kama vile shinikizo la damu (high blood pressure), magonjwa ya moyo na ugonjwa wa kisukari.

Kenya imepata ongezeko kubwa la unene wa mwili na fetma kwa kiwango cha karibu mara kumi katika kipindi cha miaka sita iliyopita (asilimia 25 mwaka wa 2008 mpaka asilimia 33 mwaka wa 2014). Ongezeko hili ni kubwa katika wakazi wa mijini ikilinganishwa na wale wanaoishi vijijini. Magonjwa yasiyo ya kuambukizwa pia yameongezeka, yakisimamia asilimia 27 ya magonjwa yote, theluthi moja ya vifo vyote na zaidi ya nusu ya wanaolazwa hospitalini nchini Kenya.

Shughuli za maonyesho ya picha zilizosababishwa na picha hizi na maelezo yake ni sehemu ya utafiti. Pamoja na vipengele vingine vya utafiti, inatarajiwa kuwa itachangia ushahidi mpya katika jinsi ya kuboresha matumizi ya vyakula bora kama mbinu muhimu ya kukabili unene wa mwili, fetma na magonjwa yasiyo ya kuambukizwa nchini Kenya.

## Mukhtasari wa mafunzo kutoka kwa jamii

- Mazingira ya kijamii na mazingira inayotuzunguka huathiri uchaguzi wa chakula kwa wakazi wa mijini. Ni muhimu kuyazingatia na kuyatilia maanani ili kuimarisha mazoea ya chakula bora mijini.
- Katika mazingira ya kijamii, familia na wachuuzi wa vyakula huathiri kwa kiwango kikubwa uchaguzi wa vyakula kwa watu binafsi. Kwa hivyo vikundi hivi vinafaa kuzingatiwa wakati ambapo mikakati na hatua za kuimarisha mazoea salama ya chakula inapotengenezwa.
- Katika mazingira yanayotuzunguka, vyakula vinavyoandaliwa kando ya barabara ni chanzo cha lishe kwa wengi wa wakaazi wa mijini. Kuwawezesha wachuuzi wa chakula cha mtaani kuandaa chakula bora na salama kwa jamii ni jambo la linalopendekezwa na wengi.

- Kutozingatia usafi, mazingira chafu na kuongeza bidhaa zisizofaa kwa chakula kunaonyesha changamoto zinazoendelea kukabili mabadiliko ya lishe mitaani. Haya yanajumlishwa na maambukizi yanayoletwa na uchafu wa vyakula pamoja na lishe duni inayohusishwa na magonjwa yasiyo ya kuambukizana. Kwa hivyo, utekelezaji wa sheria ili kukuza unmaarufu wa chakula bora na salama ni muhimu katika kupunguza hatari hizi.
- Kilimo cha mjini kimetambuliwa kuwa na uwezo wa kufanikisha upatikanaji wa, kwa kiasi kikubwa, chakula bora na salama kwa gharama ya chini au bila gharama yoyote. Ukuzaji wa kilimo cha mjini kunaweza kupunguza vikwazo hasa za kifedha ambazo huathiri uchaguzi wa chakula bora.

## Sauti ya Picha Makadara

Lengo la mradi wa sauti ya picha lilikuwa kutambua jinsi watu (jamii) na miundo msingi (mazingira yanayotuzunguka) – kama vipengele vya “mazingira ya chakula” – wanavyoathiri uchaguzi wa chakula kwa watu wanaoishi Makadara. Maonyesho ya picha ni kipengele kimoja cha mradi mkubwa katika sehemu ya Makadara unaohusiana na mambo yanayochangia uchaguzi wa chakula mijini.

Makadara ni kitongoji kilicho na idadi kubwa ya watu (160,4340 ndani ya kilomita 13 mraba(km)) kilicho karibu na mji mkuu wa Nairobi, Kenya. Wanaoishi Makadara ni watu wanaopata mapato ya kiwango cha chini na kati.

Karibu washiriki 50, ikiwa ni pamoja na vijana na watu wazima, kutoka kaunti ndogo ya Makadara walishiriki katika mradi huu wakipiga picha ili kujibu

vidokezo kadhaa:

- Mahali unapokula chakula na/au kunywa
- Vikwazo dhidi ya kula chakula bora kwako
- Kitu kinachofanya iwe rahisi kwako kula chakula bora
- Kitu ambacho huathiri uchaguzi wa chakula unachokula eneo unapoishi/eneo jirani
- Mtu anayeathiri uchaguzi wako wa chakula au vinywaji katika eneo lako

Baada ya kupiga picha, wanajamii waliojumlishwa katika mradi huu walijadiliana na watafiti kuhusiana na mambo yaliyopelekea uchaguzi wa picha hizo na historia iliyo nyuma ya kila picha kulingana na uchaguzi wa chakula.



## Je, maonyesho ya picha ni nini?

### The PhotoVoice Process

The PhotoVoice process follows these steps:

- 1 Providing context on the issue or research topic under consideration
- 2 Discussing themes that could be illustrated in photos
- 3 Learning how to operate the cameras
- 4 Visual ethics, including the 'no faces protocol', that is, how to illustrate a situation without showing the faces of people or private businesses without permission and how to be sensitive to local contexts
- 5 Taking photos
- 6 Printing and looking at photos
- 7 Working in small groups to reflect on what the photos illustrate and creating captions to accompany them
- 8 Presenting reflections to the larger group and selected members of the community
- 9 Planning and preparing for exhibiting the work in communities, and to policymakers

Sauti ya picha ni mbinu imara ya utafiti ambayo inategemea matumizi ya kamera na watu wa jamii kuchunguza hadithi, uzoefu au mawazo kuhusu jambo fulani ambalo linawaathiri. Washiriki wanaweza pia kuandika maandishi mafupi ili kupeana maelezo zaidi, changamoto wanazopitia na pia kama njia za kutafuta suluhu.

Picha hutumika kama 'sauti' ambayo inaweza eleza ujumbe flani, kwa maneno au bila maneno, and mara nyingi ielezee jambo gumu kwa njia sahihi. Sauti ya picha huruhusu washiriki kuandika na kurekodi matukio na hali zinazowazingira, na pia kuwawezesha kutafakari juu ya changamoto au hali wanazokumbana nazo. Pia wanaweza kutengeza mbinu za kuwasiliana na washika dau.



# WHY WE EAT WHAT WE EAT

## *Understanding what influences food choices in an urban Kenyan community*

### Why Research on Food Choices is Important

About a third of Kenya people live in urban areas, and the numbers of people moving to cities from rural areas is growing.

As cities grow, changes are taking place in the social and physical environments that people live in, causing a change in their food habits and dietary practices. This means that unhealthy diets, including fast food that is high in trans fats, sugar, and salt, are becoming more common. Urbanization and overconsumption of unhealthy foods are associated with overweight, obesity, and development of non-communicable diseases such as hypertension, heart diseases, and diabetes.

In Kenya, overweight and obesity have increased by almost tenfold over the last six years (25% in 2008 to 33% in 2014) and are higher among urban dwellers compared to those in the rural areas. Non-communicable diseases have also increased, now accounting for 27% of total ill health, a third of all deaths, and more than half of hospital bed occupancy in the country.

The Photovoice activities that resulted in these photos and captions are a part of the research. Together with the other elements of the study, it is hoped to contribute new evidence on how to improve the consumption of healthy diets as a key strategy to overweight, obesity and related non-communicable diseases in Kenya.

### Summary of Learnings from the Community

- Social and physical environments influence food choices amongst urban dwellers. It is important to consider and address them in order to enhance healthier, safer dietary practices in urban settings.
- Within the social environment, family and food vendors largely influence individual food choices, and should therefore be considered when developing strategies and interventions to enhance healthy individual dietary practices.



- Within the physical environment, street foods are common sources of food for the urban dwellers. Empowering the street food vendors to provide healthy and safe foods to the community members is therefore recommended.
- Poor hygiene, environmental sanitation and food adulteration reveal the continuing challenges of the urban nutrition transition, with infection due to poor food hygiene alongside

unhealthy eating associated with NCDs. Therefore, enforcing legislation to promote healthy and safe foods is essential in lowering these risks.

- Urban farming has been identified as having potential in the provision of greater access to affordable healthy and safe foods at low or no cost. Promoting urban farming could reduce the obstacles especially financial barriers that affect healthy food choices.

---

## Photovoice in Makadara

The aim of the Photovoice project was to identify the people and the structures – parts of the “food environment”-- that influence what people who live in Makadara choose to eat and drink. Photovoice is one element of a larger research project from the same area on drivers of food choices in urban cities.

Makadara is a densely populated suburb in the city of Nairobi, Kenya. With a population of 160,434 within 13 square kilometers, community members are low- and middle-income earners.

Nearly 50 participants, including youth and adults from Makadara sub-county took part in the project; taking photos to respond to several prompts:

- A place where you eat food and/or drink

- Something that makes eating healthy difficult for you
- Something that makes eating healthy easy for you
- Something that influences what you eat in your area/neighborhood
- A person that influences your food or drink choices in your neighborhood

After taking the photos, participants printed them and discussed them with the research team, to tell the stories behind their selection of the photos and provide background on why they matter to their food choices.



## What is Photovoice?

### The PhotoVoice Process

The PhotoVoice process follows these steps:

- 1 Providing context on the issue or research topic under consideration
- 2 Discussing themes that could be illustrated in photos
- 3 Learning how to operate the cameras
- 4 Visual ethics, including the 'no faces protocol', that is, how to illustrate a situation without showing the faces of people or private businesses without permission and how to be sensitive to local contexts
- 5 Taking photos
- 6 Printing and looking at photos
- 7 Working in small groups to reflect on what the photos illustrate and creating captions to accompany them
- 8 Presenting reflections to the larger group and selected members of the community
- 9 Planning and preparing for exhibiting the work in communities, and to policymakers

Photovoice is a well-established approach to qualitative research which relies on the use of cameras by community members to explore stories, experiences, or ideas about a particular issue. Participants may also write short captions to further explain their photos, in capturing challenges they face or to explore possible solutions.

The photographs serve as a visual “voice” that can shape narrative, with or without words, and tell often difficult stories in a meaningful way. Photovoice allows participants to document and record experiences and conditions around them critically reflect on the challenges or situations they face develop strategies to reach decision-makers.





*Mimi hupendelea mahali hapa. Hapana mambo mengi, na wao hupika kwa gesi. Unaweza kuketi ndani na hutasumbuliwa na moshi na mambo kama hayo.*

So I prefer this place; it is simple. They cook using gas, and so you can even sit inside because you won't be affected with smoke and such things.



*Kwa kawaida mimi huenda kununua githeri pale, au maharagwe imekaangwa kwa sababu maharagwe kuchukua muda kupika. Unaona jinsi chakula hiki kimepikwa kando ya barabara - kinaweza kuwa chafu lakini kwa sababu hiki ndio kiwango chetu, tunakikula tu.*

I usually go there to buy *githeri* [beans and maize] or beans that have already been cooked because cooking beans is a process. You can see how this food is cooked along the road. It could be dirty, but since that is our class we just have to consume it.





*Mimi hupendelea mahali hapa. Hapana mambo mengi, na wao hupika kwa gesi. Unaweza kuketi ndani na hutasumbuliwa na moshi na mambo kama hayo.*

So I prefer this place; it is simple. They cook using gas, and so you can even sit inside because you won't be affected with smoke and such things.



*Mimi sinunui vitu hapa kwa sababu ya maji machafu ya taka yaliyo karibu. Samaki pia wamewachwa wazi na wamechafuliwa na nzi.*

I don't buy things here because there is sewage nearby. They [fish] have been neglected, and they are invaded by flies.





*Mazingira haya ni machafu. Hapa karibu kuna mahali pa kutengenezea magari. Hapafai kukaribiana na chakula; mahali hapa si kuzuri kwa afya yako.*

The environment here is unhygienic [because there is a car] garage nearby. It is not compatible with food. It is not good for one's health.





*Mahali hapa panaweza kukuchafua roho. Ukipita mahali hapa unaweza kushindwa kula au hata kutapika kama ulikuwa umekula.*

The sight of this place is disgusting. You can even fail to eat, or sometimes when you are passing there after eating you can even vomit.





*Mazingira haya yanaudhi. Ukiangalia mambo ya afya na vile wanavyosema kipindupindu imeenea, unaweza kuiipata. Ukikula hapa unajiletea magonjwa tu.*

This environment is annoying. If you look at the way they say cholera is spread out there, you just see cholera here, you will get it. If you eat there you are just bringing yourself diseases, as you see.





*Mimi hununua mboga hapa. Unaweza kupika kabeji pamoja na nyanya na pilipili hoho. Wakati mwingine unaweza kubadilisha ukaipika na mboga hii aina ya managu. Nimechagua mboga hii kwa sababu ina kabeji na managu ambayo ina manufaa kwa mwili wangu.*

This is a place where I get my vegetables. You can cook cabbage with tomatoes and bell pepper or you can change and cook it with managu [African night shade]. I have chosen this because it has cabbage and spinach, food that benefits my body.



*Hapa ni mahali pa starehe kivulini ambapo sisumbuliwi na watu. Sisi huketi pamoja kila siku baada ya kula wakati niko shuleni.*

Here is an easy place with shade where I can eat without being disturbed by people. We sit with people after we have taken food, almost daily while I am in school.







*Ofisini mwetu, wanawake wengi hujibebea chakula chao kutoka nyumbani. Mtu akitaka kula anajichemshia chakula chake kwenye 'microwave'. Mimi huona vijana na wasichana wasio na majukumu mengi wakienda kukula kwenye mikahawa. Lakini wale wasichana makini wanaojua kuwa kesho ni siku pia, hubeba chakula kilichobaki usiku na kukikula ofisini.*

In our offices, you find most of the ladies carry food for themselves from home. So somebody comes with her food and warms in a microwave and eats. I see men and young girls who do not have a lot of expenses rushing to the [small restaurants] to order but those other mature girls who...know there is something tomorrow, that food I left yesterday let me pack [it and] I will eat it in the office.



*Wengi wa wale wanaokuja hapa kama mashabiki au wachezaji wa kandanda hula vyakula vyepesi. Vyakula hivi vinapatikana kwa urahisi na wengi wao wanavipendelea kwa sababu ni vya bei nafuu.*

Most of the people who come here like fans or [football] players, eat fast food or junk. Fast food is readily available, and most of them prefer the fast food because it is cheaper.





*Mimi ninapenda nyama, na pia ninapenda chakula kilichopikwa pamoja na nyanya. Nyanya na ni nzuri kwa sababu zinaniongezea damu mwilini.*

I love meat, and I love food prepared with tomatoes. Tomatoes add more blood in my body.



*Hiki ni kibanda cha kuuzia chakula. Ni safi na bei ni nafuu. Kama ni usiku na nimechelewa, mimi hununua mahindi yaliyo tayari niende kupika. Lakini kama ni mchana, mimi hununua mahindi yaliyokaushwa na kuyapeleka kusagwa.*

It is a food kiosk. It's clean and sells food at affordable prices. When it is late at night I buy the ready-made maize and go and cook, but during the daytime I can buy dried maize and take to the posho mill.







*Kila kitu hapa hufaidi mwili, hata ukiwa mgonjwa. Tazama- malenge na tikiti maji [melon]. Hizi zote hufaidi mwili wangu mgonjwa. Mimi ninaugua ugonjwa wa kisukari.*

Everything here builds the body. If you are sick it helps you. You see pumpkin, melon. All these help my body which is not well. I have diabetes.



*Hapa ndipo mimi hununua mboga za aina zote. Hii ni kwa sababu mahali hapa ni karibu na ninaweza kupata mboga yoyote kwa bei nafuu.*

This is where I buy my variety of vegetables because this is the nearest, and I can get any vegetables at any price.





*Hii inaonyesha mambo yanayofanya ugumu wa kula-mazingira haya ni machafu na pananuka vibaya.*

It shows what makes eating difficult: the environment is dirty and it smells.



*Vyakula vyote vinapatikana pale.*

All foods are available there.







*Ninapenda chakula cha mwanamke huyu- tunakipata kwa urahisi na kwa bei nafuu.*

I love the food of this woman—we get it easily, and at an affordable price.



*Kupata chakula hiki ni vigumu sana kwa sababu mahali ambapo tunakinunua ni mbali sana na nyumbani. Kwa hivyo lazima tukule ugali na sukuma wiki kila siku kwa sababu ya umbali huu. Umbali huathiri aina ya chakula tunachokula katika familia yetu.*

To get this food is hard because we buy far from home. So we have to eat like ugali and sukuma wiki [maize meal mash and kale] every day because of distance. Physical distance affects food choices in our family.





*Kuna mkurupuko wa kipindupindu lakini unavyoona magari haya yanayopita barabarani yanatapakaza vumbi mpaka kwenye kibanda. Kwa hivyo ukinunua, kwa mfano, embe na unajua watoto hawataliosha [kabla ya kula]...*

There is this outbreak of cholera, and you can see, these vehicles which pass at the road. They spread dust to the stall there. For example, you purchase a mango, you know the children will not wash [it prior to eating it]...



*Chakula ninachokipenda - mchuzi wa nyama na mboga.*

My favorite food: beef stew served with vegetables.







*Usafi wa chakula na upakuaji wake huzingatiwa sana katika uchaguzi wa chakula katika kijiji changu.*

Food hygiene and presentation of food influence food choices in my neighborhood.



*Mahali hapa husaidia kuokoa wakati kwa sababu hata kama umechelewa na hukuweza kununua bidhaa zako kwingine, unaweza kuzinunua kutoka kwa duka hii.*

This place saves time and makes me happy because even if you are late and you were not able to buy the item out there, you can buy from this supermarket.





*Vijishamba vya mboga [kitchen gardens] husaidia sana wakati hakuna pesa ya chakula. Kama hatuna pesa za kununua mboga za kienyeji tunazichuna shambani.*

A kitchen garden always helps when there is no money for food. If we do not have money for the traditional vegetables, we pick from there.





*Kulima shambani ni njia ya kujipa kazi na sababu ya fahari. Mahali hapa ni karibu. Sisi hulima hapa msimu wa mvua ukikaribia, na tunaongeza mboga nyingine na maharagwe ndio ziweze kumea kwa mvua.*

Working in the kitchen garden is a way of keeping one busy, and it's a source of prestige. It is closer to me and more convenient. We normally cultivate when the rains are near, and we add other vegetables and beans so that they can grow with the rains.



*Hapa ni mahali rahisi kwa kupata chakula. Si mbali na kuepuka mazoea ya kupika kwa nyumba kila siku.*

This is a place that is normally simple and easier to get food. It is not far, and it helps you apart from the monotony of cooking in the house.





*Kama una pesa, hivi ndivyo unapaswa kukula. [Chakula hiki] ni ngumu kupata na bei yake ni ghali.*

If you have money, this is the way that one should eat. [Butter is] difficult to get and expensive.





*[Ni rahisi] Kama ni kupika nyumbani, si lazima uzichemshe ukizinunua. Si kama maharagwe nyingine ambazo ukinunua inabidi uzichemshe.*

[Buy pre-cooked beans] makes it easy to cook at home. When you buy [these], you don't need to boil, not like some other beans when you buy them you are forced to boil them.



*Rafiki yangu alisisitiza lazima tukule tikiti maji [melon] kwa sababu mara nyingi huwa siili.*

She [my friend] insisted and told me we eat melon because most of the time I don't eat.





*Wakati sina pesa, mimi hukila hata kama sikipendi. Unavyoona, ni kavu na haina mboga wala kitu kingine.*

When I am broke, I just eat even if I did not want. You can see it is plain --there are no vegetables or anything else.





*Watu hula wanachoweza kununua. Kwa mfano chungwa-kwanza, ni bei nafuu tena ni rahisi [kwa sababu] iko tayari... unaichukua na unaiambua maganda na kukula. Mapato ya chini si sababu ya kuenda na kunywa pombe haramu. Zina madhara yasiyorekebika.*

People eat what they can afford. Take for example an orange. First, I can afford it. Second, it is easier [because] it is ready ...you take it, peel it, and eat. Low income should not be the reason why people go and drink [alcohol] especially these cheap drinks because the side effects are unrepairable.



*Upatikanaji huathiri uchaguzi wa chakula. Hiki ni kibanda cha vyakula vyepesi. Ni chakula rahisi na unaipata haraka.*

Availability influences our food choices. It is a fast food outlet. It is available quickly, you get it fast.





*Mimi napenda kula kachumbari, ugali, na nyama choma.*

I love eating kachumbari [vegetable salad], ugali [maize meal mash], and roasted meat.







*Vitu hivyo vitamu vitamu, ndivyo ninapenda kununua-kama peremende na chokoleti-kutoka kwa duka iliyo karibu na nyumba yangu.*

Those tamu tamu [sweet things] things are the ones I like buying--like sweets and chocolate--from the favorite shop close to home.



*Maandalizi bora wa chakula ni rahisi wakati wowote nyumbani*

Great food presentability is always possible at home, and it is convenient.







*Wakati mwingine huna pesa, na unatamani kula samaki, lakini huwezi. Kwa hivyo ukipata pesa kidogo unasherehekea.*

You know sometimes you don't have money, and you feel like eating that fish, but you can't get it. So when you get a few coins, you say let me celebrate today.





*Hii picha ni muhimu kwa sababu inaonyesha urahisi wa kupatikana kwa lishe bora.*

This is the most important picture because there is availability. It's a source of balanced diet...accessibility is easier.



*Nyanya ni kama tunda- inasaidia mwili na inaongeza damu mwilini. Pia inafungua utumbo na kurahisisha haja kubwa.*

Tomato is like a fruit. It helps the body, and it increases the blood in the body. It helps you to go to the toilet well. It opens the bowels.





*Hii picha inavutia na inafanya watu kuhisi kula kwa sababu chakula kimeandaliwa vizuri.*

The photo is eye-catching, and that makes people want to eat food because they are well-arranged.



*Hata kama mtu anapenda nyama choma sana, anafaa kuwa makini sana-- Je, nyama hio imetoka wapi, ni nyama ya aina gani na kama imepikwa vizuri. Sio kula nyama ovyo.*

Even if someone loves roast meat so much, they should be very careful about where is it, what type of roast meat is it, is it well-cooked before eating...not just eating meat.





*Kula lishe bora yenye vyakula tofauti.*

Eat a balanced diet with a variety of foods.





*Kula lishe bora yenye vyakula tofauti.*

Eat a balanced diet with a variety of foods.





*Ugali ni chakula muhimu katika jamii. Tukiwa na wageni sisi hupika ugali, mboga na nyama kidogo. Hii ni kwa sababu inapatikana kila wakati, bei ni nafuu na ndio ninaweza kununua.*

Ugali [maize meal mash] is important in the house. We have ugali with vegetables mixed with a little meat when visitors come because it is available every time. Because the cost [of chicken] too is high, that is what I can afford.



*Tukikula pamoja tunapata nafasi ya kuongea kama familia na kujuliana hali na mambo mengine, kama jinsi siku ilivyokuwa.*

Eating together gives us more time to talk as a family and get to know each other's difficulties or any other thing like how the day was.



## **Acknowledgements**

TACLED (Dietary Transitions in African Cities: Leveraging Evidence for interventions and policy to prevent Diet-related non-communicable diseases) is funded by a Global Challenges Research Fund Foundation Award led by the Medical Research Council, and supported by the African Population and Health Research Center, Biotechnology and Biological Sciences Research Council, Economic & Social Research Council, and Natural Environment Research Council, with the aim of improving the health and prosperity of low- and middle-income countries.

We also wish to thank the Makadara community members who participated in Photovoice activities.



**African Population and Health Research Center**  
APHRC Campus, 2nd Floor, Manga Close, Off Kirawa Road  
P.O. Box 10787-00100 Nairobi, Kenya  
Email: [info@aphrc.org](mailto:info@aphrc.org) | [www.aphrc.org](http://www.aphrc.org)



African Population and  
Health Research Center



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA



The  
University  
Of  
Sheffield.



Loughborough  
University



UNIVERSITY OF  
LIVERPOOL

