



The Food Price Monitor: Kenya is a monthly report developed for the Food Security Portal (FSP), facilitated by IFPRI, with the goal of providing clear and accurate information on commodity price trends and variations in selected markets throughout Kenya. The reports are intended as a resource for those interested in agricultural commodity markets in Kenya, namely producers, traders, consumers, or other agricultural stakeholders.

## Highlights

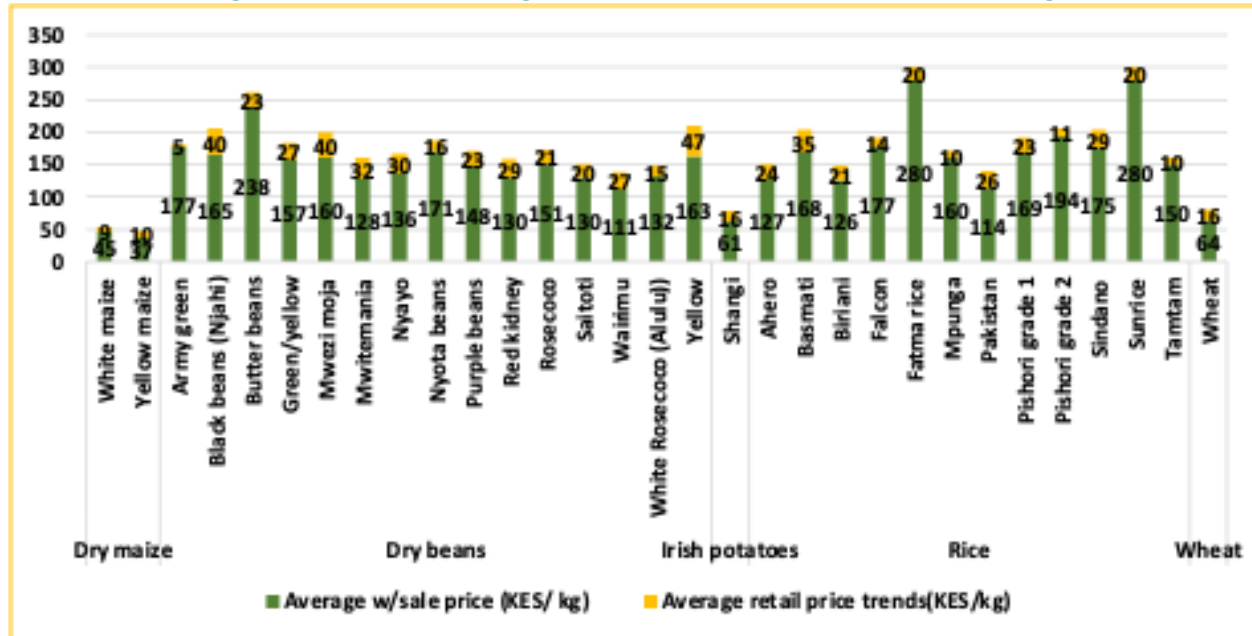
- ▶ Variations in wholesale and retail prices were influenced by market factors such as supply and demand dynamics, the involvement of intermediaries, and increased transportation costs driven by rising fuel prices.
- ▶ Despite being the production season in Eldoret, high prices for some commodities were likely caused by heavy rainfall making roads impassable, thereby increasing transportation costs.
- ▶ Lower maize prices in some regions can be attributed to the availability of freshly harvested maize from local farmers.
- ▶ The high cost of rice was due to several factors, including heavy reliance on imports, limited local production, increasing demand, supply chain inefficiencies, high transportation costs, taxes and import duties, and global price fluctuations.
- ▶ Lower commodity prices in Nakuru can be explained by its proximity to production areas, resulting in reduced transportation costs, a higher local supply, and a competitive market environment.
- ▶ Price increases for Irish potatoes in densely populated areas were driven by higher demand, limited supply due to their perishable nature, the influence of middlemen, and rising transportation costs resulting from higher fuel prices.

## Overall Wholesale and Retail Prices for August

In August 2024, Figure 1 shows the average wholesale and retail prices of maize, beans, potatoes, rice, and wheat across major markets in Kenya. Some commodities, such as dry beans (Army Green, Nyota, Rosecoco, Saitoti, and White Rosecoco) and rice (Falcon, Fatma, Mpunga, Pishori, Sunrice, and Tamtam), exhibited price differentials between 3% and 15%. Most food commodities, particularly white

maize, dry beans, rice, and wheat had price differentials ranging from 16% to 25%. In contrast, yellow maize (27%), yellow beans (29%), and Shangi Irish potatoes (26%) saw price differentials above 20%. These variations in wholesale and retail prices are attributed to several factors, including higher fuel and transportation costs, seasonal changes, the presence of intermediaries, and rising local demand.

Figure 1: Overall average wholesale and retail prices (KES/Kg)



Source: Daily Market Survey for the month of August 2024

## Wholesale and Retail Commodity Prices

Different regions exhibited various bean varieties, with some being common across all selected areas. These common varieties included Black beans (Njahi), Green Yellow, Mwitmania, Nyayo, and Wairimu. A few varieties were specific to certain regions; for example, mixed beans were only found in Nakuru, Nyota was unique to Eldoret, and Pinto beans were only available in Kisumu. Eldoret and Nakuru reported the highest accessibility to bean varieties as they are the country's major production areas, while Nyeri and Nairobi had the least variety. As anticipated, retail prices for all bean varieties were higher than wholesale prices. Compared to the national wholesale average, wholesale prices for most bean varieties were higher in Eldoret and Mombasa, while retail prices were higher in Eldoret, Mombasa, and Kisumu. Interestingly, all available varieties in Nakuru and Nyeri recorded lower retail prices compared to the national average, possibly due to seasonal factors. These price variations can be attributed to market factors such as supply and demand, the presence of intermediaries, and increased transportation costs due to rising fuel prices. Despite it being the production season in Eldoret, bean prices remained high, likely due to heavy rainfall causing roads impassable and increasing transportation costs. As reported by The Star Farmer Magazine in August 2024, the ongoing seasonal harvests have led to a slight price decline of 1.1% compared to the

previous month. This decrease is also attributed to a drop in prices in local currencies over the past month in Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania

All regions reported having dry white maize, except for Kisumu, which had both dry white and yellow maize. Compared to the national average wholesale price of 45 KES/kg and retail price of 54 KES/kg for dry white maize, Eldoret (50 KES/kg) and Mombasa (75 KES/kg) recorded higher wholesale prices, while Mombasa (75 KES/kg) and Nyeri (66 KES/kg) had higher retail prices. The low maize prices in some regions could be attributed to the availability of freshly harvested maize from local farmers. According to Agri Intelligence Africa (August 2024), these lower prices may result from a bumper harvest in certain areas.

Irish potatoes were significantly more expensive in Nairobi and Eldoret, with wholesale prices reaching 93 KES/kg and 77 KES/kg, respectively, compared to the national average of 61 KES/kg. Similarly, Nairobi recorded substantially higher retail prices at 109 KES/kg, compared to the national average of 77 KES/kg. These price increases in densely populated areas can be attributed to several factors, including higher demand, the perishable nature of the commodity leading to limited supply, the influence of middlemen, and increased transportation costs due to rising fuel prices.

All regions reported the availability of Biriani and Pishori rice, while Sindano rice was found in all regions except Nairobi. Mombasa also had varieties such as Tamtam,

Mpunga, Fatma, and Sunrice; Eldoret had Falcon; and Kisumu featured Ahero and Pakistan rice. Basmati rice, a non-aromatic type, was available in all regions except Mombasa. Biryani rice had particularly high wholesale prices in Eldoret (166 KES/kg), Mombasa (130 KES/kg), and Nakuru (134 KES/kg), compared to the national average of 126 KES/kg. Retail prices were also higher in Eldoret (186 KES/kg) and Nakuru (150 KES/kg) compared to the national average of 147 KES/kg. Although rice is the third most consumed cereal in Kenya, following maize and wheat, it is the least cultivated crop. The high cost of rice in Kenya is due to heavy reliance on imports, limited local production, growing demand, supply chain inefficiencies, high transportation costs, taxes and import duties, and global price fluctuations.

Eldoret (83 KES/kg) and Kisumu (66 KES/kg) reported higher wholesale prices for wheat compared to the national average of 64 KES/kg for dry wheat. Similarly, retail prices in Eldoret (97 KES/kg) and Kisumu (86 KES/kg) were above the national average of 80 KES/kg. Despite Kenya's heavy reliance on imports to meet domestic wheat demand, Eldoret, a key wheat-producing area, often experiences local shortages and price hikes because a large portion of its wheat is sold directly to millers or traders. Kisumu, in contrast, faces high demand and depends largely on supplies from other regions, contributing to increased prices. Additional factors driving up prices in these two regions include high demand and limited supply, high transportation and storage costs, the role of middlemen, elevated local milling costs, and regional economic conditions like inflation.

**Table 1: Average wholesale and retail prices (kes/kg) by region for August 2024**

Product	Variety	Average w/sale price (per kg)						Average retail price (KES/kg)						Total average w/sale price (KES/kg)	Total average retail price (KES/kg)
		Eldo ret	Kisu mu	Momb asa	Nair obi	Nak uru	Ny eri	Eldo ret	Kisu mu	Momb asa	Nair obi	Nak uru	Ny eri		
Dry beans	Amy green	202		180		148		209		185		153		177	182
	Black beans (Njahi)	250	158	160	165	143	115	275	248	170	187	148	200	165	205
	Butter beans	305			215	195		339			230	214		238	261
	Green/yellow	194	158	165	160	118	150	211	212	170	180	131	200	157	184
	Mixed beans					64						89		64	89
	Mwezi moja	178	141		160			191	230		179			160	200
	Mwitmania	164	151	140	145	74	90	177	210	150	170	75	175	128	160
	Nyayo	164	136	165	146	106	101	177	182	170	170	117	179	136	166
	Nyota beans	171						187						171	187
	Pinto beans		151						219					151	219
	Purple beans		151	145					192	150				148	171
	Red kidney		155			105			209			110		130	159
	Rosecoco	175	147	170	159	102		189	206	180	178	110		151	172
	Sailoti	164		125	149	80		177		150	170	102		130	150
	Wairimu	137	124	135	98	81	90	164	151	140	115	82	175	111	138
White Rosecoco (Aluku)	189		75				214		80				132	147	
Yellow	175	150					200	221					163	210	
Dry maize	White maize	50	35	75	38	37	34	57	38	75	50	40	66	45	54
	Yellow maize		37						47					37	47
Irish potatoes	Shangi	77	58	58	93	28	51	81	75	76	109	60	64	61	77
Rice	Ahero		127						151					127	151
	Basmati	214	188		139	150	150	237	250		160	180	190	168	203
	Biriani	165	127	130	101	134	100	186	148	140	120	150	140	126	147
	Faloon	177						191						177	191
	Fatma rice			280						300				280	300
	Mpunga			160						170				160	170
	Pakistan		128				101		149				130	114	140
	Pishori grade 1	217		200	179	127	165	241		220	199	146	200	169	192
	Pishori grade 2	200	187					220	190					194	205
	Sindano	214	187	160		168	147	250	229	170		190	180	175	204
	Sunrice			280						300				280	300
Tamtam			150						160				150	160	
Wheat	Wheat	83	66	60	66	51	56	97	86	75	80	70	70	64	80

Source: Daily Market Survey for the month of August 2024

## Wholesale and Retail Price Trends by Region

Between the first week and weeks two through four, there were significant weekly price fluctuations across various regions. In Eldoret, most commodities experienced rising wholesale and retail prices, while a few saw decreases and decline in prices. For wholesale prices, dry beans such as Army Green, Butter, Mwezi Moja, Nyota, Wairimu, and White Rosecoco (Alulu) showed price increases ranging from 3% to 25%. On the other hand, Shangi Irish potatoes saw a 17% increase, while certain dry rice varieties, including Basmati, Biriani, Falcon, Pishori, and Sindano, experienced declining wholesale prices between 13% and 19%. Dry white maize (3%), dry wheat (20%), and a few dry beans such as Green Yellow, Mwitmania, Nyayo, and Saitoti (with price drops between 5% and 9%) also saw decreases in wholesale prices. These price fluctuations were likely driven by a combination of supply and demand dynamics, heavy rains causing transportation and logistical challenges, market speculation, the harvest period and storage issues, and the effects of regional competition and cross-border trade.

When comparing prices in Kisumu from week 1 to week 4, most food commodities experienced a decline, with only a few showing stable or increased wholesale and retail prices. For retail prices, all dry bean varieties except for black (Njahi), purple, and yellow beans, which saw price increases of 0.5% to 7%, recorded declines ranging from 1% to 15%. Dry white and yellow maize prices dropped by 6% and 10%, respectively, while most rice varieties, including Ahero, Biriani, Pakistan, and Pishori, saw price decreases of between 0.6% and 17%. In contrast, Basmati and Sindano rice remained stable, and dry wheat prices fell by 5%. The decline in food commodity prices in the region can be attributed to increased supply, heightened market competition, and the influx of cheaper imports due to cross-border trade.

All commodities in the Mombasa region maintained stable wholesale and retail prices except for Shangi Irish potatoes, which saw slight price increases of 10% for wholesale and 3% for retail from week 1 to week 4. The instability in Shangi Irish potato prices in August is likely due to transportation and storage challenges, limited local production, increased demand, and market speculation.

In the Nairobi area, most food commodities experienced declining prices, while a few showed stable or increasing wholesale and retail prices. Comparing week 1 to week 4, commodities such as dry beans (Njahi, Mwezi Moja, Nyayo, Rosecoco, and Saitoti) saw price declines ranging from 2% to 7%. Butter beans and Wairimu beans had stable prices, whereas green yellow beans and Wairimu beans experienced slight increases in wholesale prices by 1% and 2%, respectively. Dry maize prices dropped by 6%, while

## FOCUS ON BEANS ACROSS SELECTED REGIONS

Bean farming is of great economic and nutritional importance to Kenya, serving as a staple food crop second only to maize. The crop is grown across the country, with major production in Eastern, Nyanza, Central, Western, and Rift Valley regions, where high demand for diverse meals has made beans a common item in local markets. Beans are highly adaptable to various environments and cropping systems due to their low input requirements, rapid growth, nitrogen-fixing abilities, and capacity to suppress weeds. This adaptability ensures their widespread cultivation, providing a reliable source of affordable and nutritious food for both rural and urban populations, thereby contributing to food security.

Bean farming also serves as a significant livelihood opportunity for millions of smallholder farmers, particularly in rural areas where agriculture is a primary source of income. The crop thrives with minimal inputs while enriching the soil with nitrogen, making it particularly suited for intercropping with maize, bananas, or root crops, especially in regions with higher population densities. Various cropping systems, including sole cropping and intercropping, are employed to maximize yield and resource use. Kenya grows a variety of bean cultivars such as Rosecoco, Mwitmania, Wairimu, Mwezi Moja, and Canadian Wonder, which are valued for their nutritional content and economic significance. Beans are versatile and can be prepared in many ways, including cooking, frying, or baking.

In August, the prices of different bean varieties, including black beans (Njahi), green/yellow beans, Nyayo, Mwitmania, and Wairimu, varied across different regions. Higher wholesale and retail prices for most bean varieties were reported in Eldoret, Kisumu, and Mombasa, while Nakuru and Nyeri recorded comparatively lower prices. The lower prices in Nakuru can be attributed to its proximity to production areas, reduced transportation costs, higher local supply, and a competitive market structure.

Figure 1: Average wholesale and retail prices of beans (KES/kg) in selected regions

Variety	Average wholesale prices per kg					Average retail prices per kg				
	Eldoret	Kisumu	Mombasa	Nairobi	Nyeri	Eldoret	Kisumu	Mombasa	Nairobi	Nyeri
Army green	222	87	67	146	209	209	88	133		
Black beans (Njahi)	250	108	60	65	143	329	348	75	187	48
Butter beans	305			215	195			235	214	200
Green/yellow	194	158	65	60	118	30	212	75	180	131
Mwezi Moja					14					89
Nyayo	178	14		60	64	19	230		178	
Plantains	164	11	40	45	24	90	172	212	30	170
Rice	164	136	65	46	136	51	172	182	75	117
Saitoti	171					187				
White beans	15					219				
Yellow beans	15	45				182	30			
Shangi Irish	175	155			135		229			112
Rosecoco	175	147	70	35	132	189	306	30	178	112
Basmati	144	147	25	49	80	177		30	70	128
Wairimu	132	124	35	38	81	30	164	15	40	83
White Rosecoco	189		75			24				
Yellow	175	150				255	32	30		

Source: Daily Market Survey for the month of August 2024.

certain rice varieties, such as Basmati and Biriani, saw declines of 25% and 3%, respectively, and wheat prices fell by 3%. These price stability and declines are attributed to the availability of food commodities from various producing regions within the country and imports from neighboring countries including Uganda, Tanzania, and Pakistan.

Between week one and week four, Nakuru's wholesale and retail prices for food commodities mostly showed steady or

declining trends. Wholesale prices for dry beans (Njahi, butter beans, and Wairimu) fell by 1% to 5%, maize dropped by 5%, Biriani rice by 0.5%, and dry wheat by 7%. On the other hand, prices remained stable for dry beans (Mwezi Moja, Mwitemania, Nyayo, and Rosecoco), Shangi Irish potatoes, Basmati rice, and Pishori grade 1 rice. The stability and decline in prices can be attributed to Nakuru's role as a major producing region, surrounded by other agricultural areas.

Between week one and week four, Nyeri's wholesale and retail prices for food commodities showed a mix of increasing, stable, and declining trends. Retail prices remained stable for dry beans (Njahi, green yellow, and Mwitemania) and rice varieties (Basmati and Pishori). However, some commodities experienced price increases, such as Wairimu beans (0.3%), Shangi Irish potatoes (3%), and certain rice varieties, which saw price hikes ranging from 0.5% to 1%. These price fluctuations could be due to varying supply levels from different producing regions, changes in transportation costs, seasonal variations in demand, or external factors such as heavy rains affecting crop yields

## Comparison of National Average Prices between July and August

A comparison of the overall prices (national averages for all commodities) between July and August 2024 shows that most wholesale and retail prices remained stable or decreased (see Table 2). Most commodities had stable prices, with changes ranging from a 2% decrease to a 2% increase. However, some commodities experienced larger price declines of -2% to -7%, while a few saw modest increases between 2% and 13%. This trend can be attributed to the steady supply of food commodities from various production regions and imports from neighboring East African countries and beyond.

**Table 2: Comparison of July and August prices**

Product	Variety	Average Wholesale Price (Kes/Kg)		Percentage change	Average Retail Price (Kes/ Kg)		Percentage change
		July	August		July	August	
Dry maize	White maize	45	45	0%	57	54	-6%
	Yellow maize	39	37	-5%	50	47	-6%
Dry beans	Army green	173	177	2%	178	182	2%
	Black beans (Njahi)	176	165	-7%	208	205	-1%
	Butter beans	238	238	0%	254	261	3%
	Green/yellow	161	157	-3%	190	184	-3%
	Mixed beans	62	64	3%	88	89	1%
	Mwezi moja	157	160	2%	197	200	2%
	Mwitemania	130	128	-2%	162	160	-1%
	Nyayo	139	136	-2%	169	166	-2%
	Nyota beans	160	171	6%	170	187	9%
	Pinto beans	152	151	-1%	225	219	-3%
	Purple beans	151	148	-2%	176	171	-3%
	Red kidney	127	130	2%	156	159	2%
	Rosecoco	152	151	-1%	178	172	-3%
	Saltodi	132	130	-2%	151	150	-1%
	Wairimu	110	111	1%	137	138	1%
	White Rosecoco (Akuku)	125	132	5%	140	147	5%
Yellow	163	163	0%	212	210	-1%	
Irish potatoes	Shangi	53	61	13%	70	77	9%
Rice	Ahero	130	127	-2%	160	151	-6%
	Basmati	167	168	1%	198	203	2%
	Biriani	130	126	-3%	146	147	1%
	Falcon	160	177	10%	180	191	6%
	Fatma rice	280	280	0%	300	300	0%
	Mpunga	160	160	0%	170	170	0%
	Pakistan	118	114	-4%	140	140	0%
	Pishori grade 1	168	169	1%	189	192	2%
	Pishori grade 2	194	194	0%	207	205	-1%
	Sindano	166	175	5%	200	204	2%
	Sunrice	280	280	0%	300	300	0%
	Tanzam	150	150	0%	160	160	0%
	Wheat	Wheat	66	64	-3%	82	80
<b>Key</b> <span style="background-color: #FFD700; padding: 2px;">&lt;2 but &gt;= -1</span> Stable <span style="background-color: #90EE90; padding: 2px;">&gt;2 but &lt; -7</span> Decrease <span style="background-color: #ADD8E6; padding: 2px;">&gt;2 but &lt; 15</span> Increasing							

Source: Daily Market Survey for the month of August 2024



## Outlook for the Month of September

For September 2024, the outlook for key food commodities in Kenya will be shaped by factors such as weather conditions, production levels, regional trade, and new government-imposed levies.

- The maize harvest season in major producing regions like the Rift Valley (Nakuru, Uasin Gishu, Trans Nzoia) is likely to stabilize or slightly reduce prices due to increased supply. However, the newly introduced levies by the Agriculture and Food Authority (AFA), a 2% importation levy on the customs value of cereals and a 0.3% levy on imports, could lead to higher maize prices in the coming months as these costs are passed on to consumers.
- Prices for beans may remain stable or slightly increase in September. While local supplies are bolstered by imports from neighboring countries like Uganda and Tanzania, the new AFA levies on cereal and legume imports could lead to gradual price increases. Limited supply from the short rain season harvest could also exert upward pressure on prices.
- Rice prices are expected to rise in September due to a 2% customs importation levy. Kenya relies heavily on imported rice, particularly Basmati and Biriani from Pakistan. The increased import costs from this levy will likely result in higher retail and wholesale prices.
- Wheat prices are also anticipated to increase in because of the 2% customs importation levy. Kenya's dependence on wheat imports means that any rise in import costs will directly affect domestic prices. Global market conditions and geopolitical factors could further influence wheat prices during these months.
- Irish potato prices may remain stable or decrease slightly in due to ongoing harvesting in major producing regions like Nyandarua, Nakuru, and Narok. Fresh supplies entering the market could keep prices low. However, if the new levies indirectly impact transportation and input costs, there might be slight price increases.
- While most food commodity prices in Kenya are expected to remain stable or slightly fluctuate due to local harvests and steady supply from regional production areas, the new levies introduced by the AFA and the 2% customs importation levy on rice and wheat are likely to drive up prices for these commodities. Cereals, including maize and beans, could see price increases due to the levies on imports. As a result, inflationary pressures may be felt in the coming months, affecting the overall affordability of food commodities in Kenya.

## FOCUS ON NAIROBI REGION

Nairobi's food supply comes from various regions within Kenya and imports from neighboring East African countries and international sources. Pricing data for key agricultural commodities in Nairobi is collected from two major wholesale markets: Nyamakima and Wakulima (Marikiti). Nyamakima market, operating from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily, is a central hub for grain trading, while Wakulima market specializes in fresh produce.

Maize in Nairobi is sourced from regions such as Kitale, Nakuru, Narok, Busia (at the Kenya-Uganda border), and Namanga (at the Kenya-Tanzania border). Beans are primarily supplied from Busia, Nakuru, Narok, Taita Taveta, Meru, and Namanga. Rice varieties, especially Basmati and Biriani, are imported from Pakistan via Mombasa and sourced locally from Kirinyaga County, home to the Mwea irrigation scheme. Wheat is mainly produced in Narok, Taita Taveta, and Namanga. Irish potatoes are predominantly traded at the Marikiti wholesale market, which operates throughout the day for retailers and from 3 to 5 a.m. for wholesalers.

Traders in these markets pay fees to the city council, including those for food hygiene, business permits, clearance certificates, and monthly rents. The market attracts a wide range of participants, including farmers, wholesalers, brokers, retailers, vendors, and porters transporting goods to various bus stops. Irish potatoes mainly come from Narok, Nakuru, Kinangop, and Nyahururu counties.

Between week 1 and week 4, most food commodity prices in Nairobi remained stable or declined, likely due to a sufficient supply of food products from the surrounding regions and other countries.

**Table 3: Average Wholesale and Retail Prices, Nairobi Region**

Product	Variety	Average wholesale price (KES/kg)				Total average wholesale price (KES/ kg)	Total average retail price (KES/ kg)
		Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4		
Dry beans	Black/maize (kgmt)	149	165	162	163	165	187
	Butter/beans	215	215	215	215	215	230
	Green/yellow	160	160	161	161	160	180
	Phaseo/maize	161	156	161	161	160	179
	Red/maize	156	164	164	139	165	170
	Nyaga	148	144	144	144	146	170
	Rosescoco	161	161	156	157	159	178
	Saruni	150	150	150	144	149	178
	Wharima	95	100	100	97	98	115
	Dry maize	White maize	79	79	79	87	88
Irish potatoes	Shangi	102	96	88	88	93	109
Rice	Basmati	140	140	140	137	139	160
	Biriani	103	100	100	99	101	120
	Pakistan grade 1	178	180	180	180	179	199
Wheat	Wheat	67	65	65	65	66	80

Source: Daily Market Survey for the month of August 2024.

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## ABOUT THIS SERIES

The Food Security Portal (FSP), facilitated by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), aims to improve food security for the world's poor and increase the resilience of global food systems against food and financial crisis. The project brings together international, regional, and country-level data, news, and research aimed at meeting countries' immediate food security needs and building long-term global food security. The FSP is designed to pool information in structured ways to ensure high-quality, timely, and relevant data and to provide the opportunity for collaboration among policymakers, development professionals, and researchers.

This report is part of the FSP's efforts to monitor country-level food prices in order to improve the governments' ability to respond to and prevent food crises. It presents monthly price trends and movements for key food commodities, including dry beans, dry maize, rice, wheat, and Irish potatoes, in selected major regions and markets in Kenya.

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## DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in the Mombasa, Nairobi, Nakuru, Eldoret, Kisumu, and Nyeri regions of Kenya. These regions comprise the key markets in major urban centers. The five selected commodities comprise the major staple foods in Kenya<sup>1</sup>.

Data assistants, some of whom were traders, collected average daily wholesale and retail prices from the main markets of the selected regions. Data was collected daily for six days (Mondays to Saturdays) from stockists/wholesalers and traders in the morning hours.

During the last week of the month, the following qualitative data were captured:

- General observations on food prices during the month, including price variations and the lowest, highest, and prevailing wholesale and retail prices
- The source of food commodities and their availability throughout the month
- The effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as government restrictions including curfews and cessation of movement, on food prices and availability (both supply and demand)
- Traders' adaptation strategies to the COVID-19 pandemic, including sourcing and selling

Additional secondary data was obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture, Kenya Government Food Security War Room (FSWR), Ministry of Agriculture Livestock and Fisheries (MoALF), and Regional Agriculture Trade Intelligence Network (RATIN).

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<sup>1</sup> NB: While the report covers wheat, consumption of that commodity in Kenya is comprised mainly of wheat products (flours, pastries, and highly processed foods) rather than raw wheat itself.



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