Gender in Urban Food Systems
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Woman Farmer - Paddy Field, Photo by Nandhu Kumar on Unsplash
A Call for Transformative Actions on Gender and Inequality

It’s no secret that the food system has an endemic gender problem. There are significant barriers to participation in food value chains due to socially-determined identities, roles, rights and obligations of women and men, and structural inequalities embedded in the system.

Most work to address gender inequalities in the food system to date has focused on rural areas, with a particular focus on women producers. But there are vast gendered disparities in urban food systems too, which have been largely neglected by city officials, economic planners and development practitioners.

For instance, more women than men work in informal small catering operations and street food in some countries, with little job security, poor pay, and unsafe conditions. Especially in the urban context, women often perform the double work of earning income and being responsible for sourcing and preparing food for the family. Women and girls are more likely to face hunger and malnourishment when gendered social norms privilege the biggest or best portions for men and boys. And climate related shocks and stresses can exacerbate pre-existing city region food system vulnerabilities, meaning women are among those with the weakest capacity to adapt and recover.

But applying a gender lens to urban food systems does not mean considering only women — or, indeed, only gender. Men and boys may face inequalities in areas like educational attainment, dropout rates, criminal activities, violence, and employment. The lived experiences of people of different genders are impacted by intersections of race, class, ethnicity, ability, and other factors constituting their identities.

Thus, there is no one universal urban food experience. An intersectional gender lens shows where certain inequities are present within a city, and considers how to improve the situation for all urban residents.

We began working on this magazine issue before the emergence of Covid-19. As the huge and wide-ranging impact of pandemic responses has unfurled, there are strong indications that certain women and People of Colour are heavily affected by the fall-out, including lost livelihoods, greater risk of food insecurity, and a significant increase in domestic violence.

This is also a time of great social change sparked by the Black Lives Matter protests in cities in many countries against systemic racism and police brutality. Organisations and individuals are committing to fight for change and negotiate the status quo, and that must include addressing entrenched racism throughout the food system that often has historic roots in colonialism.

In this emerging new world, still stalked by the pandemic and emboldened by potential widespread systemic change, the need to address inequalities in urban food systems due to gender, race, and other, intersecting social categories has never been greater.

State of the art on equality and empowerment

In 2009 RUAF published the ground-breaking book *Women Feeding Cities*, containing case studies, guidelines and tools for incorporating gender-related aspects into urban agriculture projects. The book remains a useful resource for practitioners today (see Mary Njenga’s article on how the book was prepared on page 33).

It also contains RUAF’s gender statement, in which the partners pledged to integrate gender into all our strategies and methods, project planning, training, capacity building, and communications efforts.

This we have done, and continue to do.

Since then, the Sustainable Development Agenda 2030 has highlighted the unequivocal need to tackle society’s entrenched gender inequalities (Sustainable Development Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and
Together with the other SDGs, this applies to all nations, all people, and all segments of society, starting with those who are furthest behind.

These bold ambitions must be pursued through policies and programmes throughout urban food systems, not just in urban agriculture. For example, Belinda Dodson points out (page 24) that urban food governance must support diverse, formal and informal food retail to avoid discriminating against women and the urban poor.

Moreover, the state of the art on how to achieve equality and empowerment has evolved in the last decade.

Firstly, concepts such as gender awareness and gender mainstreaming that acknowledge gendered experiences and implications of public policy for different genders (presenting binary women-versus-men narratives) do not go far enough. Deepa Joshi and colleagues argue that we need more transformative approaches that recognise inequality as complex gender-power intersections, that empower the marginalised, and enable them to question the power structures that keep them excluded and food insecure (page 6).

The articles on participatory urban agriculture in Quito, Ecuador (page 16), the Women Producers’ Markets in Mezitli, Turkey (page 20), and ambitions for new programmes, policies and discourses in the city region around Antananarivo, Madagascar (page 22) inspire other city governments to develop initiatives with transformative potential.

Secondly, there is greater recognition that gender discrimination in urban spaces and food systems is not homogeneous, as explained above, in the article by Deepa Joshi and colleagues (page 6), and by Laine Young and Alexandra Rodriguez (page 18) who apply feminist analysis to research on urban agriculture in Quito, Ecuador.

The article by Laine Young, Joy Carey and Diana Lee-Smith (page 9) documents a pilot project to apply a gender lens to the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP) monitoring framework, supported by the Water Land and Ecosystems (WLE) programme of CGIAR’s International Water Management Institute (IWMI). It proposes a programme of work for signatory cities to address deep-rooted gendered inequalities across the food system.

Others, too, are working on integrating gender into existing frameworks. Hajnalka Petrics and Kostas Stamoulis (page 13) propose adding a gender perspective in urban planning via the food environment framework. Solomie Gebrezgabher and Avinandan Taron (page 29) distil lessons from integrating gender throughout the “research for development” impact pathway of IWMI’s Resource Recovery and Reuse sub-programme, and underscore the importance of understanding women’s needs and perspectives in order to develop appropriate solutions.

The value of listening is echoed by Nicole Szucs (page 26) in her account of the Women’s Food Lab in La Paz, Bolivia. By providing a safe space for women to express themselves, the convenors of the Sustainable Diets For All programme identified a need to promote cultural change to engage men and boys in care tasks related to food, alongside women and girls – rather than the lobbying strategies and technological innovations that they anticipated.

A call to action

This issue of Urban Agriculture Magazine is a call to action to cities and the international urban food policy community to raise our game on gender and inclusivity.
Key messages from IWMI’s gender and inclusion strategy

Real progress cannot be achieved if we do not respond to the complexities of inequality and exclusion, including the rapid nature of food, water, climate and social system transformations. Unequal rights, responsibilities, resources and opportunities between genders are crosscut by disparities in age, disability, ethnicity, religion, caste and class. These result in disparities in power, privilege, asset ownership, the burden of risks, and the distribution of opportunities for different groups of women, men and other gender identities. The impacts of these intersectional inequalities on food, water and income security are often acute, but, more broadly, affect the achievement of global social and economic well-being, especially under conditions of climate uncertainty. Ignoring these intersections renders the most marginalised largely invisible, and risks missing the overall SDG goal of ‘leaving no one behind’.

1including women, men, transgender and intersex people (UN Women).

‘Source: International Water Management Institute’

Hivos’ Gender Equality and Diversity Inclusion Strategy

The purpose of the Gender Equality and Diversity Inclusion (GEDI) strategy at Hivos is to transform both the work that we do and our own workplace culture. Our goal is to ensure that we maintain focus on gender equality and inclusiveness for all of the people who live in the communities where our programmes are implemented.

Hivos has, for many years, supported gender equality and diversity inclusion, but has treated them as separate themes. Under the GEDI strategy, we are bringing the two areas together, recognising the intersectional nature of marginalisation. We are further expanding our approach to diversity inclusion beyond sexual orientation and gender identity expression, to consider other potential sources of marginalisation, such as disability, ethnicity, age, indigeneity, immigration status, health status and racialisation.

To achieve the objectives of the GEDI strategy, Hivos is adopting a dual-track approach: we will maintain a strategic focus on women’s empowerment, while integrating GEDI considerations in all of our programmes and our organisational culture. We will do this by "mainstreaming" GEDI, in programme proposals and design.

Through mainstreaming GEDI we can transform our consideration of gender, diversity inclusion, and the intersection of identity factors to create and deliver effective programmes that reach the most marginalised people and communities.

Author: Lorne Holyoak, Program Manager, GEDI Strategy Implementation, Hivos


There is an urgent need for many more cities and city regions to work on issues surrounding all genders in urban food systems. It is crucial that responses do not just involve application of technocratic frameworks and that they move beyond gender awareness and mainstreaming to enable the reversal of pervasive and systemic intersectional inequalities. The “gender asymmetries” referenced in the article on the MUFPP monitoring framework (see page 9) provide specific areas around which practical transformative approaches can be built. Getting gender on board in the MUFPP is an important and critical first step, but we have a long path ahead of us to “complicate” this insertion by taking note of complex intersectional gendered experiences.

The RUAF Global Partnership is committed to building capacity with our own city members and the cities and city regions with which we engage. We will seek all opportunities to ensure that gender and inclusiveness form a strong pillar of our work, and encourage all members of the Global Partnership to develop and implement strategies for gender, diversity, and inclusion (see, for example, IWMI’s gender and inclusion strategy and Hivos’ GEDI strategy, above).

We will actively develop new tools and understandings with existing and – we hope – new partners, to enable truly transformative urban food policies and programmes that address gender and intersectional inequalities.

We are open to collaborations and funding to take this vital work forward.
Gendered norms are deeply-rooted in cultural practices, and shape the experiences of urban food systems actors in different ways, in different local contexts. Guided by a Feminist Political Ecology framework and by Gender Transformative Approaches, this article discusses how urban spaces and notions of food are “embodied” and why this calls for more political and nuanced approaches to inclusive urban food systems.

Our relationship with food is shaped by political, social, ecological, and economic change processes and institutions at scale. In the preface of the book, Women Feeding Cities, Hovorka et. al. (2009; xiii) write that, “urban agriculture is embedded in a wide range of complex social, economic… and ecological processes in and around the city to which individuals and households have to adjust… with important gender-related implications”. These intersections between food systems, gender and urban spaces are not simple and linear. Rather they are “porous” at multiple sites and “embodied”.

Simply put, “embodied” means that the everyday lived experience within (in this case) urban spaces and our relationships with food are entangled in the social attributes associated with genders. For example, there are distinctly gendered norms around the spaces occupied by men and women; men tend to be associated with the public domain and separated from the domestic, private spheres associated with women. While both women and men engage in food production activities, these activities are gendered not just in relation to production, but across entire value chains. For example, the domestic ‘feminine’ spaces inside households – notably the kitchen – are almost synonymous with where women’s bodies are situated, and not always by choice – even though, as Van Esterik (1999 p.160) notes, the task of preparing food can be ‘simultaneously, a source of pleasure and a burden’. In sum, urban spaces are unequal in multiple, plural ways for different individuals. It is vital to pay attention to these gendered markings, behaviours, practices and perceptions when we talk about gender in relation to urban food systems.

**Feminist Political Ecology**

Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) deviates from simplistic framings of gender inequality as distinct and static differences between women and men, even though it does acknowledge that being male or female is a critical variable in shaping access, use and control of natural resources, and in the experience of processes of ecological change. Firstly, FPE analyses show that the intersect of differences by gender crosscut by other social disparities (such as class, caste, race, culture, religion, ethnicity, age and disability) shapes inequality in different contexts and spaces. As such, gender inequality is never pure. Secondly, while the dynamics of inequality will differ depending on social, political, economic and ecological context, intersectional inequalities by gender persist well beyond the household and local levels. That means gender inequality is never absent. Finally, inequalities are never static, they are dynamic, evolving at scale and across contexts. In sum, there is no one universal experience of gender inequality; and addressing complex, entrenched and contextually different inequalities requires tackling the root causes of systemic inequalities in societies and economies at different scales.

To understand gender and food systems in urban spaces, we need first to understand that urban green spaces have multiple meanings and values for those who experience vulnerability and marginality at the intersections of multiple disparities. In January 2020, the International Water Management Institute’s Ethiopia office, part of the UK Research and Innovation Global Challenges Research Fund-supported project, ‘Water Security and Sustainable Development Hub’, facilitated a visit to an urban agriculture project in Gulele on the fringes of Addis in Ethiopia. Here, we met a community of elderly, marginalised women caring for their HIV-infected and orphaned young grandchildren, who spoke of the different meanings of an urban garden space. It is here, away from congested living quarters, that they...
experience an open place under the sun, feel the breeze and hear the birds. It is here that they connect socially and emotionally with others. Yes, the food they grow is also very important, even if it is not enough to meet hunger and nutritional needs. In an urban agriculture project, what the practitioner sees and feels is far more complex than what an urban agriculture project is assumed to provide.

Further, as Hovorka (2005, p. 137) acknowledged, ‘opportunities and constraints... in creating, shaping and sustaining agricultural systems... vary for different groups of urban dwellers ... Who you are, where your plot is located and how you interact with the environment’ is a deeply embodied experience. The interplay of power, politics and privilege play out across the entire urban food system and through value chains, well beyond spaces of production. We know well that increasing production contributes to addressing food insecurity but it rarely resolves the problem in its entirety. Amongst other things, gender norms, identities and intersectional inequalities shape systems of food production, distribution and consumption, as well as the agency to demand, question and hold accountable food system policies and processes.

Gender Transformative Approaches
A gender transformative approach (GTA) goes beyond the mere representation of women, to call for acting upon the dynamics of gender-power interrelations at scale. As McDougall et al (2020) explain, ‘GTAs seek to constructively, and in a context-driven way, transform the structural barriers that underpin gender equality by going deeper than just addressing the “symptoms” of gender inequalities to tackle instead the “root causes” that shape unequal power relations and structures’. Figure 1 depicts how a GTA requires acting on multiple issues and at multiple levels.

1) Reflecting on what needs to change and why
Gender-food inequalities are shaped by socio-cultural norms and expectations, as well as by issues of power, politics and disparities at scale. Thus, sex-disaggregated data and statistics will only tell us part of what we need to know and address. Similarly, integrating women in food systems – in production and beyond – might open new opportunities for (some) women but not necessarily in ways that challenge and reverse embodied experiences of urban spaces and food. We therefore caution against popular claims of women as “feeders” of cities, of eulogising women’s supposedly inherent knowledge, ability and interests, and especially women’s care work in the kitchen and at home. We suggest focusing on identifying the challenges to, and opportunities for, those who experience food insecurity at the intersection of complex contextual inequalities, as well as understanding the structural barriers to their meaningful inclusion in urban food systems. The matrix in Figure 1 provides a framework for analysing what needs to change, which varies in different social, economic and spatial contexts.

2) Recognising and valuing relational meanings and experiences of space and food
Our everyday experiences and practice of food and place are shaped through the intersection of social identities and local contexts. Inclusive and gender transformative urban food systems require ensuring that those “furthest left behind” in urban spaces can meaningfully engage in and inform urban food initiatives. This requires understanding, acknowledging and ensuring that plural experiences, meanings and values of both food and place inform the material and technical dimensions and objectives of food security.

In our visit to Gulele, we found that the elderly women want to grow good, nutritious food, rather than more food, even though they experience significant food insecurity. Here, the act of growing food for the health and wellbeing of their unwell, HIV-infected grandchildren, and the act of being able to share food with similarly vulnerable neighbours, mattered far more than producing a surplus to sell for an income. This exemplifies the dimensions of embodied pleasures associated with food. Similarly Cidro et al (2015) recount that for urban indigenous communities in Canada having access to more food increased, rather than decreased, food-related anxiety. Rapid changes in their food habits meant they had reduced intake of healthy, affordable and culturally appropriate food, and lacked food sovereignty due to an overreliance on external actors, systems and processes.

These examples remind us that our relationships with food are complex, plural and multi-layered. They remind us that food systems cannot be simplistically and solely reduced to mere economic or utility-based values and framings. Put together, food and space have implications on belonging, social cohesion, emotions and identity – and gender is a critical variable in these porous intersections.

Ways forward for transforming gendered inequalities in urban food systems
Some key steps can be taken towards reversing the stereotyping of gender in processes of food production, distribution and consumption.

Figure 1: GTA at multiple levels. Source: Hillenbrand et al, 2015.

What Are We Trying To Change?

Individual Change

Women's and men's consciousness

Women's access to resources & opportunities

Institutional/Systemic Change

Informal cultural norms and exclusionary practices

Formal laws, policies, etc.

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3) Avoiding prescriptive gender tool-kits

There is no simple magic bullet to “doing” gender transformative urban agriculture and food systems. A key underlying premise of FPE and GTA thinking is that we cannot wish away the complexities of gender in urban food initiatives by essentialising women as special agents of development. Feminist researchers are deeply wary of prescriptive, technical gender tool-kits, not only because these tend to disallow capturing complex, dynamic realities, but also because they often lose meaning and political edge when they begin to be applied mechanically and generically across diverse economic, social, political and ecological (urban) contexts. Feminist approaches also emphasise that how we see, respond and react is deeply subjective. As researchers and practitioners, we bring our values and ideals to the work we do. In other words, our positionality influences how we interpret and apply tools and methods.

Taking all of the above into account, we suggest some ways forward. The bullet points below constitute broad guiding principles, built on our analyses of key gaps in current approaches to mainstreaming gender in urban agriculture:

• Distinguish between urban food production vis-à-vis urban food systems and trace intersectional inequalities by gender across urban food value chains.
• Collate sex-disaggregated data where it helps provide evidence for change, but also critically examine how gender intersects with other contextual disparities in structuring food-related inequalities in specific spatial contexts.
• Identify the spaces for possible intervention – households, local communities and beyond – and intervene on key norms, barriers, processes and perceptions that reproduce gender inequality and social exclusions; remember that focusing on women only rarely changes deep-rooted social behaviours and practices.
• Engage with those for whom change is desired in ways that enhance and do not diminish their knowledge(s), capacities and agency. This requires building on their values and meanings of food and place.

• And finally, understand that transforming entrenched gender-power relations requires connected, compelling interventions over extended periods of time, design initiatives for intervention with this insight.

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More information
www.wle.cgiar.org

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Adding a Gender Lens to the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact Monitoring Framework

Working to address gender issues is critical to advancing sustainable urban food systems, since women often experience significant inequalities that can affect their capacity to participate. We make the case for applying a gender lens within the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP) monitoring framework. Drawing on the findings of a pilot project in Nairobi, Kenya, we set out a pathway for individual cities to work on gender measures, and propose a programme of work for the MUFPP to provide collective support to signatory cities on gender.

The importance of gender in urban food system sustainability assessments

The MUFPP has been signed by over 200 cities since its launch in 2015. Its overall goal is to provide strategic options to cities that are aiming for more sustainable food systems. It enables diverse cities across the globe to share experiences and good practices that combat the challenges of urbanisation and promote the right to food for their citizens.

To help the signatory cities assess progress towards their commitments under the MUFPP, a monitoring framework was designed in consultation with 40 cities, led by RUAF with input from FAO and the MUFPP Secretariat. This framework contains 44 qualitative and quantitative targets and indicators under the six MUFPP work streams: Ensuring an enabling environment for effective action (governance); Sustainable diets and nutrition; Social and economic equity; Food production; Food supply and distribution; and Food waste. This monitoring framework was piloted in three cities: Nairobi (Kenya), Antananarivo (Madagascar), and Quito (Ecuador), with funding from FAO and the Water Land and Ecosystems (WLE) programme of CGIAR’s International Water Management Institute.

The MUFPP monitoring framework is robust and detailed, but the organisations and cities that helped to create it also acknowledge shortcomings, particularly relating to gender and climate change. The MUFPP has been signed by municipalities in both the global South and North, and each city’s economic, social and political situation is different. Although cities are guided to select and adapt indicators that suit their situations, the current options unintentionally homogenise the experiences of urban residents.

Gender identity is critical to assessing urban food systems because women often experience significant inequalities in the urban environment that can affect their capacity to participate in the food system. As many people experience multiple forms of discrimination and oppression, the inequalities can be nuanced further by considering intersecting factors such as race, ethnicity, class, ability or sexuality (see article by Young and Rodríguez on page 18). For instance, low-income female-led households are at higher risk of food insecurity due to unequal access to land; women farmers are disproportionately affected by climate change and disasters. The 2016 report ‘How to green food systems in a gender-smart way: a matter of insight and smart interventions’ identifies five “gender asymmetries” within food systems that impact how they function and determine who benefits (see Box 1).

Although not specific to the food system, other inequalities also impact households. For example, men face inequalities in areas like school dropout rates, employment, violence, and criminal activities.

Box 1. Gender asymmetries within food systems, identified by Groverman and van der Wees

i) Access and control of social and material assets
ii) Opportunities to participate in agricultural markets and benefit from added value
iii) Access to technology and knowledge
iv) Experience of resilience and vulnerability to risks
v) Participation and representation in all levels of decision making, power and leadership

In order to address the complex asymmetries in an urban context, cities must first acknowledge they exist, then assess their situations and find ways to implement transformative processes.
To help cities conduct assessments, the RUAF Global Partnership recommends that the MUFPP monitoring framework be developed further to include analysis of how citizens’ experiences may differ as a result of their gender (and other intersecting factors), and how these experiences can impact the collective ability of residents to meet the MUFPP targets.

To this end, a review was conducted of all 44 MUFPP indicators through a gender lens. The resulting Gender Framework shows where it would be helpful for data to be disaggregated for gender (see Table 1). However, much of the disaggregated data required may currently be unavailable, and may require mandated policies for the public sector to start collecting new information and implementing new analysis processes.

The Nairobi experience of piloting the MUFPP monitoring framework

Nairobi City County signed the MUFPP in 2016. In 2019 it was one of three signatory cities that pilot-tested a selection of relevant indicators. This pilot project was delivered by RUAF with support from FAO and Wilfrid Laurier University. RUAF partner Mazingira Institute helped Nairobi to apply the indicators.

As well as being Kenya’s capital, Nairobi is one of 47 counties, each responsible for planning agriculture, including urban agriculture. Nairobi passed the Nairobi City County Urban Agriculture Promotion and Regulation Act in 2015; it is also developing a Food Strategy. As part of the pilot project on MUFPP indicators, the City established a Cross-Sectoral Consultative Group (CCG).

Twelve indicators covering all six of the MUFPP work streams were selected for pilot testing; three of the 12 were adapted and restructured from the monitoring framework for better local application.

Mazingira Institute undertook a gender analysis of the 12 indicators using the Gender Framework, as shown in Table 1. It was supported in this analysis by the WLE programme.

Mazingira Institute found that the availability of disaggregated data varied between the indicators. Some indicators used available government statistics. Although these are collected monthly by area and gender, they are not usually analysed. Data collected by the MUFPP pilot project team, on the other hand, were disaggregated, such as for training (see Indicator 30 in Table 1).

New field data were also specifically collected for the project related to indicator 36 on fresh fruit and vegetable outlets (see Box 2).

Validation and further stakeholder discussion in Nairobi

A follow-up meeting on the MUFPP indicators was organised with Nairobi farmers and processors at Mazingira Institute in January 2020. About 25 members of the Nairobi and Environ Food Security, Agriculture and Livestock Forum (NEFSALF) made their own analysis of gender and climate change. In relation to gender, they looked especially at the findings of indicator 36, on the roles of men and women in food processing and distribution.

Elements of the five “gender asymmetries” (see Box 1) were reflected in the discussion and participants confirmed the following points:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUFFP work stream</th>
<th>Nairobi indicator selection (‘adapted or restructured’)</th>
<th>Requirements for gender analysis</th>
<th>Nairobi findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governance</td>
<td>3. Presence of a municipal urban food policy, strategy and/or action plan</td>
<td>Disaggregate by gender % in municipal bodies</td>
<td>Women are less than 50% of senior staff in Food and Agriculture Sector, CCC, and Secretariat Food Strategy not yet gender sensitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable diets and nutrition</td>
<td>11. Number of adults with type 2 diabetes</td>
<td>Disaggregate by gender %</td>
<td>Current data not disaggregated but improvements planned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. Prevalence of stunting for children 15</td>
<td>Disaggregate by gender %</td>
<td>Current data not disaggregated but improvements planned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and economic equity</td>
<td>20. Percentage of children and youth under 18 benefitting from school feeding</td>
<td>Disaggregate by gender %</td>
<td>20% of children benefitting, but data not disaggregated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23. Presence of food-related policies and targets with a specific focus on socially vulnerable groups</td>
<td>Disaggregate policies and targets by gender %. Women as a socially vulnerable group</td>
<td>Policies and targets do not address women as a vulnerable group, except widows and orphans in Vision 2030. A food emergency monitoring tool addresses vulnerable groups in informal settlements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food production</td>
<td>26. Presence of municipal policies and regulations that allow and promote agriculture production and processing</td>
<td>Determine if policies and regulations are gender-sensitive</td>
<td>Gender equality is not mentioned in the Urban Agriculture Promotion and Regulation Act 2015 but is observed in practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food supply and distribution</td>
<td>30. No. of food producers getting training and assistance in past 12 months</td>
<td>Disaggregate gender % of technical training beneficiaries</td>
<td>65% of 17,491 farmers who received training are women. 60% of 4,200 new requests for training were from women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36. Number of fresh fruit and vegetable outlets per unit area</td>
<td>Disaggregate gender % of those operating fruit and vegetable outlets</td>
<td>Most kiosk operators were women while mobile traders were mostly men. Men used wheelbarrows while women were on foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste, environment and the circular economy</td>
<td>33. Annual proportion of urban organic waste collected that is re-used in agricultural production (indicator moved from food production)</td>
<td>% women and men in waste processing groups</td>
<td>Not available from current statistics. Other research shows older women and male youth make up waste groups, with males dominating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43. Presence of policies or regulations that address food waste prevention, recovery and redistribution</td>
<td>Stakeholder representation by gender, ethnicity and class</td>
<td>Not measured</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Nairobi City County Indicators: Gender Analysis
• Women sell at the local market, but they depend heavily on men throughout the supply chain because men have more access to funds and resources;
• Men have better farming strategies and negotiation skills;
• Women need to improve their negotiation skills, and both men and women need to reflect on traditionally-accepted roles for men and women. These points could be covered in training;
• Women are better skilled at vegetable growing;
• Women tend goats and keep poultry;
• Men are better at keeping large livestock like cattle, a traditional source of wealth (participants acknowledged their bias);
• Men were said to produce the goat milk, an innovative urban income;
• Youth and children of all ages and genders should be involved in family farming projects so that biases change.

Combining specific data collection with a follow-up stakeholder workshop to validate and more deeply explore issues around gender proved invaluable, and surfaced new angles that the data alone did not capture. Multi-stakeholder discussion can be instrumental in identifying local priorities and how best to start to address them, which in turn helps with development of gender measures that really make a difference.

Reflections on next steps
The Nairobi example provides a route for individual cities to work towards gender measures that advance sustainable food systems:

1) identify priority areas of the food system to tackle;
2) gather available data;
3) validate with participatory discussions;
4) identify next steps and implement;
5) build up transformative actions over time with plenty of participation.

To overcome issues over data disaggregation, it is necessary to identify:

• which stakeholders should collect what data;
• how this data should be disaggregated;
• where policy is required for data collection to happen;
• resources to facilitate policy-creation that enables disaggregation of data by gender.

For the MUFPP to provide collective support to all signatory cities over gender, the following work is recommended:

• A menu for change: A follow-up piece of work to the RUAF Global Partnership report to provide further guidance on transformative approaches within the food system, including practical examples from cities on how they enable shared control of resources and decision-making.
• Action research: Collaborative action research between academics and MUFPP signatory cities to produce examples of how specific gender issues can be addressed. This could be done through regional clusters of cities that focus on specific “gender asymmetries”.
• MUFPP monitoring framework 2.0: A collaborative project to further enrich the whole of the MUFPP monitoring framework with clear gender and climate change measures.

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7th Milan Urban Food Policy Pact Annual Gathering. Photo by Joy Carey.
Gender Aspects of Urban Food Security and Nutrition: The Critical Role of Urban Food Environments

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Eliminating structural gender inequalities and unleashing the potential of women will play a fundamental role in improving the food security and nutrition of households in urban and peri-urban areas. This article applies a gender lens to the analysis of the “food environment” to identify the main challenges to achieving this goal, and how national and municipal policy action can address them.

Shifts in consumption patterns from traditional foods to highly-processed foods (often high in dietary energy, saturated fat, sugars and salt and low in nutritional value) is happening fastest in the urban areas of low- and middle-income countries (LMIC). This is causing serious increases in overweight, obesity and diet-related non-communicable diseases. Urban food insecurity, undernutrition, micro-nutrient deficiencies and obesity coexist, complicating policy choices towards healthier diets.

As in rural areas, women in urban areas have to manage their time between several paid and unpaid tasks: earning income as workers and/or entrepreneurs; acting as care givers; and managing household food choices and resources. Gender plays an important role in food security, and there is ample evidence of bias against women in urban areas. At the same time, improving women’s status and gender equality positively influences nutritional status for women and their families.

The FAO SOFA 2010-11 showed that closing the gender gap in access to productive resources and bridging the male-female yield gap could reduce the number of undernourished people by as much as 100-150 million (out of an estimated 925 million undernourished people at that time). While such calculation has not been done in an urban context, our analysis of existing relevant data and literature confirms that there is ample scope for leveraging women’s potential for food security and nutrition in the urban areas.

Clues from the literature review

The focus on gender in literature related to urban issues has often been on urban planning, in terms of safety, housing, transport, employment, access to education and services, etc. Very rarely have these aspects been linked to food security and nutrition. The food environment framework offers a unique opportunity to do so.

The urban food environment plays an important role in shaping diets, and could potentially inform a policy-making framework to improve food security and nutrition that includes action by local authorities. As illustrated in Figure 1, food environments are made up of external and personal

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The food environment

“The food environment is the interface that mediates people’s food acquisition and consumption within the wider food system. It encompasses external dimensions such as the availability, prices, vendor and product properties, and promotional information; and personal dimensions such as the accessibility, affordability, convenience and desirability of food sources and products.”

Turner et al. (2018)
dimensions: While it is necessary to understand the policy entry points to improve urban food security and nutrition in both dimensions, this article takes the “personal dimension” as an entry point for gender-sensitive analysis and policy action, because it allows investigation of individual-level aspects that shape food acquisition and consumption.

Below, we consider gender issues across the four pillars of the personal dimension of food environments: accessibility, affordability, convenience and desirability.

**Accessibility** includes physical distance to food outlets, time, space and place, daily mobility and mode of transport. Evidence shows that that most transport systems are biased towards the travel needs of men. Such gender-blind transport planning results in the need for women to make multiple stops for a range of different reasons (e.g. work, childcare, food) - so-called “trip chaining” which places heavy cost and time burdens on women. Zoning and land use planning that separate residential areas from employment locations also have an impact on women’s mobility. Women tend to rely more heavily on public transport than men; a UN-HABITAT study of nine cities in developing countries found that 11.6 per cent of households headed by men had cars, compared to only 1.62 per cent of woman-headed households. Women’s mobility can also be restricted by laws, customs, or urban violence, which limit their possibility to travel for work or food and frequent public spaces, including food markets.

The evidence demonstrates the inter-linkages between the areas of gender, transportation, city planning and food. Efficient transport systems that can reduce the time between home and work, and planning city food outlets that supply nutritious, diverse food on the routes that women take in their daily lives, can be helpful to increase the time they can dedicate to food purchasing and cooking at home.

**Affordability** refers to individual purchasing power. While the prevailing conception is that women and men in urban areas have greater access to economic opportunities, services and infrastructure than those in rural areas, data indicate that women may not benefit from these opportunities equally to men, especially in lower income countries and in poor areas of large cities. Women in cities may also face structural disadvantages that impact their own and their families food security and nutritional status. For instance:

- unless it is decent, employment does not necessarily lead to women’s economic empowerment and thus increased ability to afford nutritious, diverse and sufficient food;
- women’s limited mobility (see above) can restrict their options for labour force participation and in turn their purchasing power;
- women (in urban and rural areas) are more likely than men to be engaged in informal employment, which adversely affects their career prospects and income regularity and security;
- women face gender discrimination in property rights, constraining their economic independence and denying them an alternative income from rentals;
- social grants and other social protection programmes that are not designed in a gender-responsive way are a missed opportunity to improve women’s ability to purchase food.

**Convenience** concerns the relative time and effort of preparing, cooking and consuming food products. While women increasingly engage in paid work besides unpaid domestic and care work, this does not result in the more equal distribution of domestic responsibilities between women and men of the same household. As a result,
women bear the burden of both the productive and reproductive responsibilities, with impact on their opportunities for education and the type of employment they can pursue. The greater demand for convenience, prepared or processed food in cities is often associated with the increased participation of women in the workforce. However, policy actions for improving food security and nutrition cannot consider reducing female employment as a linear solution to the above-mentioned problems.

Enabling the purchase of nutritious food in cities means ensuring that women have decent income generating opportunities. Labour/work place policies can make a difference, such as:

- policies that aim at the creation of decent employment and social protection; workplace policies that promote work-life balance (flexitime, teleworking, etc.);
- provision of quality and affordable care services; and
- interventions promoting the equal sharing of domestic and care work, including food purchasing and preparation responsibilities, between women and men.

Used in combination, such measures could improve both women’s economic autonomy and household food security and nutrition.

Desirability refers to individual preferences, acceptability, attitudes, culture and knowledge. From a gender perspective, ‘gender identities shape what foods are desirable and considered culturally appropriate’ for women and men. One key cultural facet that applies in both urban and rural contexts is that the sharing or distribution of food among family members is influenced by gender norms, roles and relations, with direct implications for individuals’ food security and nutritional status.

The above illustrates that integrating a gender perspective in the food environment analysis can be a useful way of organising the knowledge about gender issues, and of guiding local and urban authorities to shape policy and regulatory frameworks. Such frameworks either provide services directly (e.g. public transport, publicly supported school meals) or through incentives and regulation of private sector activity (zoning, permits etc.). In this way, they can remove gender-related obstacles to healthier diets for all.

Concluding observations and recommendations

- Dimensions of gender inequality: There is a need to study the dimensions of gender inequality in terms of lack of equal opportunities among women and men and to quantify the overall effects of providing equal opportunities for women and men in urban contexts on food security and better nutrition. This will be a powerful informed advocacy tool.
- Gender transformative approaches: Unequal social structures that perpetuate gender inequality negatively impact on urban food security and nutrition. This calls for the need to apply gender transformative approaches in urban food system development, and challenge and change the underlying causes of gender inequalities rooted in discriminatory social and gender norms, and unequal social and power relations.

Integration: Using the food environment conceptual framework to understand how gender impacts on urban food security and nutrition shows the interlinkages among different policy areas (transport, land use planning, social services, etc.), and points towards the need for integrative policy frameworks.

Multi-level coordination: Municipal/local policies and programmes targeting or integrating gender issues should be coordinated with national policies and programmes (on food and nutrition, transportation, land-use planning, urban planning, etc) for greater efficiency.

Impact evaluation and LMIC: Interventions with a food environment focus have not been widely evaluated. This is especially true when it comes to gender dimensions, and a lot of evidence is anecdotal and/or based on individual case studies describing initiatives. Food environments have been studied more in the context of high-income countries. Much work is needed to understand food environments and their gender dimensions in LMIC especially in urban areas of different sizes (small cities and rural towns, medium size and megacities).

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Gender justice and women’s empowerment are central to Quito’s participatory urban agriculture project, AGRUPAR, both as a means of food security and nutrition and as a final goal. This article provides insights into how gender-related data informs the project, the threats faced by women farmers, and next steps for gender transformative food interventions in Ecuador’s capital.

Empowering women to make life changes
Women in vulnerable situations represent 84% of participants in AGRUPAR, which provides the resources, knowledge, skills and opportunity to make positive life changes and to improve the health and well-being of their families and communities.

Participants in AGRUPAR are trained in agroecology, farm animal husbandry, food processing and entrepreneurship. All together, participants produce over 105 types of food, guaranteeing a diversified, healthy, local, fair and nutritious diet throughout the year, and reducing household food budgets.

AGRUPAR also breaks with convention of intending organic foods for consumers with high purchasing power or for export. It is the first national project to achieve organic certification for urban production, opening micro-business opportunities to small farmers, especially women heads of household who are unemployed, elderly, disabled, or victims of domestic violence, who otherwise would be excluded from productive life.

Collecting and using gender data
The AGRUPAR project collects gender-differentiated information when a new participant registers and in the initial analysis of the productive unit, along with information on level of schooling, age and occupation. Women’s motivation for joining is also taken into account, as they might have several objectives: permanent access to healthy food, entrepreneurship, environmental education, occupational therapy, or recreation.
At each training and technical assistance event there is a gender count to determine the number of female and male beneficiaries, and the number of urban agriculture enterprises and self-employed women and men are also determined monthly.

All the gender-related data allows us to plan appropriate interventions in terms of participant’s time, level of education, investment capacity in the garden, and opportunities for change.

**The greatest threats facing women farmers**

The most significant challenge facing urban producers is climate. In a 2016 survey of AGUPAR participants, 82% indicated that climatic events – such as hail; a number of consecutive dry days, excess rainfall in short periods, and frosts – have caused the most difficulties since they started their food garden. In terms of resilience, gender inequality and the multiple vulnerabilities faced by smallholder women farmers translate into a limited ability to cope with adversity.

A second threat is land ownership. Seventy five percent of women AGUPAR participants said either they own the land themselves, or their husbands, or someone from their immediate family. In theory this could give a degree of protection, but in practice family connection may not be enough to safeguard the land for food growing if another use is proposed or if the couple separates. Twenty one percent women participants reported that the land they use does not belong to them.

The greatest threats facing women farmers include climate challenges and land ownership issues. Women farmers face significant obstacles in adapting to changing conditions and securing their right to land.

**Integrating the right to food and women’s rights**

In Quito we are still promoting recognition of food within municipal planning as an important aspect of sustainability and resilience, but the right to food and women’s rights must be considered together and not as separate issues.

It is important to recognise the role women play in food security and sovereignty, and to support not only indigenous women in rural areas but also urban women farmers who guarantee access to healthy food and improved incomes for households whose heads are unemployed or those facing extreme poverty and vulnerability.

Moreover, in Ecuador there is enough food to meet the needs of the population but the number of people affected by hunger and malnutrition continues to rise, with disproportionate effects for women and girls. The food needs of female family members are still neglected in the home, where discriminatory social and cultural norms persist.

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More information and references
www.conquito.org.ec/servicios-agrupar/


Visit the RUAF blog to read about how Quito’s urban and peri-urban gardens are contributing to the Covid-19 response
The work of urban agriculture researchers and practitioners must reflect the experiences of participants if it is to yield knowledge and services that make an impact in the community. We explain the importance of feminist analysis of experiences that considers how identity categories such as gender, ethnicity and class are interconnected, how they are socially constructed, and their ever-changing nature. Such analysis is a vital precursor to exploring how to shift power relations and move towards equity.

The importance of gender in urban agriculture (UA) development and assessment has been well documented (see page 33 in this issue on Women Feeding Cities). Women experience UA differently than men because of political, social and economic factors. Their experiences are impacted by social power relations and different rights and responsibilities, like who does what labour and who makes decisions and controls resources. However, gender is not the only identity factor that needs to be considered when analysing the impact of UA.

A person’s identity is made up of many intersecting categories. Gender is important, but so is ethnicity, class, ability and sexuality. For example, a programme may help women sell their produce at a local market, but without acknowledging differences in class an assessment might miss that there is a subgroup of women who belong to a less-valued class within society that is not welcome.

The discrimination women face is not homogenous. To properly assess barriers and successes and to suggest improvements to UA programming, we need to consider all the aspects of women’s identities and how power relations affect them. This type of feminist analysis, that considers intersectional experiences, is critical in moving forward in UA research so that resources can be used as effectively as possible. It tells stories about access and barriers to UA that inform researchers and practitioners of the limitations of analysis to date, and influence the future of UA research and programming.

Feminist analysis of AGRUPAR in Quito, Ecuador
The Laurier Centre for Sustainable Food Systems, a member of the RUAF Global Partnership, supports research on feminist UA analysis in Quito, Ecuador with AGRUPAR, a participatory urban agriculture project that is also a RUAF partner. The goal of the analysis is to explore opportunities and strengths of the project, analyse the results using a feminist framework, and make recommendations to AGRUPAR on policy and procedures. Using the project as an example, the research seeks to show the importance of Feminist Political Ecology analysis in this field.

Quito is the ideal setting for this type of research given that AGRUPAR has been running since 2002 and 84% of current participants identify as women. AGRUPAR targets
vulnerable members of society including women, the elderly, people with disabilities, those experiencing poverty, and children. These differences impact the experience of the UA participants.

One of the research participants provides an example of the need for intersectional analysis. This woman was successful in the AGRUPAR programme for many years until she experienced domestic violence triggered by her earning more money than her spouse. Her income from growing and selling food addressed household expenses like education, clothing, and food for the family, whereas his casual job was much less impactful. This generated domestic problems and led to their separation. Consequently, she lost the land she used for her garden, entered a lower economic class, and became a single parent. These compounding issues and resulting societal barriers impacted the woman’s ability to participate in the project. Despite all of her challenges, and because of the knowledge she acquired in UA and entrepreneurship, she has been able to start a new garden, return to selling at the markets, and feed her young children.

Using a feminist analysis to consider this experience, the researchers can make recommendations to AGRUPAR that take into account barriers faced by women who are leaving marriages, and how the intersecting experiences and societal impacts can be mitigated to support reintegration.

The gender analysis of the past has served us well and has made important changes to UA globally, but to ensure that UA research on equity continues to be relevant and timely, researchers and practitioners must consider more than just gender. It is time to add other considerations. Feminist analysis that includes the intersections of identity will help us better understand both individual experiences and how social power relations impact access to, and experiences of, UA.

References

More information
www.conquito.org.ec/servicios-agrupar
ruaf.org/news/quitos-journey-to-better-food-security

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The Turkish city of Mezitli established its first markets exclusively for women producers in 2014. Six years later, some 650 women hold stalls at nine bi-weekly markets across the city, selling fruit and vegetables, olive oils, cakes, breads, desserts, teas, and all manner of other home-produced items. Hurrem Betul Levent Erdal, programme coordinator, spoke to Jess Halliday about the need for women-only markets, and the economic and social opportunities for participants.

‘Why were Women Producers’ Markets needed?'
Our intention was to develop an economic structure for women. Turkish women are producers; producing is in their souls. But if they want to sell their produce, usually they have to create an enterprise, and that means legal paperwork and start-up costs.

Turkey has a tradition of weekly neighbourhood markets but it is not necessary for the stallholders to be producers. Most of them sell goods that they have purchased wholesale. There are also barriers to women’s participation in these markets, because they are controlled by men and because stallholders have to pay rent.

Who can sell at the Women Producers’ Markets?
‘The Women Producers’ Markets are inclusive. To be eligible there are three conditions: you have to be a producer, be a woman, and be located in Mezitli. Stall-holders pay nothing – no rent, no electricity costs, nothing for security.

You can find a woman selling vegetables from a hillside neighbourhood far from the city centre, and at the next stall will be a lady selling tea who lives in a gated community, with a private pool and gardens. These two ladies are totally different. One of them only finished primary school, the other has a degree, is retired, and has children who are engineers or teachers.

Whenever we announce the opening of a new Women Producers Market, women can apply to have a stall. If there are more applications than stalls, we draw names out of a hat. Then, for the next opening, we add the names of the women who did not get a stall last time.

Has the programme encountered obstacles?
When we established the programme the men were not encouraging. After a while, a group of men from a neighbourhood market asked the Mayor for no more Women’s Producers Markets to be set up. They wanted a marketplace without any costs, too. But the Mayor and Assembly members did not back down.

One of the challenges in running the markets is how women present their products. They have no knowledge about marketing. It has also been hard to understand the need for competitive pricing with neighbourhood markets and supermarkets. They think their products are wonderful, and they want to sell them for higher prices.

How are the markets supported by the municipality and other organisations?
The spaces where the markets take place and the infrastructure belong to the Municipality. For that kind of investment the Municipality needed a decision at the Assembly level. A small group of Assembly members and the rural manager from the cultural affairs unit led the process, and established the general rules. Each market has one coordinator, who is a woman and a staff member of the Municipality.
We also offer training and seminars, in partnership with NGOs. For example, members of the Mezitli Soroptimists Club share their skills. One, a bank manager, gave a seminar on money management. Other sessions have covered women’s rights, first aid, and young people and addiction. We have collaborated with a private hospital to offer a free health check to the ladies. And we organise ice-breaking activities, like a picnic in the hills or a trip to the cinema.

What have been the impacts to date?
'The Women Producers’ Markets have made a difference to women’s incomes and mobility. In the beginning the women used public transport to bring their goods to markets. Now, some of them have driving licences and cars. One woman has developed her own business as an entrepreneur.

We also see progress in visitor numbers. In the beginning the markets didn’t have many visitors. Now they are really crowded.

Some of the biggest impacts, though, are social. The women come from different cultures and living environments but after five years they are like a family. They help each other out and see each other as role models – for themselves and for their children. The children of the women from the hillside neighbourhoods would normally only meet people from a similar background. Now they can meet teachers or bankers.

What are the latest developments in the programme?
The women asked for a breakfast area at the weekend markets, so we designed a space where customers can wash fruit and vegetables they have bought, and sit at picnic tables to eat börek (filled pastries) and drink tea and coffee.

A few of the women producers are Syrian refugees. They have asked for a special selling day for Syrian women, which we are now preparing.

We are also trying to get the women to be more sustainable. We are creating an online system for them to buy sustainable materials for their stalls, like reusable cups and containers.

Women in Analamanga (the city region of Antananarivo) face considerable disadvantages in developing and professionalising agricultural activities, but the Regional Director of the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries (DRAEP) is planning initiatives to close the gender gap.

Women are majority participants in the rural economy of Analamanga. They make up around 60% of farmers in short supply chains and around 67% of members of cooperatives for shared use of agricultural machinery – yet 70% of them are vulnerable, according to the UN.

Gender differentiation is present at every level: in division of labour and production relations, in the production process, and in relative productivity. Women farmers are often managed by male-led operators who impose rules and conditions in their favour.

Women are more likely to face difficulties, financial and practical, to their personal development and empowerment. For example:
- most rural women cannot access finance as they have no capital, and must ask their husband before applying for a microloan;
- few own land, since under inheritance laws a woman is seventh in line to inherit her husband’s property (after children, his parents, his siblings, and other relatives);
- 80% of women are illiterate, having left school at age 8, which prevents them from completing paperwork (e.g. to apply for loans), keeping records, and following specifications;
- women are time-poor, juggling domestic and farming tasks and lacking access to time-saving tools and machinery; having no-one to replace them in the fields prevents them from participating in training;
- many women farmers are unmarried mothers who work through pregnancy and breast-feeding, and many are undernourished;
- women in isolated areas lack access to climate change information services, and have no telephone so extension officers cannot contact them;
- domestic violence can prevent women from developing their activities, if a man feels threatened by his wife becoming independent.

Socio-economic factors make some women more vulnerable than others. One factor is marital status; unmarried mothers have no support. Another is age; older women receive no pension so many continue working beyond the age of 60. Another is ethnicity; in some groups education of boys is prioritised, as girls are destined to marry. When girls leave school early to work in the fields, poor education holds back their development.

Shoot for the moon
At the level of the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries (MAEP) no policies are being implemented to reduce difficulties faced by women. Some programmes have quotas for female participants but they lack action plans to engage with women.
At DRAEP Analamanga we are trying to put in place a local policy and programmes to reduce the gap between rural women and men and improve women’s lives. We must shoot for the moon if we want to reach the stars.

For example, we should set up projects specifically to improve women’s production and productivity. We could develop the honey value chain and improve the ecosystem for bees, like the Bee Mada project in Bongolava Region, which provides livelihoods to 70 women in apiculture, agroforestry and dairy farming.

We should support women who have a professional project, who want to start their own agricultural business, or who wish to become operators, suppliers, or leaders of associations or groups. Support could be financial, or advice, or facilitating access to financial services, while taking into account their situation as mother, daughter, widow, etc. In some cases financial support of 500,000 Ar (€120) exists, but it is not enough to start a business.

Championing women in existing activities

In the UNDP-funded PACARC project (to improve adaption capacity and resilience of rural communities to climate change), most of the beneficiaries are women. We launched a competition to engage women members of farmer field schools in their personal development and empowerment. We will evaluate the women, the leaders of the field schools, and the field schools themselves, and award prizes to the most deserving.

As part of our regular work, DRAEP is responsible for rural public works and infrastructure, like renovating irrigated peripheries, repairing dams, building rice stores, providing drinking water, and constructing health facilities. We must get women involved in decision-making, because only women really understand the needs of other women and can represent them to state structures.

Social dialogue and lobbying

We need to initiate dialogue between national and local institutions to strengthen representation of women and ensure women’s voices are heard. This includes discussing social protection for vulnerable women, such as pensions for women over the age of 60, benefits for unmarried mothers, and support for women caring for sick children or husbands. It could also include ‘gender police’ to tackle domestic violence.

We must initiate dialogue and lobbying over changes we cannot make at the local level, like revising inheritance laws so women can inherit land, and enforcing the law prohibiting marriage of girls under 18 so that they remain in school.

We could also cooperate with schools and other local entities to identify girls who show leadership qualities, so we can give them a helping hand to become agricultural leaders. When girls grow up to become leaders, they become role models in their communities.

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Attention to gender roles and relations is critical to understanding urban food systems, and how people experience and navigate those systems. Drawing on the findings of the Consuming Urban Poverty (CUP) project in three African secondary cities, this article makes the case for greater gender awareness in urban food governance.

Urbanisation of African societies and economies is changing the ways food is distributed, traded, accessed and consumed. Urbanisation also changes social norms that are seen in household forms, gendered labour and employment patterns, and social relations of reciprocity and exchange – including those through which people secure access to food. Adopting a combination of survey, interview and mapping-based methods, the CUP project examined the food systems of Kisumu in Kenya, Kitwe in Zambia, and Epworth in Zimbabwe. CUP findings show multiple ways in which gender shapes people’s engagement in urban food systems. They also show how urban food system governance can act to undermine food security and reproduce gender and other forms of inequality.

Female-headed households
One key finding was that sex of the household head is by no means a straightforward predictor of household food insecurity. Although in aggregate there was an association between female-headedness and household-level food insecurity, a few female-headed households were among the most food secure. These households had women in professional occupations or other formal employment. Photo by © Consuming Urban Poverty/Samantha Reinders
Some were multi-generational, with an older female relative taking care of domestic and care labour while a middle-generation woman worked outside the home.

Conversely, there were examples of nuclear households, i.e. with male and female adult members along with children, who were among the most hungry and destitute. Other female-headed households, such as those of widows with child or adult dependants, were extremely food insecure. Sex of the household head intersects with life-course events, household form and size, and employment status to shape household food strategies and food security. In some cases, it seems, female headedness may be an asset.

Women “buy wisely”

In all three settings, across household types or socio-economic status, women still bear primary responsibility for family food procurement and preparation. Women and men pointed to the importance of women’s knowledge, experience and social networks in stretching tight household budgets and mitigating food poverty—describing women as knowing how to “buy wisely” or understanding “the secrets of the kitchen”.

Women are not only the primary purchasers of food, but also engage in non-market forms of food access and exchange. These include borrowing and lending food among neighbours, membership in women’s savings clubs, and maintaining relationships with relatives in rural and urban areas. Social relations are important in market-based food sourcing, too—notably the extension of credit by informal food vendors or proprietors of local retail outlets who are known to the purchaser. Although these practices are not exclusively female, women play important roles in sustaining the social infrastructure of urban food systems.

Gendered geographies of food systems

CUP retail and household surveys identified a diversity of food retail outlets, across a spectrum from doorstep food stalls to commercial supermarket chains. Drawing on multiple retail forms was one strategy employed to access more diverse and less expensive food. Yet the poorest households were unable to take advantage of this variety. For some, the transport required was unaffordable. Having to budget day-to-day, and being unable to afford standard supermarket package sizes of food staples, made many households reliant on local and informal vendors. Beyond financial restrictions, women’s responsibility for child care and domestic labour limited the time they could allocate to accessing cheaper or more nutritious food sources.

Women are important actors as formal and informal vendors in these urban food systems. Added to financial and time poverty were regulatory and spatial constraints on such activity. Elite official visions perceive certain forms of informal food vending as detracting from the idealised modern city, and municipal governments sometimes place restrictions or prohibitions on what for many women—and men—are essential income-generating strategies.

Gender-aware urban food policy

CUP findings have a number of policy implications.

• The spatial location of food markets and other sources, along with transport systems, are key to urban food system functioning, with the potential to support or undermine household, community, and city-scale food security.

• Urban food production, processing, and selling provide livelihood and employment opportunities, but require enabling infrastructure and policies.

• Urban food system governance that fails to support diverse, formal and informal food retail effectively discriminates against women and the urban poor, and risks damaging the very means by which households and communities are sustained.

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The deployment of Hivos’ Food Lab methodology in a women-only setting in La Paz, Bolivia, allowed stakeholders to hear from and truly involve female participants, who often lack a voice. The process led to the unexpected conclusion that the best approach to addressing gender issues is not always as concrete as lobbying, but it may require taking a step back and acknowledging the need for a cultural shift.

Women play a fundamental role in food systems in Bolivia, from farm to fork. Both in rural and urban areas, providing food has been designated as one of the main tasks for women. However, local food systems, especially urban, are not designed to recognise or facilitate this work.

The double working day (doing both paid work and running a household), the rise of fast food venues, social pressure, difficult working hours, job insecurity, and increasing food prices are some of the reasons why city dwellers shift towards feeding themselves and their families less healthy food. With a continuously increasing urban population and more working women, healthy food is a lesser priority in the average family.

At Hivos Bolivia we asked ourselves, how should a food system be designed to improve the health of women and families? What do we need as a society to improve our diets without it being more time- or money consuming? In order to know more about these pressing questions, we implemented a Women’s Food Lab in La Paz.

What is a Food Lab?
A Food Lab is a methodology that has been implemented by Hivos in several different country and city contexts around the world, where multiple actors share knowledge, evidence and ideas, and together develop local solutions to transform the food system. Food Labs take a systems approach and integrate a combination of thinking, feeling, relating and doing into the multi-stakeholder process. Concrete coalitions and ideas on the ground are translated into prototypes (pilot initiatives), ranging from application of technology, advocacy for public policy, new business models, the framing of cultural values and behavioural change, or others.

Why a women-only Food Lab?
Unfortunately, women in Bolivia still lack a voice in private and public spaces. There is still more attention paid to men’s voices, and when talking about a topic that is both private and public, such as food, women’s real thoughts, ideas and feelings can be shut down. This does not mean that Hivos and participants cannot have a joint conversation, but it means we need to hear uncensored voices before having the necessary joint conversation. That is why we decided to create a safe space so that women from different backgrounds can speak from their experiences as women first, and then involve their professional knowledge and expertise.

Levelling the ground
In order for different voices to be heard at the same level, we
held two “pre-labs”, at which we gathered women representatives from 60 low income neighbourhoods. We used different methodologies from Theory U (see Figure 1) to hear their stories and their voices and to give them the opportunity to raise their main concerns and dreams around food. From these events, the group selected representatives who attended the Food Lab event, which took place over six sessions.

During the main Food Lab, we brought together women from different backgrounds. Aside from the neighbours, we had government representatives, cooks, representatives from youth and gastronomic movements, researchers, entrepreneurs, nutritionists, urban producers, NGO and cooperation representatives, etc. Between them, the participants had a wide range of knowledge that enabled them to share perspectives, experiences and ideas around the food system.

**Expectation vs reality**

The usual output of a Food Lab is to develop a prototype. We were expecting that the group would develop a strategy for lobbying and advocacy for more diverse markets in the neighborhoods, or a technological innovation that could help women make easier decisions regarding food consumption. What came out was the need to bring about cultural change so that families, especially men, are involved in the food process.

Women from all backgrounds agreed that culturally all the food work depends on them, regardless of their job, economic status or education. Although sometimes men “help”, they are rarely involved in food buying or preparation. Furthermore, many women feel that men are the main blockers in their family for healthier eating. Many women have a vast knowledge about healthy food, have been in cooking workshops and know about dietary needs. But when they cook healthier meals for their family, if is not a large quantity of food, with plenty of carbohydrates and includes a big piece of meat, the food is often rejected. This means they have little opportunity to promote healthier eating in their families. One of the main needs that the women in the Food Lab discussed, was the need for a cultural change in which men are empowered in the kitchen and become part of all the food related processes.

**Figure 1. Hivos Lab methodology based on Theory U model**
In order to prompt the cultural change, we drafted a number of action points:

**Care tasks: everyone’s responsibility.** Principles of care must be taught at school and at home, in the same way to boys and girls. Also, the state must provide professional and quality education and care for children, the elderly and the sick.

**Recognition of the vital role of food and feeding.** Food is one of the most important care tasks. If we economically quantify the work women do to feed society at large, we would recognise it as free work that contributes to the country’s development.

**Food and nutrition education for everyone.** Food and nutrition education must be instilled from the first years of primary school and continue to university, for both men and women. It must occur in both formal and informal spaces.

**More flexible work hours and remote working.** If we want a well-fed and nourished population we need to work around meal schedules. Most jobs have very strict schedules that are often incompatible with family life. More schools must have dining rooms and more flexible office hours to allow for the preparation and consumption of healthy and adequate food for the whole family.

**Recognition and fair payment of women in the whole food system.** Work performed by women throughout the food system tends to be poorly paid. Pay and working conditions must be equal and fair. This recognition must come from the state, but also from consumers, as often they bargain and are unwilling to pay the real economic value of food.

**Work with men and family.** Society must stop putting all the responsibility for food on women. This means having an open conversation about the role of men and finding ways to involve the entire family in food provisioning and preparation.

While bringing about this cultural change will be a long-term process, identifying the need for it is the first step. The results of the first women’s food lab have prompted a coordinated approach from the municipality and other organisations to continue this work with women, families, giving particular attention to men.

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This article distils lessons from the experience of integrating gender throughout the research for development (R4D) impact pathway of IWMI’s Resource Recovery and Reuse (RRR) sub-programme, drawing on examples of interventions and promising approaches.

RRR is a sub-programme of the CGIAR Research Program on Water, Land and Ecosystems (WLE) dedicated to applied research on the safe recovery of water, nutrients and energy from domestic and agro-industrial waste streams. It aims to create impact through different lines of action research, including developing and testing scalable RRR business models.

Under the RRR sub-programme, the research for development (R4D) impact pathway is a key tool in the results-based management approach, which is based on a progression from knowledge generation, to adaptive research, to implementation plans, to knowledge sharing, and finally to upscaling. Progressing through this pathway also enables integration of lessons learnt along each stage, to inform research and project design. While it is important to integrate gender at each stage of the impact pathway, in this article we focus on gender integration during:
1. RRR business model development,
2. feasibility and investment climate assessment,
3. RRR business model implementation.
Developing inclusive RRR business models

RRR business models need to be socially inclusive, targeting men, women and youth along the RRR value chain. In assessing empirical RRR business cases and developing business models, the question of equality is considered particularly in terms of how far men, women and youth are positively or negatively impacted by engaging in the waste valorisation process, whether as entrepreneurs, workers, or as direct users of the resulting products (Otoo and Drechsel, 2018). This is assessed using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative assessment looks at positive implications for common gender roles, such as time spent on water or fuel collection and provision of improved services or clean energy. Based on detailed assessment of empirical RRR business models, a pictorial balance beam reflecting possible gender specific dis/advantages has been drawn up (Figure 2). However, further studies are also needed to take local context into account.

Figure 2 Balance beam reflecting possible gender specific dis/advantage of RRR business models

Box 1. Adoption and economic impact of briquettes as cooking fuel: Women Fish Smokers in Ghana

In implementing a new business model in Ghana, fish smokers were identified as a potential users of briquettes, which are made from municipal solid waste or agricultural residues. Smoking fish is a commercial activity predominantly undertaken by women. It is carried out using traditionally designed stoves with firewood as the main source of fuel.

Replacing firewood with briquettes has the potential to minimise costs on energy incurred by fish smokers. Switching from firewood at GHS 0.33 kg⁻¹ (USD 0.09 kg⁻¹) to briquettes at GHS 0.44 kg⁻¹ (USD 0.12 kg⁻¹) can reduce the cost of energy for fish smokers by 10%, as fewer briquettes are required to produce the same amount of heat. In addition to reduced expenditure, switching to briquettes would enable the women fish smokers to save income spent on paying for labour to split firewood. When the cost of buying the firewood and labour to split it are combined, the total saving is estimated at 26%.

Figure 1 IWMI’s RRR R4D impact pathway

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Most common business models providing advantages for women are those producing energy, such as briquettes, out of waste. These benefit households or enterprises run mainly by women (Box 1).

While it has been relatively easy to identify gender dimensions for waste-to-energy business models, we continue to struggle to identify and develop gender responsive water and nutrient business models. To develop gender responsive solutions, there is a need for business models that take into account perception and cultural acceptance of women’s employment, that are embedded in enabling regulatory and financial environments, and that provide capacity development tailored to their needs.

**Gender and investment climate for RRR enterprises**

Women are involved as owners, workers and managers of RRR enterprises. Assessing the gender dimension of an investment climate is important when considering strategies to improve the business environment and promote private sector development in the RRR sector. Women often find it more difficult than men to formalise their businesses due to low levels of education and business skills, as well as sociocultural factors that may restrict the female domain to low-level economic activity and the domestic environment (Simavi et al. 2010).

**Box 2. Investment climate for waste-to-energy enterprises: insights from women entrepreneurs in Kenya**

**Enterprises’ perceptions of policy and infrastructure factors**

Female-owned enterprises rated their access to land, water, business licensing and permits, and access to finance as major constraints to the establishment and growth of their enterprises. Access to land is a constraint on enterprise expansion, especially in urban and peri-urban areas where most of the businesses were located.

**Access to finance and its disproportionate effect on women and men.** Both male and female entrepreneurs rated access to different financing schemes as the most severe constraint to their business. However, female entrepreneurs were particularly intimidated by the application procedures for requesting loans or grants from financial institutions or donors. Furthermore, female entrepreneurs doubted if the institutions processing loans would give their applications favorable consideration and as a result they ended up not submitting them. Owners of the waste-to-energy enterprises preferred to borrow money from informal sources such as friends and relatives, providing women with limited funds for investment and hence their businesses remain as informal and small scale. Access to different forms of finance are key reform priorities that need to be put in place to address the gender disparities in accessing resources for businesses.
RRR business model implementation

RRR business models, such as the recovery of energy and nutrients from waste streams, catalyse small business creation and have great potential for improving livelihoods of women and youth. IWMI, in partnership with municipal assemblies, private sector, and NGOs, has implemented waste-to-nutrient and energy business models in Ghana. The design and implementation of these business models were cognisant of the need for gender equity throughout the entire business model — including through job creation and improving livelihoods and working conditions for women.

The production of these RRR products is labour intensive and mainly done by males, for example turning of compost frequently in a windrow composting process, as women are less likely to be willing to engage in such strenuous activity. However, the business models’ implementation ensured gender equity through women’s representation in management and business operations, as well as targeting the RRR products to benefit women end users (Box 1).

Gender responsive RRR innovations

The need for proper understanding of women’s needs and perceptions is critical in the development of appropriate and gender responsive RRR solutions. Gender must be integrated along each stage of the R4D impact pathway to support implementation and scaling of gender-responsive RRR options. Thus researchers and practitioners designing innovative and inclusive RRR solutions to agricultural and natural resource challenges need to understand the local social and cultural contexts. Particular attention should be given to roles and technology preferences of men, women and youth in RRR product production.

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References


This article is based on:

Women Feeding Cities: Mainstreaming Gender in Urban Agriculture and Food Security

Mary Njenga

‘Women feeding cities: Mainstreaming gender in urban agriculture and food security’, published in 2009, is essential reading for practitioners to ensure gender is a central consideration in urban agriculture projects. The book shares experiences that link gender with urban agriculture in its broad practice. It is designed to contribute to more gender-sensitive and responsive policies and projects on urban agriculture and food security; to cities that are better and more equitably fed; and to women who are better recognised and supported in this crucial role.

Scope of the book
The book was produced from the experiences of two leading actors in the field of urban agriculture: RUAF (then the International Network of Resource Centres on Urban Agriculture and Food Security); and Urban Harvest, the System-wide Initiative on Urban and Peri-Agriculture of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) and partners. Funding was provided by International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

The first part of the book draws attention to women’s crucial role in bringing food to the table of urban families and to the ways in which low income women locally produce food, carry or trade food in multiple strategies to keep their families food secure. This is presented in the form of case studies in various cities in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The case studies analyse urban agriculture activities in varying political, social-economic and cultural situations, revealing the gender dynamics that underpin people’s abilities to secure fresh, affordable and accessible food and (often complementary) income.

The second part of the book provides researchers, development practitioners and local government officers with guidelines on how to incorporate gender-related aspects in each phase of urban agriculture project cycles, and a set of gender-sensitive tools.

Why "women feeding cities"?
The work leading to the publication of the book had its origins in two observations about gendered aspects of food provisioning for cities.

Firstly, women are in the majority among urban farmers and play an important role in feeding urban populations. They tend to predominate in subsistence farming, however, whereas men play a greater role in urban food production for commercial purposes.

Secondly, food production and food security had been given extremely limited attention in the history of urban development and planning. This has contributed to the invisibility of women’s role in provisioning cities.

These observations led to an identified need for tools for gaining a detailed understanding of the role of women and men in urban food production, so that research and development organisations can improve their support for this livelihood strategy.

Producing the book
Implementation of activities to promote gender mainstreaming – that is, ensuring that gender equality is central to all intervention in support of urban agriculture – began in 2002, with the organisation of an international
workshop on methodologies for urban agriculture programmes held in Nairobi, Kenya.

RUAF then commissioned a state-of-the-art review on gender in urban agriculture that comprised methods, tools and case studies. This material was analysed, and lessons were compiled at another workshop in Accra, Ghana in 2004.

The book was produced subsequently and involved broad consultation and active participation by global network of urban agriculture specialists, coordinated by the editors and supported by an editorial committee.

The tools included in the second part of the book were field-tested between October 2007 and July 2008 in urban agriculture projects around the world. The experiences and conclusions were reported back to the editorial committee through structured-format reports that were synthesised and discussed during a workshop in the Netherlands in August 2008.

**An important legacy**
The book is more relevant now than ever due to rising urbanisation and the expansion of refugee settlements, which take the form of urban centres. For example, the Water Land and Ecosystems (WLE) programme of the CGIAR International Water Management Institute, together with partners, is applying lessons from the case studies and some of the tools and guidelines for gender integration in their work on resource recovery and reuse (RRR) for food and energy in refugee contexts in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda (see page 29).

A decade on, the book remains a good source of information to help meet the on-going need for capacity building among researchers, trainers and development practitioners, to develop their skills and knowledge on gender analysis, gender mainstreaming and gender integration in the fields of food security, energy security, poverty alleviation and environmental management.

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*Women feeding cities: Mainstreaming gender in urban agriculture and food security* was co-edited by Alice Hovorka, Henk de Zeeuw and Mary Njenga and published in 2009 by Practical Action Publishing, UK. It is available as a free download at ruaf.org/assets/2019/11/Women_feeding_cities.pdf

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**Transforming Value Chains with Women Farmers**

Ziad Moussa, former RUAF regional coordinator, Middle East and North Africa

'As part of RUAF’s From Seed to Table programme from 2009-2011 we worked with several cities in the Middle East to mainstream urban agriculture at the regional level. This experience, which coincided with the publication of Women Feeding Cities, included working with women’s organisations to improve value chains.

'For example, we worked with Iraq El Amir Women’s Co-op in Amman, Jordan, on improving the green onion value chain – introducing new cultivars, maximising the processing, purchase of inputs, presentation and marketing, creation of a brand, increasing the price. It paid off handsomely and was really transformative. The cooperative is still going, and has diversified into handicrafts, agrotourism and fair trade.

'The two main lessons learned were:

1) to work on the institutional set up, such as by-laws, the importance of keeping books, holding elections, etc, to promote durability;

2) to diversify in order to reach an economy of scale. If you stick to a micro value chain, you might succeed but the opportunities could be limited. If you use a pilot to scale up and build momentum and develop new ways of thinking and working, the results will be greater.

'Women Feeding Cities is still relevant, although ten years on the approach would benefit from integration of Agenda 2030; the “no-one left behind” philosophy and approach is an opportunity to highlight equity and economic empowerment.'

More information on Iraq El Amir Women’s Co-op can be found at iraqalamir.org
Further reading

Beyond Gender and Development: How gender transformative approaches in agriculture and natural resource management can advance equality (2020)
This chapter by Cynthia McDougall et al in a forthcoming book from the CGIAR Collaborative Platform for Gender Research critically reflects on historic approaches to gender in relation to agriculture and natural resources. It signals new gender transformative approaches for more profound and long-lasting gender outcomes.
gender.cgiar.org/nextgen-gender-gta

Tips and tricks on how to ensure your WASH Covid-19 response is gender and social inclusive (2020)
This guide developed by Plan International WASH COVID-19 Task Force brings together relevant guidance from reference documents to ensure that Covid-19 responses relating to water, sanitation and hygiene are equitable and empowering for women and girls, disabled people, and socially-disadvantaged groups.

The Interface between Urbanization, Gender and Food in the Global South (2019)
This ‘Hungry Cities Partnership’ discussion paper by Liam Riley and Belinda Dodson highlights the importance of a three-way interface between urbanisation, gender and food. It reviews literature on issues including the nature of households, household strategies, and the nutrition transition, referring to economic, cultural, social, environmental, and epistemological concerns.
hungrycities.net/publication/hcp-discussion-paper-no-36-interface-urbanization-gender-food-global-south/

How to green food systems in a gender-smart way – A matter of insight and smart interventions (2016)
This paper by Verona Groverman and Catherine van der Wees uses a model of gender asymmetries to generate insights into how gender inequality impacts the functioning of food systems and the benefits to the community and society at large.

Gendering urban food strategies across multiple scales (2015)
This book chapter by Liam Riley and Alice Hovorka draws on the concept of a ‘feminist foodscapes framework’ to emphasise social justice questions at the heart of urban food security. It reflects on the practical programme benefits of conceptualising links between gender inequality and food insecurity in cities.
ruaf.org/assets/2019/11/Cities-and-Agriculture.pdf

Women Feeding Cities – Mainstreaming gender in urban agriculture and food security (2009)
This book analyses the roles of women and men in urban food production, and through case studies from three developing regions suggests how women’s contribution might be maximised. It contains detailed guidelines and tools show how to bring women into the mainstream of urban agriculture research and development.
ruaf.org/assets/2019/11/Women_feeding_cities.pdf
Upcoming issue: Beyond 20 years of RUAF (December 2020)

This year marks the 20th anniversary of RUAF and Urban Agriculture Magazine. Over the last two decades we have played a leading role in advancing urban food systems transformation through action and advocacy, and in knowledge brokering between science, policy and practice.

Each year, more international organisations have joined the urban food policy community, bringing new opportunities for collaboration. Many more cities around the world have implemented actions to enhance food security and nutrition, social justice, and reduce environmental impacts of the food system, not least with the signature of the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact by over 210 cities since 2015.

Urban food systems are now on the global agenda, but our work is far from done.

The world in 2020 is very different to the world of 2000. From catastrophic wildfires in the Amazon and Australia, to hurricanes, floods, and unprecedented heatwaves, the climate crisis is upon us and its impacts throughout food systems are devastating. Responses to the Covid-19 pandemic have exposed food supply vulnerabilities and look likely to drive up food insecurity. And the Black Lives Matters protests in many global cities are paving the way for significant social change.

The next issue of Urban Agriculture Magazine will continue our tradition of agenda-setting over urban food issues. It will identify emerging topics to be addressed by cities, organisations and research institutes over the next decade, and promising approaches for doing so.

To this end, in the second half of 2020 we will be hosting a series of focus group discussions with RUAF Partners and selected external experts in urban food systems.

For information about nominating yourself or a colleague to participate in a focus group, please contact info@ruaf.org.