Gender and Food Security

TOWARDS GENDER-JUST FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY

OVERVIEW REPORT

BRIDGE 2014

Gender and Food Security

TOWARDS GENDER-JUST FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY

OVERVIEW REPORT

BRIDGE 2014

Children in Cité Soleil receive meals
Photographer: UN Photo/Marco Dormino via Flickr (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)

BRI**D**GE
development - gender

BRIDGE was established in 1992 as a specialised gender and development research and information service within the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), UK. BRIDGE supports the gender equality advocacy and mainstreaming efforts of a range of development actors, including policymakers, practitioners, activists and researchers by bridging the gaps between theory, policy and practice through convening global *Cutting Edge Programmes*, providing accessible, evidence-based gender and development information – including BRIDGE *Cutting Edge Packs* – and working on a range of gender and development projects.

Other recent publications in the *Cutting Edge* series include:

- Gender and Social Movements (2013)
- Gender and Climate Change (2011)
- Gender and Governance (2009)
- Gender and Care (2009)
- Gender and Indicators (2007)
- Gender and Sexuality (2007)
- Gender and Trade (2006)
- Gender and Migration (2005)

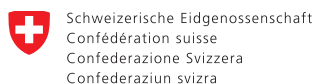All BRIDGE publications can be downloaded free of charge from the BRIDGE website (http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/).

IDS Institute of Development Studies

Irish Aid
Rialtas na hÉireann
Government of Ireland

Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra

UKaid
from the British people

Front cover images clockwise from top right:
Agricultural biodiversity in a Peruvian market — Photographer: Bioversity International / A. Camacho via Flickr (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)
A woman farmer who fought and claimed her right to land in India — Photographer: ANANDI
Haitians in Cité Soleil queue for food — Photographer: UN Photo / Sophia Paris via Flickr (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)
Rural woman showing rice donated by the Government of Japan to Government of Nepal, and distributed by Nepal Food Corporation (NFC) in Gamgadi, Mugu district, Nepal — Photographer: Basudha Gurung
Back cover images left to right:
In a small rural village, 170 kilometres south of Zambia's capital Lusaka, a group of women farmers are finding hope and security growing bananas. Oxfam's investment in solar fencing, irrigation, and training is empowering people and ensuring women can afford to build better housing and send their children to school — Photographer: Abbie Trayler-Smith / Oxfam
Untitled image of a restaurant — Photographer: Liliana Amundaraín via Flickr (CC BY 2.0)

Contents

About the Report

This report forms part of a BRIDGE *Cutting Edge Pack* on Gender and Food Security, which also includes an *In Brief*. It is the result of a collaborative programme involving a diverse range of practitioners, researchers, activists and policy advisors working on gender and food security issues in Asia, Africa, Europe, North America and Latin America.

An expert Working Group has been engaged from the outset of the programme in shaping the key messages of the report, participating in face-to-face and online discussions, advising on drafts and providing invaluable inputs drawing on their extensive knowledge and experience. Country-specific activities in Malawi and Ethiopia were also conducted as an integral part of the programme.

Also contributing greatly to the content and key messages of the report were the expertise, thoughts and examples provided by a global Community of Practice, who, along with the Working Group and country-specific contributors, participated in a highly constructive e-discussion and also provided case study material.

The main authors for this report are Alyson Brody, Alexandra Spieldoch and Georgina Aboud, with additional contributions from Zo Randriamaro, Cathy Rozel Farnworth and Hazel Reeves. The report also benefits hugely from the inputs of others involved in the process, especially the Working Group and Community of Practice members.

Working Group

Alexandra Spieldoch (lead advisor and co-author)

Alexandra Spieldoch is the Executive Director of Compatible Technology International (CTI), a global international non-governmental organisation (INGO) based in Minnesota, USA. CTI designs and distributes food and water tools in collaboration with small farmers in developing countries. The organisation contributes to localised food production and to creating women entrepreneurs in the rural sector. Prior to her role as Executive Director with CTI, Alexandra served as Coordinator of the Network of Women Ministers and Leaders in Agriculture and as Food Security Policy Analyst with WOCAN. She directed the Global Governance programme at the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP) in Minneapolis. She co-directed the women's project and the global trade programme at the Center of Concern in Washington, DC. She has travelled extensively throughout Africa and Latin America, and has published numerous articles on food security, human rights, and agricultural development. Alexandra has a Master's degree in International Policy from the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

Marcela Ballara

Marcela Ballara is a Chilean/Swedish national who has worked with the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) the UN Department for Development Support and Management Services (UNDDSMS) and UN Women. As Gender and Development Senior Officer for the FAO Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) Regional Office, her main focus was the implementation of gender and

food security programmes and projects, including the specific concerns of rural and indigenous women. Marcela also has extensive experience of mainstreaming gender perspectives into policies and programmes of inter-agency organisations, including the International Organization for Migration (IOM). More recently she has been working as a consultant for the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) and the Women's Education Network in Latin America. She is also actively involved in the post-2015 process through her key role in the Women's Major Group.

Liliane Bigayimpunzi

Liliane Bigayimpunzi is an expert in gender and basic social services for development and has worked extensively at both grass-roots level and in policymaking in humanitarian, transition and development settings as a high-ranking civil servant for the Government of Burundi, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and UNESCO. She is currently working for the World Food Programme (WFP) as programme officer in charge of the Education, Gender and Protection section at the Burundi Country Office. She has wide experience in project management, ensuring capacity building and budget management. Liliane holds a Master's Degree in Gender Studies from Université Lumière of Bujumbura.

Sejal Dand

Sejal Dand is a feminist activist based in India, who has been working on programmes and policy concerning rural and tribal women for 25 years. She is a founder member and current Research and Advocacy Director of the feminist collective ANANDI, which works to organise primarily rural and tribal women from marginalised communities around issues of food security, livelihoods and basic human rights in Gujarat. She is a

steering group member of the Right to Food campaign in India, as well as being part of national campaigns to promote women's rights to resources. She is currently engaged in building capacity on mainstreaming women's human rights in development for governmental organisations and NGOs, as well as working with UN Women as a knowledge facilitator. She is a National Advisor on the right to food.

Cathy Gatundu

Cathy Gatundu is an environmental scientist by profession. She works as the Coordinator for Land and Natural Resource Rights for Action Aid International (AAI). Prior to this she was deputy coordinator for the Kenya Land Alliance, leading work on women's and other marginalised communities' rights to land. In her current role she leads the work of a federation of 43 AAI country offices on expanding women's access to and control over land and natural resources. Cathy was part of the team of experts convened by FAO in 2011–12 to develop a technical guide on gender-equitable governance of tenure for the implementation of Voluntary Guidelines for responsible governance of tenure to land, forests and fisheries. She has worked with LANDESA towards the development of targets and indicators for women's rights to land in the post-2015 agenda. She was also one of the drafters of the recently adopted Guiding Principles for Large-scale Land-based Investment in Africa led by the Land Policy Initiative (LPI) of the African Union, Africa Development Bank and UN Economic Commission for Africa. She is currently a member of the LPI Scientific Committee tasked with organising the inaugural Bi-Annual Conference on Land Policy in Africa.

Lauren Ravon

Lauren Ravon is a Senior Policy Advisor at Oxfam Canada, leading the organisation's policy and influencing work on a range of issues, in particular women's rights, food and climate justice, and resilience. Prior to joining Oxfam, Lauren worked for five years at the International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development, where she was responsible for managing human rights programmes in the Americas. She has also worked with Planned Parenthood and the International Rescue Committee (IRC) to tackle gender-based violence and promote women's reproductive rights in sub-Saharan Africa and in East Timor. She holds Master's degrees in International Affairs from Columbia University and the Institute of Political Science in Paris.

Ines Smyth

Ines Smyth is a feminist with a PhD in Social Anthropology. She has been a researcher and lecturer in various academic institutions, and the Leading Gender Specialist at the Asian Development Bank. She is currently Senior Gender Advisor at Oxfam Great Britain and works in development, advocacy and humanitarian issues and contexts. Her areas of expertise span organisational gender mainstreaming, gender training, gender-based violence / violence against women, Disaster Risk Reduction and resilience, and women's political participation and their employment. She is the author of and contributor to a number of publications, including a seminal book on gender analysis frameworks, the results of research on the gendered impact of mortality from disasters and, more recently, an IDS Working Paper on feminists in development bureaucracies.

Country-specific contributors

Dalitso Baloyi (Malawi Country Group Task Force Coordinator)

Dalitso Baloyi has vast experience working in international organisations. He has worked with World Vision International, Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) and Build On and is currently working with Winrock International in the capacity of Programme Director in Malawi. He manages a project to reduce child labour. He is a UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) facilitator in challenging sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). He is an experienced trainer in gender-responsive budgeting (GRB). Dalitso has also conducted consultancies for a number of UN organisations and international NGOs in the areas of gender analysis and mainstreaming. He has published several articles on gender and women's empowerment.

Other Malawi Task Force members

Alinafe Chibwana; Betty Liwimbi; Mirriam Mlenga; Mwaiwao Mlenga

Kidist Gebreselassie Gebremariam (Ethiopia Research Team Coordinator)

Kidist Gebreselassie Gebremariam is an Assistant Professor and researcher based at the Centre for African Studies at Addis Ababa University, where her key interests are natural resource management, food security, poverty, issues of land ownership, allocation and transfer, gender issues in food security, resource management and economic empowerment. Prior to this, Kidist worked as a consultant for organisations such as the Shebelle Consulting Plc., Forum for Social Studies (FSS), COOPI and the International Maize and Wheat Improvement Centre (CIMMYT) where she undertook socio-economic field research in the areas of climate adaptation,

alternative energy, food security, gender analysis and women's economic empowerment. Kidist also worked at the Department of Agricultural Economics and Extension, Jimma University, lecturing in economics, farm management, statistics, population education, and cooperative organisation and management. Kidist has a PhD in Social Sciences from Wageningen University and undertakes research which focuses on environmental economics and natural resource management.

Kidist worked with Bamlaku Alamirew to conduct research in Ethiopia for this report.

Programmatic advisor

Hazel Reeves

Hazel Reeves is a gender equality consultant. As the former manager of BRIDGE, she has extensive experience in research and communications aimed at engaging policy actors and others in the international policy arena on issues of gender equality, women's rights and empowerment. She is currently a member of the BRIDGE International Advisory Committee. Her particular research interests include issues of representation and gender stereotyping.

The Community of Practice

Nebila Abdulmelik; Mysbah Balagamwala; Catherine Bertini; Priya Bhagowalia; Markus Bürli; Carmen Capriles; Jennie Dey de Pryck; Nurgul Dzanaeva; Alessandra Galié; Claudia Gimena; Basudha Gurung; Naomi Hossain; Thalia Kidder; Subhalakshmi Nandi; Suniti Neogy; Saro Rengam; Erinch Sahan; Reetu Sogani; Gry Synnevag; Patrick Teixeira; Zenebe Uraguchi; Alvaro Valverde; Marc Wegerif

BRIDGE team

Georgina Aboud (programme manager and co-author)

Georgina Aboud is a gender convenor for BRIDGE based in the Knowledge Services team at the UK Institute of Development Studies (IDS) with expertise in gender and climate change. Prior to her BRIDGE role she worked at the Department for International Development as a consultant, as well as for the Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC), and for Eldis as the Gender, Participation and Migration editor. She has also conducted election support work in Kosovo, Macedonia and Ukraine. Georgina holds an MA in Development Studies from the University of East Anglia.

Alyson Brody (BRIDGE manager and co-author)

Alyson Brody is the manager of BRIDGE and senior gender convenor at IDS. She has over 15 years' experience in the field of gender and social development, with specialist knowledge in Southeast Asian contexts. Alyson holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of London. She has worked with several NGOs on women's and children's rights, and is a former member of the UK Gender and Development Network Advisory Board. Currently she is director of an innovative partnership programme with the World Food Programme that aims to improve organisational learning on gender mainstreaming through participatory processes.

Other contributors

Vital support was received from several colleagues and external specialists, including Adrian Bannister, Tom Barker, Jenny Birchall, Paola Brambilla, Amy Hall, Carl Jackson, Peter Mason, Elaine Mercer and Katherine Pittore.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CFA	Comprehensive Framework for Action
CFS	Committee for World Food Security
DFID	UK Department for International Development
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
GBV	Gender-based violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HLTF	United Nations High Level Task Force on the Global Food Security Crisis
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
INGO	International non-governmental organisation
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

Executive Summary

A woman collects her rice ration as part of the
Nepal Food Corporation's food distribution programme
Photographer: Basudha Gurung

Why focus on gender and food security?

There is more than enough food in the world to feed everyone, but the number of people affected by hunger and malnutrition is still 'unacceptably high' (FAO 2014:4),[1] with disproportionate impacts on women and girls. Reversing this shocking trend must be a top priority for governments and international institutions. Responses must treat food insecurity as an equality, rights and social justice issue.

Food and nutrition insecurity is a political and economic phenomenon fuelled by inequitable global and national processes. It is also an environmental issue. Increasingly unsustainable methods of intensive agriculture, livestock farming and fishing are resulting in air pollution and food and water erosion, which are contributing to climate change and food insecurity.

Most importantly, food and nutrition insecurity is a gender justice issue. Low status and lack of access to resources mean that women and girls are the most disadvantaged by the inequitable global economic processes that govern food systems and by global trends such as climate change. Evidence shows strong correlations between gender inequality and food and nutrition insecurity – for example, despite rapid economic growth in India, thousands of women and girls still lack food and nutrition security as a direct result of their lower status compared with men and boys. Such inequalities are compounded by women and girls' often limited access to productive resources, education and decision-making, by the 'normalised' burden of unpaid work – including care work – and by the endemic problems of gender-based violence (GBV), HIV and AIDS.

At the same time, women literally 'feed the world'. Despite often limited access to either local or global markets they constitute the majority of food producers in the world and usually manage their families' nutritional needs. They achieve this despite entrenched gendered inequalities and increasing volatility of food prices. Yet their own food security and nutrition needs – and often those of their daughters – are being neglected at the household level, where discriminatory social and cultural norms prevail.

Defining food security

This report uses the 1996 World Food Summit definition of food security as a starting point:

Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.
(FAO 1996)

Yet the report also calls for a new, gender-aware definition of food security, arguing that partial, apolitical and gender-blind diagnoses of the problem of food insecurity, and the failure to realise the right to food for all people, are leading to insufficient policy responses. Also, despite being inextricably connected with food insecurity, nutrition and nutritional outcomes are weakly represented in current definitions of food security.

---

1   Conservative estimates indicate that the number of people experiencing extreme, chronic undernourishment was at least 805 million between 2012 and 2014 (FAO 2014).

Assessing the gender dimensions of food and nutrition insecurity and policy responses

The report provides a comprehensive gender analysis of food and nutrition insecurity, highlighting the multiple gendered causes and impacts and revealing the ways in which persistent underlying gender inequalities conspire to increase the susceptibility of women and girls to poverty, hunger and malnutrition. The 'four pillars' of food security – availability, access, utilisation and stability – that were identified at the World Summit on Food Security in 2009 provide useful entry points for a more comprehensive analysis of the problem of food insecurity and for addressing the current, insufficient, policy responses.

The analysis highlights the need for those designing food and nutrition security policies and programmes to go beyond a focus on the first pillar of ensuring the **availability** of food in poor countries through 'short-term' strategies of food assistance and longer-term strategies focused on boosting agricultural production, which are reliant on industrial models and trade liberalisation. Although these policies stress the importance of investing in small-scale farmers, including women farmers, they are unlikely to benefit these groups unless the current inequitable systems of global trade, finance, agricultural production and distribution, which benefit rich producers and large-scale agribusiness, are transformed.

Policymakers are recognising, in an instrumental way, the value of rural women producers as an 'untapped' resource for both guaranteeing food and nutrition in households and driving economic growth. There is a recognition of the need to redress gender imbalances in women's access to productive resources such as land, water and credit. Yet without well-informed, properly financed efforts to address the root causes of gender inequality and empower women in ways that go beyond financial gain – including by valuing their knowledge, recognising and reducing their often unpaid labour and addressing GBV – the cycle of gender discrimination will continue, perpetuating gender injustice, poverty and food insecurity. If responses to hunger and malnutrition are to both enable food and nutrition security and contribute to gender equality and women's empowerment, a commitment to gender transformation is non-negotiable.

From a gender, inequalities and rights perspective the **access** pillar is crucial. Tackling people's access to food and nutrition requires more politically engaged analysis and solutions which challenge the gender dimensions of poverty and address gender-inequitable power relations and norms, including within the household. **Utilisation**, the extent to which food is meeting nutritional needs, is highly important from a gender perspective, as around 60 per cent of undernourished people in the world are women and girls. However the high-level focus on agricultural production fails to link up with the need to achieve nutritional outcomes at the individual and household level.

It is also vital to pay far greater attention to the global, national and local factors that affect the **stability** of food production, distribution and consumption. Food systems are governed by global macroeconomic processes around trade, investment and finance that affect poor countries' food supply and stability. Structural adjustment policies that obliged many developing countries to lower their import tariffs and cut investments in agriculture have created dependencies on food imports and increased susceptibility to rising global food prices. Women are disproportionately affected by these global trends. They are making gendered choices about who will receive the most nutritious food, often restricting their own food intake and that of their daughters in favour of male family members.

Global and national policies leave small farmers disadvantaged, and women farmers, in particular, have struggled to manage agricultural livelihoods when local markets are flooded with cheap imported goods, and prices of seeds and other inputs have increased exponentially. The emphasis on intensive, large-scale agricultural production has contributed to environmental degradation, which in turn is exacerbating climate change, with disproportionate impacts on women and girls. The persistent and growing crisis of conflict in many developing countries is further compounding these problems.

However, analyses solely using the 'four pillars' fail to adequately take into account issues of gender inequality, human rights and the right to food. The relatively limited perspective offered by the pillars means that issues such as GBV, women's unpaid care responsibilities, HIV and AIDS are often missing from food security analyses.

Promising practices, policies and programmes

The report identifies examples of practices, policies and programmes at the regional, national and local levels that use strategies that are often simple, yet innovative, to address food security in rights-focused, gender-aware and often gender-transformative ways. The strategies share a common thread of responding to identified problems relating to food security *and* gender inequality, and of seeking responses that are often participatory, empowering, locally owned and environmentally sustainable. They include strategies, at all levels, that:

- enhance coherence between policies on gender, agriculture, nutrition, health, trade and other relevant areas, through national and regional processes;
- recognise and respect the local knowledge of farmers, including women farmers, for developing locally relevant food and nutrition security solutions which are gender just;
- develop ecologically sound approaches to food production, such as agro-ecology, that promote sustainable farming and women's empowerment;
- promote the implementation of all people's rights to food and, in particular, women's rights to other resources, such as land, at the local level; and
- engage women and men in challenging the inequitable distribution of food within the household.

Key principles and recommendations for achieving gender-just food security

Three clear messages emerge from the report:

- Reversing hunger, malnutrition and poverty must be a top global priority.
- To do this, we need to prioritise gender equality and human rights and understand that they are primary requirements for the achievement of food and nutrition security.
- The current disconnected, 'siloed' ways in which hunger and malnutrition are being addressed limit our ability to understand the full nature of the problem and to develop the solutions required. We need comprehensive analysis and action.

Reframing understandings of food security and insecurity

As a means to these ends we need to develop a process for a shared reframing of food insecurity and a shared vision of gender-just food and nutrition security:

- There is a need to strengthen the recognition that all people – women as well as men – have an **inalienable right to food** already made formal through international frameworks, and that there is an imperative to strengthen political will, commitment and action to uphold these rights, including women's rights.

- It is vital to redefine the problem of **food insecurity as social injustice** in more political, people-centred ways that recognise the deep intersections between hunger, gender injustice and rights violation – and the central role of unequal systems of food production, distribution and trade in creating the current problem. A focus on social injustice necessitates addressing the gender-inequitable distribution of food within households.

- Policies and programmes must be developed with **gender justice and women's empowerment** at their heart, as both a means to food and nutrition security and as an end goal.

- A **shared vision for gender-just food security** is needed (see below for a preliminary vision), which must inform a r**evised definition of food and nutrition security**.

A preliminary vision for gender-just food and nutrition security

Gender-just food and nutrition security means a world without hunger, where women, men, girls and boys have equal access to nutritious, healthy food, and access to the means to produce, sell and purchase food. It is a world where the right to food for all is realised. Importantly it is a world free of gender-based violence, where the roles, responsibilities, opportunities and choices available to women and men – including unpaid caregiving and food provision – are not predetermined at birth but can, where possible, be developed in line with individual capacities and aspirations. Finally, it is a world where countries are equipped to produce enough food for their own populations through environmentally sound processes, while also being able to participate in (gender-) equitable global and regional food trading systems.

Five core principles must underpin thinking and action on food security:

1. **A commitment to rights** must be at the heart of all food and nutrition security interventions. This means recognising the right to adequate food for all and respecting the intersecting domains of human and women's rights.

2. **Solutions must be people-centred**, giving voice to the women and men who are producing and consuming food.

3. **Solutions must be gender-transformative**, promoting gender justice and women's empowerment and the transformation of unequal gender power relations, both as a route to food and nutrition security and as goals in their own right.

4. **Solutions should prioritise stable national and global economies**, supporting gender-equitable trade and investment policies that promote the local production of culturally appropriate food through sustainable methods, and the ability of States and people to define their food and agricultural systems.

5. **Solutions must be ecologically sustainable and respect local knowledge and rights**, moving beyond market-based solutions to agro-ecological modes of production that respect local knowledge of agriculture, including women's knowledge.

Recommendations for translating these principles into practice:

- **Develop and implement strategies and instruments for protecting, recognising and realising rights:** Formal legislation provides a vital mechanism for claiming rights to food and resources such as land, but it is vital to put these laws into practice and ensure all people – especially women – are informed about their rights and how to claim them.

- **Develop gender-aware programming that goes beyond 'instrumentalising' women:** Move towards more comprehensive, contextualised gender analyses that revolve around understandings of power relations and socio-cultural dynamics, to facilitate the subtle shift in thinking and action that is needed in relation to women and food security. As part of this analysis it is vital to address the invisible issues of women's unpaid care work and GBV.

- **Recognise and evaluate the multiple dimensions of women's empowerment in food security programming:** This requires the development of appropriate and relevant indicators of empowerment that are more able to capture the quality of women's lives, including the material, social, cultural and human dimensions.

- **Engage men and boys in promoting gender-just food security:** There is a transformative potential of engaging men and boys towards both understanding and challenging gender norms around food and also changing norms and behaviours that may result in violence or prevent men from sharing care responsibilities.

- **Support women's collective action as a lever of change:** Creating and supporting women-only groups of producers can provide a means to strengthen women's bargaining power in both producing and selling goods, and strengthen women's empowerment more broadly.

- **Invest in gender-aware agro-ecological approaches** as an important means to prioritise women's existing knowledge and to promote increases in yield with low input and at no cost to the environment.

- **Facilitate access to information and appropriate technologies**, which can play a valuable role in addressing the gender gaps in food production, for ensuring improved nutrition outcomes within households and for empowering women through knowledge and tools.

- **Commit to more coherent, well-funded gender-aware policies, processes and institutions:** Move beyond policy silos towards more connected, multisectoral approaches to ensure that positive, equitable actions in one policy area are not undermined by inequalities created by another. Ensure these policies and institutions support commitments to gender justice through gender-responsive budgeting.

- **Commit to gender-just governance of food and nutrition security solutions:** Address the unacceptable gender imbalance in decision-making around food and nutrition security in policy spaces through targeted strategies that include challenging the 'deep structures' of organisations that perpetuate exclusionary practices.

- **Develop stronger accountability mechanisms** for governments, rights bodies and global institutions, as well as for NGOs and the private sector, including large agri-businesses. These mechanisms must be founded on appropriate and relevant indicators that are able to capture the qualitative social and cultural dimensions of food insecurity, and the gender power relations that underlie these.

- **Invest in new research and evidence-generation:** It is vital to fund and undertake new research that will improve understanding of the gender implications of food insecurity, including gender-based food discrimination within the household, and enable the development of informed, people-centred solutions.

- **Create spaces and opportunities for dialogue:** The collaborative process that lies behind this report has highlighted the immense value of bringing together people who are pushing for a gender-transformative agenda in relation to food and nutrition security. What is most needed is the space for dialogue among varying groups to understand, reflect and share and apply their knowledge and experience with conviction.

1 Introduction

Girl selling plums by the roadside, Malawi
Photographer: Naomi Hossain

Gender justice[2] – that is, the realisation of women's rights as human rights –
and ending hunger, are closely entwined, interdependent goals. Solving hunger
now and in the future involves challenging the current global development
model which permits – and is driven by – inequality.
(Sweetman 2012: 1)

---

2   **Gender justice** means equal treatment of women and men, equal access to entitlements and choice, absence of
discrimination based on gender, and equal rights (based on a definition from Goetz 2007).

1.1. Why focus on gender[3] and food security?

There is more than enough food in the world to feed everyone, but the number of people who do not have enough to eat remains 'unacceptably high' (FAO 2014: 4). Even though the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) target 1c of halving the proportion of undernourished people globally by 2015 is 'within reach' (ibid), conservative estimates indicate that the overall number of people in the world experiencing extreme, chronic malnourishment[4] was at least 805 million between 2012 and 2014 (FAO 2014). However these figures underestimate the true magnitude of hunger and malnutrition. In particular, they fail to reflect the micronutrient deficiency, or 'hidden hunger'[5] (FAO 2012: 23) that affects 2 billion of the world's population, contributing to child stunting and increased rates of illness and death (IFPRI, Concern et. al. 2013). This means we are far from achieving the World Food Summit (WFS)[6] target of halving the number of malnourished people by 2015.

Whole populations are being affected by food insecurity, but the emerging evidence strongly indicates that women and girls are experiencing the impacts the most acutely: at least 60 per cent of malnourished people are women and girls (UN ECOSOC 2007; WFP 2009). There is a close correlation between higher levels of gender inequality and food insecurity, malnutrition (FAO 2012) and other nutrition deficiencies. For example, despite rapid economic growth in India, thousands of women and girls still lack food and nutrition security, largely because of entrenched gender inequalities in many areas (Ramachandran 2006: 1; FAO 2012). These deep gender inequalities in food security exist even though women constitute the majority of food producers in the world and are often managing their families' nutritional needs (see Chapter 2). Poor women are often doing this despite gendered norms and constraints that restrict their access to productive resources, and global and national forces that force down the market value of their own produce while raising prices of food they need to purchase. In addition, women's own nutritional needs – and often those of their daughters – are being neglected because they are considered of lower status and less of a priority than men and boys in many cultures.

---

3   **Gender** refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relationships among women and among men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed. This means that they are constructed or produced by society and as such can be modified or changed (UN Women website).

4   The Food and Agriculture Organization defines malnutrition as 'An abnormal physiological condition caused by inadequate, unbalanced or excessive consumption of macronutrients and/or micronutrients. Malnutrition includes undernutrition and overnutrition as well as micronutrient deficiencies' (www.fao.org/hunger/en/).

5   The term describes deficiencies in essential vitamins and minerals, such as vitamin A, iron and iodine. Hidden hunger can weaken the mental and physical development of children and adolescents, and reduce the productivity of adults. The economic cost of micronutrient deficiencies is estimated at 2.4 to 10 per cent of GDP in many developing countries (Shenggan Fan, 2012; Stein and Qaim, 2007).

6   The World Food Summit took place in November 1996, attended by representatives from 185 countries. It was called in response to the continued existence of widespread malnutrition and growing concerns about the capacity of agriculture to meet future food needs. The summit led to the adoption of the Rome Declaration on World Food Security and the World Food Summit Plan of Action. The meeting set the political, conceptual and technical blueprint for eradicating hunger in all countries and contributed to the framing of MDG1 on Poverty Reduction and Hunger (www.fao.org/wfs/index_en.htm).

Who is malnourished, and where do they live?

Around three quarters of undernourished people live in low-income rural areas. However, the number of those who are hungry is rising in urban areas as trends toward urbanisation continue at an accelerated pace. The overwhelming majority of these people – 791 million (FAO 2014: 8) – live in developing countries. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest percentage of those undernourished (approximately one in four people), though that number varies by country (FAO 2014). Malnutrition is a critical concern in the poorest countries of the world and is closely associated with overall low food intake.

This report starts with the questions: 'Why do hunger and malnutrition continue to exist in a world where everyone should be guaranteed the basic right to adequate, nutritious food?'; 'Why and how are women and girls so disproportionately affected by hunger?'; 'In what ways do unequal gender power relations both create and perpetuate experiences of food and nutrition insecurity?'; 'Why are women and girls' vital contributions to food production unrecognised and invisible?'; 'How can gender-just solutions to food and nutrition insecurity be created that promote gender equality[7] and women's empowerment,[8] and alleviate hunger and malnutrition for all?'

The report recognises a growing interest by policymakers, practitioners and researchers in the intersections between gender and food and nutrition security. Certainly the 'gender blindness'[9] associated with the subject of food security is beginning to lift. However, there are still many contradictions and gaps relating to gender and food security that remain problematic. These are critically examined in the report, with a view to providing some practical ways forward.

1.2. What are the key concerns and messages of this report?

The gender inequalities that are contributing to and exacerbating hunger and malnutrition are critically assessed throughout this report, with clear examples that ground them in the realities of people's lives and amplify the complex gender dimensions of food insecurity. The report maps the policy landscape with regard to gender and food and nutrition security, taking a critical look at concepts, frameworks, agreements, principles and policies that are shaping responses to the crisis of food insecurity. It argues that there are many positives to be embraced in current thinking, policy and practice, but there are also significant caveats in relation to how 'the problem' and its solutions are being understood.

---

7   **Gender equality** refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, recognising the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centred development (UN Women website).

8   Drawing on the Pathways of Women's Empowerment Programme (www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/) definition, we see **women's empowerment** as encompassing their social, economic and political empowerment. Social empowerment refers to positive changes in women's status whereby they are increasingly free to make their own life choices. Economic empowerment is the extent to which women can equally benefit from economic activities and their full contribution is recognised and supported. Lastly, political empowerment is about women being able to express their demands in political processes that affect them directly. These three forms of empowerment are mutually reinforcing (taken from Budlender and Moussie 2013: 23).

9   **Gender-blind** policies and approaches have an implicit male bias that privileges male needs, interests and priorities in the distribution of opportunities and resources. By contrast, **gender-aware** policies and approaches recognise that development actors are women as well as men, that they are constrained in different and often unequal ways and that they may consequently have differing – and sometimes conflicting – needs and priorities (Kabeer and Subrahmanian 1996).

The report calls for an urgent need to go beyond a focus on ensuring the availability of food in poor countries through a 'twin-track' approach that promotes short-term strategies of providing food assistance and longer-term strategies of economic growth through intensive agricultural development and trade liberalisation. It argues that increasing the productive capacity of poor rural women and men and investing in agriculture is essential. However, these strategies leave many questions unanswered such as 'How can we address women's unequal access to productive resources and markets?'; 'How can we ensure food is equally distributed between women and men, girls and boys at the household level?'; and 'How will underlying causes of gender inequality be addressed?' Additionally, they do little to challenge the economically and environmentally unsustainable policies that are perpetuating food security and malnutrition, and deepening inequalities between women and men and between countries.

As we will argue, this narrow interpretation of the problem of hunger and its solutions limits the effectiveness of food security policies, preventing them from effectively reaching the women and girls who are most affected by hunger and malnutrition, addressing the cycles of discrimination that drive food insecurity and in some cases from identifying the specific needs of vulnerable men and boys. Significantly, opportunities are being missed to *transform*[10] gender inequalities and empower women and girls in ways that promote their social status, widen their life choices, recognise and reduce their burden of unpaid care work and end the global scandal of GBV.

The report argues that if responses to hunger are to both enable gender-just food and nutrition security and contribute to gender equality and women's empowerment, a commitment to gender transformation is non-negotiable. As part of this process there is a vital need for comprehensive, gender-aware strategies that are grounded in an evidence-based understanding of the complex gendered causes and impacts of hunger and malnutrition, and are coherent across a range of policies and actions. They need to acknowledge that food insecurity is a political and economic phenomenon fuelled by unequal power relations at global, national, community and household levels. Food production, processing, distribution, consumption and utilisation do not happen in isolation from global, regional and national value chains that are male-biased, motivated by profit and benefit rich countries, and profit-making companies and individuals. At the same time large areas of the planet lack capacity for food production for various reasons, including lack of investment in the rural sector and the marginalisation of small-scale farmers.

These strategies need to recognise that food is intrinsically social and cultural. Food preferences and social norms around what is eaten, when, how and by whom are all embedded in social practices from the moment of birth (see, for example, Pottier 1999). These socio-cultural norms are gendered in specific and often discriminatory ways,[11] so that even when food is available many women and girls have less access to it at the household level. Yet often these norms are so woven into the threads of people's lives that they appear natural and are unquestioned.

Strategies also need to address the fact that unsustainable food systems are contributing to environmental degradation, which in turn is exacerbating food scarcity and food price volatility. The global food market has been dominated by large-scale farming for export, including mono-cropping for food and energy consumption. These have resulted in soil and water pollution and significantly increased greenhouse gas emissions over time, leading to global climate change (see Skinner 2011). As food

---

10 **Gender-transformative** approaches seek to transform gender roles and promote more gender-equitable relationships between men and women (Barker, Ricardo and Nascimento 2007: 4).

11 For example, in parts of southern India women and girls are expected to eat after the males in their families, which often means they are left only with scraps (see Ramachandran 2006).

producers and providers it is women, and often girls, who are being most seriously affected by these phenomena.

Above all, strategies to address hunger and malnutrition must be informed by a clear vision of **gender-just food and nutrition security**. The components of this vision, and pathways for achieving it, will be elucidated through the report and summarised in Chapter 6. However, in short, gender-just food and nutrition security would be grounded in a fundamental respect for human rights and dignity, and the recognition that everyone has the right to decent, nutritious food produced in environmentally sustainable ways. Gender-just approaches to food and nutrition security would confront and transform the gender inequalities that perpetuate and exacerbate experiences of food insecurity, while addressing the existing problem of women and girls' inequitable access to food. They would respond to the food and nutrition security needs of women and girls of all ages, and address the particular vulnerabilities of marginalised men and boys.

Gender-just food and nutrition security would be measured in ways that go beyond narrow economic measures, and would be able to capture shifts in well-being, attitudes, behaviours and gender norms. To achieve gender-just food and nutrition security, strategies and interventions would be informed by learning from policies, programmes and practices at all levels.

1.3. How are we defining food security?

Food security is an evolving and flexible concept, with over 200 definitions in published documents. For the purpose of the report, we apply the definition developed at the 1996 World Food Summit and used widely by UN organisations, which states:

Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, *safe and nutritious* food to meet their dietary needs and *food preferences* for an active and healthy life.
(FAO 1996)

This report also refers to the 'four pillars' of food security that were identified during the World Summit on Food Security in 2009. The components of the four pillars are:[12]

1. **Availability:** Sufficient quantities of food either from domestic production or from imports, and for such food to be consistently available to individuals within their reach or within reasonable proximity. This also includes an adequate level of supply either from the capacity to produce the total amount of food required by the population or by having the resources to purchase food requirements when necessary.

2. **Access**: Each household to have physical, social and economic access to enough food to meet its needs. This means that each household must have the knowledge and the ability to produce or procure the food that it needs on a sustainable basis.

3. **Utilisation**: This refers to the utilisation of food to meet the specific dietary and nutritional needs of individuals. It also includes proper food processing and storage techniques, as well as adequate health and sanitation services.

4. **Stability:** A reasonable degree of stability in the food supply from one year to the next and during the year. This would also mean having adequate food storage capacities or other means of savings for times of crop failure or other emergencies.

---

12 These definitions are based on FAO (2006) and FAO (2009b).

These pillars allow for a more comprehensive analysis of the complex dimensions of food security, but they lack a comprehensive gender focus, a point discussed in detail in Chapter 3. While using the World Summit on Food Security definition of food security and the four pillars as a starting point, Chapter 6 highlights key principles and recommendations that should inform a revised, gender-aware definition that will contribute to the achievement of gender-just food and nutrition security.

1.4. Who is this report intended for?

This report is intended to inform policy, practice and research so that they contribute to the achievement of gender-just food and nutrition security. It is aimed at gender and development professionals working in rights, policy, practice and research who wish to have a clearer understanding of the complex issues surrounding gender and food security and of key areas for policy and programme development, advocacy and activism. It is also intended to speak to development professionals working in food and nutrition security-related sectors and other relevant areas who wish to plan and implement solutions to hunger and malnutrition in gender-aware and environmentally sustainable ways that promote more effective food and nutrition security outcomes as well as gender equality and women's empowerment.

1.5. How was the report produced?

The report is the result of a truly collaborative and participatory process, involving BRIDGE team members; a core Working Group of experts on food and nutrition security and gender from Asia, Africa (including Francophone regions), Latin America, North America and Europe (see acknowledgements for a list of Working Group members); country-specific work in Malawi and Ethiopia; and a global Community of Practice composed of over 40 participants from research, policy, grass-roots activism, NGOs and INGOs in multiple countries (see acknowledgments for a full list). BRIDGE has worked closely with all the members to ensure their perspectives and advice inform the report.

In May 2014 a facilitated e-discussion was held with Working Group members and the global Community of Practice, to address three core questions: 'How well do food and nutrition security policies serve the needs of women and gender equality?'; 'What can we learn from action and practice on gender and food and nutrition security?'; and 'Do we have the evidence needed to push for a gender-transformative approach to food security?' The e-discussion was attended by 43 people and generated over 100 engaging posts. The themes and concerns emerging from the discussion have been instrumental in the development of the report, and some of the contributions are cited. Additionally, individual members of the Community of Practice and Working Group provided short case studies for inclusion in the report, to ensure the reflection of innovative, emerging examples of policy and practice in different countries.

Finally, country-specific activities in Malawi and Ethiopia have contributed to the richness of the process and the report content. In Malawi a multi-stakeholder working group was established to look at current Malawian food and nutrition security approaches, identify gaps and promote gender-just change. In Ethiopia participatory and collaborative research examined gender dynamics, coping strategies and examples of good practice around food and nutrition security in urban areas. Insights and information emerging from these processes are reflected in the report and have informed its key messages. The cases of Malawi and Ethiopia provide useful entry points for analysis. Both countries have problems of chronic poverty and hunger, but with quite different contexts and policy responses.

1.6. Summary of chapters

Chapter 2 provides a window on the gendered implications of food and nutrition insecurity, using the four pillars of availability, access, utilisation and stability as entry points. Through an analysis of available evidence the chapter outlines ways in which women's contributions to food and nutrition security are being undervalued and undermined by implicit and explicit forms of gender discrimination at household, national and global levels. The chapter maps ways in which broad global trends, including unstable, inequitable agricultural, trade and finance policies, climate change and conflict exacerbate food insecurity and inequalities for women and girls in particular. It also draws attention to the issues of women's unpaid care work, GBV, HIV and AIDS, which intensify experiences of food insecurity but are not being adequately addressed in food and nutrition security interventions.

Chapter 3 takes a gender-critical perspective on the key notions of 'food security' and 'right to food', asking how useful they are for framing the problems of hunger and malnutrition in gender-aware ways and for addressing the unequal gender and power relations that exacerbate and are exacerbated by food insecurity. It assesses the four pillars through a gender lens. The chapter also explores the alternative approach of 'food sovereignty', asking what it could offer for the provision of more gender-just, people-focused and rights-based food and nutrition security.

Chapter 4 takes a critical look at the processes, thinking and frameworks that are shaping policy responses to food insecurity and malnutrition. The chapter provides insights into the global architecture which is influencing food and nutrition policy, examining opportunities as well as barriers to progress from a gender equality perspective. The chapter provides a critical gender analysis of the 'twin-track' approach of providing food assistance to address the immediate problem of hunger and enhanced production, coupled with trade liberalisation as a key part of longer-term strategies to mitigate food insecurity and promote economic growth. It argues that without a commitment to transforming gender inequalities and without fundamental changes to agricultural, trade and finance policies, the twin-track approach will fall short of success.

Chapter 5 highlights effective, innovative examples of food and nutrition security policies, processes and interventions at the regional, national and local levels. Case studies from a range of developing-country contexts demonstrate how rights, gender justice and environmental sustainability can be practically realised in the context of food and nutrition security. The chapter is intended to contribute to a process of mutual learning and dialogue that can help to advance the development of more gender-just, sustainable solutions to hunger and malnutrition. It benefits greatly from case studies provided by the Working Group and Community of Practice members.

Drawing on insights from across the report, **Chapter 6** provides a set of key principles and recommendations for moving towards gender-just food and nutrition security.

2 Mapping the Gender Dimensions of Food and Nutrition Security[13]

Agricultural biodiversity in a Peruvian market
Photographer: Bioversity International/A. Camacho via Flickr (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)

Many programmes fail to recognise the diversity of women's lived experiences. Women are often targeted as a group for the needs or vulnerabilities as mothers, or as farmers… However, a holistic approach is rarely used to understand and address the many forms of discrimination and inequality that affect them in relation to food security.
(Lauren Ravon, BRIDGE e-discussion, 2014)[14]

Hunger, malnutrition and poverty are intrinsically human phenomena, yet they are too often discussed in abstract, de-contextualised ways that are far removed from people's own experiences and fail to adequately understand how they engage in food systems. In particular, food security and nutrition programmes often fail to examine the different contributions made by women and men within these systems, and the specific constraints they face. There is also a failure to link experiences of food insecurity and malnutrition on the ground with the gendered inequalities that often lie at the heart of food systems at global, regional, national, local and household levels.

---

13 Chapter 2 is drafted by Alexandra Spieldoch and builds on the work of Zo Randriamaro and Cathy Farnworth, as well as taking into account feedback from the Working Group and the BRIDGE team.

14 See Chapter 1 for details of the e-discussion, and acknowledgements for a full list of participants.

In response, this chapter takes a critical look at systems of food production, consumption and distribution through a gender lens. It uses the four pillars of availability, access, utilisation and stability as entry points for understanding the gendered causes of food insecurity and malnutrition and the ways in which they shape people's realities. The chapter focuses particularly on the discriminatory social and cultural norms which restrict women and girls' access to adequate nutritious food and undermine their contributions to food production. It also explores the broad global economic trends and the connected issues of climate change and conflict that are contributing to food insecurity and gender inequality, with specific implications for women and girls. The chapter goes on to highlight the limitations of the four pillars for framing issues of food insecurity, as they render invisible the critical issues of women's unpaid care work, GBV, HIV and AIDS that need to be an integral part of food and nutrition insecurity analyses and solutions.

2.1. Availability of food and nutrition

Gender analysis shows us that women literally 'feed the world', as producers, processors, cooks and servers of food. However, women's vast contribution to food production, and their key role as consumers and family carers, is still largely misunderstood and underestimated.
(Sweetman 2012: 1)

Conversations around food security are often centred on helping farmers to improve production through increased yields and output (see Chapter 4). Yet there is little detailed focus on who is producing our food, and only a limited amount of gender-disaggregated data. The available information indicates that women – and often girls – are heavily involved in all aspects of agricultural production, processing and distribution. They are, therefore, vital contributors to food security, yet ironically much of their work, both paid and unpaid, is unrecognised. There is also little information on women's specific knowledge and skills in relation to agricultural production, on gender divisions of agricultural labour and on the specific ways in which their access to productive resources is often limited by inherent social and economic norms. This section aims to provide a balanced picture of these gender dynamics in relation to food availability, with a focus on production.

2.1.1. Gender roles in food production: women's 'invisible' knowledge and labour

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reports that women comprise around 43 per cent of the agricultural labour force in developing countries. The percentage is as high as, or even higher than, 80 per cent in some countries in sub-Saharan Africa (FAO 2011b): 'the vast majority of food production that is attributable to women makes them the *principle* agents of food security and household welfare in rural areas' (IFAD 2009: 1). Women work as unpaid family labourers; self-employed producers; on- and off-farm employees; entrepreneurs; traders and providers of services; and technology researchers and developers (Hill 2011).

Women are largely responsible for production that benefits local consumption, including subsistence crops such as legumes and vegetables, on smaller plots and more marginal lands. Certain crops are often identified as women's or men's crops, and men tend to produce more cash crops. However, roles vary, as do tasks, and in practice the divisions are blurred. For example, men may help to prepare the plots on which 'women's crops' grow, and women may be involved in weeding 'men's crops'. Because

women lack access to capital and resources, their decisions about what they grow are more limited (Guendel 2009). For example, a study in rural Kenya showed that men were responsible for building the granary and women were responsible for hand digging, harvesting and transporting the crops. In another example, women farmers in Ghana chose to cultivate yams and cassava over maize – traditionally a man's crop. This decision was made because these crops require fewer external inputs and are cheaper to grow, not because they are 'women's crops' (*ibid.*).

Despite their vital contributions, women often do not take credit for much of their farming labour, including laborious work such as weeding and post-harvest processing as well as food preparation, not to mention fuel and water collection and the myriad of other household tasks they perform, which directly contribute to food availability and access.

As paid labourers, women often find employment on commercial farms such as those growing fruit, vegetables and flowers for export. Their work tends to be more precarious and underpaid than that of men. In many cases, they also face sexual discrimination and violence in the fields and factories (Spieldoch 2007). In areas such as livestock production and agroforestry, women's contributions are hardly counted. For example, although two thirds of the world's 900 million poor livestock keepers are rural women,[15] few interventions take this into account, and little research has been conducted to better understand these activities (Kristjanson *et al.* 2010: 2).

Women's participation in agroforestry is high in certain areas such as indigenous fruit and vegetable products and processing. For example, in Benin, 90 per cent of women collect nuts / fruits of the shea tree. In Cameroon, women and children collect the leaves of *Gnetum africanum*,[16] which is used as a vegetable (Kiptot and Franzel 2011). However, often products collected by women have little or no commercial value, whereas men reserve higher-value products for themselves.

Globally, 54.8 million people are engaged in capture fisheries and aquaculture, and 48 million of those can be found in Asia. Women account for half of the global fisheries workforce. They are more active in artisanal fishing and accompanying services such as gathering shells, making nets and administrative tasks than commercial fishing. However, their wages are typically lower than men's. For example, in Bangladesh, a study found that women received 64 per cent less than men for catching and sorting post-larval-stage shrimp, 82 per cent less for casual labour, 72 per cent less for processing and packaging, and 60 per cent less for cooking and breading activities (ADB 2013).

Women also play a key role in food and agricultural processing at the home and community level. This processing work is vital for turning raw grains, roots, tubers, pulses, vegetables, milk, fish and other products into nutritious, safe food, yet it is often not recognised, '*perhaps because women do a lot of this work and it is less "glamorous" as a research subject or policy issue*' (Jennie Dey de Pryck, BRIDGE e-discussion, 2014).

---

15 Generally, women livestock keepers own smaller animals than men, and control goats, sheep, pigs and poultry, whereas men own cattle, horses and camels (Köhler-Rollefson 2012).

16 Gnetum (Gnetum africanum and G. buchholzianum) is a climbing vine found in the tropical rainforest of West and Central Africa. The leaves are highly valued as a nutritious green vegetable (www.fao.org/docrep/ARTICLE/WFC/XII/0671-B5.HTM).

Taking girls' role in agriculture into account

Much of the literature taking a more gender-aware approach to gender and food security tends to focus on women, or to consider women and girls under the same category. However, girls' contributions are vital to agricultural production and food availability. They are often integrally involved in work on farms and in households, with their workload increasing as they grow older. Alongside their mothers, their work is undercounted and undervalued. Their rights and their contributions to food production and the care economy are often ignored, leading to inadequate policy interventions (Chicago Research Council 2011).

2.1.2. Gender-inequitable access to resources

The fact that women and girls' productive work is often unrecognised and undervalued is contributing to gender inequality and food insecurity, and their skills are being overlooked in agricultural programming. Their productive capacity is also being undermined due to their lack of access to productive resources such as land, seeds and credit. Some of these resource gaps and their gendered implications are explored below.

Gender-inequitable land and property rights

Across the developing world women are less likely to own or operate land; when they do, the land they can access is often of poorer quality and in smaller plots. For example, in Kenya, men's landholdings are on average three times larger, and in Bangladesh, Ecuador and Pakistan they are twice the size of women's (FAO 2011b; also see Razavi 2007a). These gender inequalities not only affect women's status; they have significant implications for food and nutrition security at the level of the household and community. Landesa (2012) reports that where women lack rights or opportunities to own land, there is an average of 60 per cent more malnourished children. They also report that when women have direct control over assets such as land and income, this increases their decision-making power and status, resulting in positive nutritional impacts for them and their families.

Though state laws, including land titling, may protect women's rights to own land, customary laws often take precedence at the local level (see Chapter 5). A number of countries recognise both formal and customary land tenure systems and laws, but there are inherent contradictions in trying to accommodate both systems. For example, in Malawi and many other African countries, formal recognition of women's right to own land co-exists with an often contradictory parallel set of customary laws. When divorced women return to their natal villages they may only use land through male members of the family or are allocated a piece of land by the Chief or their clan members. In other cases, widows are chased away from their natal villages (ActionAid, CARE *et al.* 2012).

A similar situation is true in South Asia. One study of six different countries found that, though formal laws are in place to promote equal rights to land, in practice women's inheritance rights are severely restricted by customs which govern family and social relations (Scalese 2009).

Women's land rights in tribal areas of Pakistan

In the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan, tribal Pushtun women suffer from the highest levels of poverty, illiteracy and poor health not only in Pakistan but in the whole of South Asia. Rigid tribal norms define the women's roles and prevent them from having secure rights to property. Women are restricted in their mobility; have limited or no access to resources, particularly land; have no influence in decision-making, even regarding their own marriage; and are victims of gender-based violence. At the same time women contribute a significant portion of the agricultural labour force through their involvement in a broad range of agricultural activities, but their contribution is not officially recognised. A defining feature of FATA is the fact that the national or state laws of Pakistan do not apply, and Islamic laws take precedence. These in turn are overlaid by tribal norms and culture. Women are systematically denied inheritance and property rights under these tribal codes. (Source: Giovarelli and Agarwal 2007)

These challenges for women become even more pronounced when farmers are pressured to sell their land by governments or agro-businesses which wish to develop it, often taking advantage of weak land laws and rights (see Tandon and Wegerif 2013). Because women are commonly discriminated against in systems of land tenure, their ability to claim legal rights and participate in decision-making activities is often curtailed, and they have no legal recourse. For example, in Guatemala, though the formal law requires both husband and wife to sign any contract of sale on family land, in some cases husbands have sold the land without legal consent (Spieldoch and Murphy 2009; also see Chapter 4).

Gender-inequitable access to markets and credit

There are numerous studies outlining women's limited access to markets compared with men (see, for example, Kabeer and Humphrey 1991; Kabeer 2012; UN DESA 2009). Where women are involved in marketing agroforestry products, they are usually engaged in small-scale retail, while men dominate the wholesale trade. Just as extension systems are generally biased towards men, market information systems also appear to primarily serve men. For example, only 20 per cent of participants in the major market information systems of Kenya and Malawi are women (Kiptot and Franzel 2011).

Many women in developing countries also have less access to resources such as credit and financial capital that could improve their lives substantially and facilitate their entry into markets (IAASTD 2009). According to the FAO, the number of female smallholders who can access credit is up to 10 per cent lower than male smallholders – a fact which perpetuates gender asset gaps in most regions. Ultimately, limited access to resources substantially reduces women's ability to invest in seeds, fertilisers or technology or adopt new agricultural techniques (FAO 2009a).

Microfinance has been a primary tool to help women farmers overcome obstacles to obtaining credit. However, this approach has not always resulted in positive outcomes for them (ADB 2013).[17] Research in Africa shows that increased income, though important, does not always translate into empowerment and can leave them burdened with debt (Baden 2013; Batliwala and Dharanj 2004).

---

17 The World Bank conducted a study in Sri Lanka in the 1990s showing that only about one third of women microcredit beneficiaries went on to establish successful enterprises over a three-year period. The research showed that in some cases women were borrowing money, but male relatives were benefiting (ADB 2013).

Gendered risks and benefits of farmers' organisations

Organised groups, whether formal or informal, help to increase farmers' access to markets, and it is important to prioritise women's leadership and participation within them. However, women who are constantly working in the fields and engaged in unpaid care work at the household level are less likely to participate in more organised farmer groups (Baden 2013). Even when women are free to participate in groups, this may not result in their active involvement. This can be especially true in mixed groups, where women may be silent or their opinions are not taken into account. Sometimes women even face threats and violence when they seek to take on more of a leadership role (Ashby, Hartl *et al.* undated). As a result, women are increasingly forming single-sex farmer groups or 'self-help groups'[18] where they have more voice and power. Emerging evidence reflects the benefits of these groups from a social and personal as well as an economic perspective (see Chapter 5).

Gender gaps in education and information for food production

Education is a major area of discrimination against women in the rural sector. Over two thirds of the world's illiterate people are women – many living in rural areas. These low levels of literacy and numeracy compound the likelihood that women farmers will be excluded from agricultural and other training activities. Only 5 per cent of women farmers spanning 97 countries have access to extension services, and only 15 per cent of extension agents are women (FAO 2013). Yet, despite their lack of formal education, women are often custodians of ecosystems, soil, water and seed conservation as well as more traditional farming techniques (IAASTD 2009). The box below reflects local-level initiatives in Colombia to promote and build women farmer's knowledge (also see Chapter 5).

How an agro-ecological school is changing communities for the better in Colombia

In the rural Santander region of Colombia an agro-ecological school is helping to transform food security and nutrition in a gender-equitable way in the neighbouring communities. The school is a network of organisations that provides a community-led, flexible way of learning and exchanging information on agricultural practices.

Norma Henriquez, one of the students, set up a small farm to enable her family to be self-sufficient in food as well as water. She and her husband had moved from the city and returned to the countryside. Their families had been farmers, and they wanted to carry on the tradition of producing their own food. However, changes in the surrounding land and in the weather conditions made farming more difficult. Attending the school and receiving support from the strong women's association in the area gave Norma the confidence and skills to construct a specialised 85m^3 capacity water tank on her roof. This has enabled her to maximise the collection of precious rainfall. The water helps support her diverse and nutritious crops, which include mangos, coconuts, avocados, beans, pumpkins and maize. She has also become a proud custodian of agro-biodiversity and ensures that seed exchanges occur at every community meeting.
(Source: Aboud 2012)

---

18 A self-help group is a village-based committee usually composed of 10–20 local women or men. Most self-help groups are located in India, though they can also be found in other countries. Members make small regular contributions over a few months until there is enough capital in the group to begin lending. Funds may then be lent back to the members or to others in the village for any purpose (source: Wikipedia 2014).

Unequal access to technology

Women in rural areas often lack access to basic tools and technologies that could reduce their drudgery and improve their productivity. As a result, they can spend most of their days preparing one meal for the family with a mortar and pestle, as is the case for pearl millet processing in Senegal. Evidence shows that even basic threshing tools can rapidly increase the quality of their grain and reduce their drudgery (CTI 2014).[19]

Yet it is important to bear in mind that interventions to address the gap in technology can also have unintended consequences. For example, large, expensive machines that farmers cannot afford or easily access are often incompatible with their need for more simple solutions. Some technologies add to women's burdens by making tasks more demanding – for example, additional weeding is often required when fertiliser is used. The greater economic engagement and responsibility resulting from new technologies may strengthen women's independence and control over output in the short term. However, when new technologies result in a more profitable crop or when a new processing machine increases income, evidence shows that men often appropriate them (Jack 2013). For these reasons, technological solutions that are co-designed with women farmers have the most potential in terms of responding to their actual needs (see Chapter 5).

2.2. Access to food and nutrition

The mere presence of food in the economy, or in the market, does not entitle a person to consume it.
(Drèze and Sen 1989)

We currently produce enough food to feed everyone on the planet (Bittman 2013). However, as noted in Chapter 1, systems of food distribution and production are governed by politics and economic forces at household, local, national, regional and global levels, and it is usually the poorest people who have the least power within these systems and often cannot access food, even when it is available. Women are particularly affected by inequitable access to food, both directly and indirectly. Below some key constraints to food access are outlined, and the gendered implications are explored.

2.2.1. Poverty: the root of hunger

Poverty remains the main cause of global food insecurity. Around 80 per cent of the world's population live on less than $10 a day (Shah 2013).[20] This seriously restricts their capacity to buy food, or the inputs needed to grow food, even when these are available. Poverty is increasingly being characterised by inequalities, with ever-yawning gaps between the richest and poorest within and between countries.[21] Women comprise the majority of the poor. They constitute the majority of unpaid productive workers, through their labour on family farms and other activities. For many women any paid work they do is often in the informal sector, such as street vending or home-based factory outsourced labour, with very low wages and no safety nets such as sick pay. Women typically earn less than men in formal sector jobs and are poorly represented at the managerial level (UN DESA 2010). Additionally, as noted in Section 2.1., women often have the least productive, financial and strategic resources to cope with or escape from the effects of food insecurity. Yet they are usually expected to

---

19 http://compatibletechnology.org/blog/engaged-and-outspoken-villagers-in-senegal-respond-ctis-tools/.

20 www.globalissues.org/article/26/poverty-facts-and-stats.

21 The poorest 40 per cent of the world's population account for only 5 per cent of total income, while the richest 20 per cent account for three quarters of total global income (Shah: Global Issues 2013).

manage their families' nutritional needs in the face of these constraints and the poverty they experience (Holmes, Jones and Marsden 2009; World Bank/FAO/IFAD 2009). The ways in which these expectations affect women in situations of food scarcity are explored in Section 2.4.1., in the context of the recent food crisis.

2.2.2. Gender inequalities in access to food at the household level

Access to food is determined by gendered power relations (Patel 2012). Even when food is available or affordable, gender inequalities and other socio-cultural factors – including being very young or very old – regularly affect its equitable distribution at the household level (Haddad, Peňa *et al.* 1996). This can mean that the individual food and nutrition security of women and girls suffers, while men and boys receive a larger quantity of nutritious food (Ramachandran 2006). These inequalities often play out through accepted and unquestioned cultural practices. In parts of India there is 'often an unspoken rule, reinforced through cultural and religious norms, that the male breadwinner eats first. Children, especially sons, eat next, while women and girls eat last, by which time there may be very little or no food left' (Neogy 2012: 4).

This is true for other parts of South Asia. For example, a study in Nepal revealed that micronutrient intakes of adolescent girls and adult women were lower than for other household members. While staple foods such as rice, lentil soup and bread were being distributed fairly equally, side dishes such as vegetables, meat, yogurt and ghee – which usually contain a higher proportion of micronutrients – were often preferentially allocated to more valued household members, including adult males and small children (Gittelsohn *et al.* 1997).

Even during pregnancy, 'special care is not always taken to ensure women receive enough food, despite family counselling on the importance of eating nutritious food and getting enough rest during this vulnerable time' (Neogy 2012: 4). A woman participating in a study in South India said: *'It is true that men's needs take priority. No one considers that the pregnant woman needs more food, or feels more hungry than before'* (Vaarst and Farnworth 2012; Vaarst *et al.* 2008).

These inequalities in household food distribution are even starker during times of food scarcity, as the following example illustrates.

Gender and food biases in Ethiopian households

A recent study in rural areas of Ethiopia found disparities in household food distribution for male and female adolescents. In times of food insecurity, parents[22] often 'buffer' the effects for their children by reducing their own food intake. However, the study revealed that only boys were benefiting from this redistribution of scarce resources. Girls, who have historically faced discrimination in Ethiopia, were not receiving any additional food and were more likely to be food insecure than boys. This gender difference was most evident in severely food-insecure households. (Source: Hadley, Lindstrom *et al.* 2009)

---

22 Based on evidence from other countries it can be assumed that it is mothers who are most likely to reduce their intake in times of crisis, though the study does not explicitly state this.

The deliberate withholding of food from women and girls is a form of implicit but often unrecognised discrimination and reflects deeply held cultural assumptions that their lives are less valuable than those of men and boys. There is, therefore, a clear need for food security and nutrition interventions to be based on evidence from and to track changes within households, since considering aggregate food consumption of household units reveals little about these intrahousehold discrepancies. It is also vital to fund programmes that challenge and change gender norms around household food distribution (see Neogy 2012; also see Chapter 5).

2.3. Utilisation of food

To what extent is food being utilised at the national, community and household levels in ways that ensure the specific dietary and nutritional needs of women, men, girls and boys are met? This section outlines the gender-specific impacts and implications of malnutrition, which are often compounded by the gendered cultural and social norms, outlined above, that restrict the equal distribution of nutritious food.

2.3.1. Causes and impacts of malnutrition through a gender lens

Malnutrition caused by low caloric intake is a critical concern in the poorest countries of the world. As has been stated, 2 billion people in the world suffer from micronutrient deficiencies. Deficiencies in vitamin A, iron and zinc rank within the top ten leading causes of death through disease in developing countries (Brown *et al.* 2009; World Bank 2008).[23] Africa has the highest rate of malnourishment, with one in four people estimated to be undernourished (FAO 2013). Of these numbers, an estimated 60 per cent of malnourished people are women and girls (UN ECOSOC 2007; WFP 2009). Around half of pregnant women in developing countries are iron deficient and also lack proper maternal care, resulting in over 300,000 women who die annually in childbirth.[24] Additionally, poor nutrition causes half of the deaths in children under five.[25] A study in India found that girls are four times more likely to suffer from acute malnutrition than boys (FAO 2003). This results in chronic malnutrition for many women and girls across generations.

Ironically, more than 1 billion people worldwide are now overweight, and at least 500 million people are obese – the majority of whom are women. This issue of obesity is also a malnutrition issue that in many cases is associated with poverty, and the increasing availability of cheap foods that are high in fat and have little nutritional value (TST Issues Brief; see also UNDP 2012).[26]

The varying needs of girls and women across their life cycle for specific nutrients and additional calories during childhood and adolescence, pregnancy and breastfeeding, and during menopause, are often ignored. Where nutrition programmes are provided they often tend to prioritise women who are pregnant or breastfeeding and children below the age of two, as these have been identified as the most vulnerable groups. These narrow prescriptions mean that groups such as older women, adolescent girls and vulnerable men and boys may not be receiving nutritional inputs they badly need (see Ramachandran 2012; Dercon and Singh 2013).

---

23   www.wfp.org/hunger/malnutrition/types.

24   www.wfp.org/hunger/who-are.

25   www.wfp.org/hunger/stats.

26   In developed countries there is also the phenomenon where the urban poor have difficulty finding fresh fruits and vegetables in their neighbourhoods at an affordable price, often referred to as 'food deserts' (www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/mar/17/atlanta-food-deserts-stranded-struggling-survive).

There is clear evidence that empowering women in multiple ways contributes to their own food security and nutrition and that of their families. One study of 36 countries found that women's status is a key factor in child nutritional status, because more empowered women have better nutritional status themselves, are better cared for and provide better care for their children (Smith *et al.* 2003). It is also important to raise levels of knowledge and awareness about nutrition among men and boys at household and community levels.

2.4. Stability of food and nutrition

The fourth pillar of food security – stability – is vital for a comprehensive understanding of the causes and gender impacts of food insecurity and for the development of both immediate and long-term gender-just solutions. Three interlinked major threats to food stability – inequitable global and national food systems, climate change and conflict – are considered below through a gender equality lens.

2.4.1. Gender inequality and stability implications of current unsustainable food systems

The global food economy is struggling with unprecedented volatility, which has affected food supply in many regions. Macroeconomic policies around trade, investment and finance greatly affect countries' food stability and supply, with negative implications for gender equality (see Chapter 4). For example, many countries shifted away from agriculture over a 30-year period as they implemented Structural Adjustment Policies (SaPs) mandated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and later by the World Trade Organization (WTO). As many developing countries lowered their import tariffs and made deep cuts in agricultural spending, they weakened their productive capacity, becoming net food importers. This has increased their vulnerability to global price spikes and destabilised food supply. Cuts in public investments have also resulted in less available money in national governments' budgets for key services and social protection in rural areas, including food entitlement programmes and cash transfers as well as other basic services that could contribute to food stability and gender equality.

The increasingly interconnected nature of agriculture, trade and finance has contributed greatly to the recent, dramatic global increase in food prices, particularly for rice, wheat and maize, which are staples for many least developed and developing countries (ADB 2013). The price hikes are linked to the global food crisis that erupted in 2007/8, propelled by a lethal combination of rising fuel prices, the global financial downturn and export restrictions for basic commodities such as rice and grains (ADB 2013). Some have argued that financial speculation on commodity prices in a volatile market has also contributed to food shortages and resulting high prices (Sayeed and Madonado 2013;[27] Colbran 2012).

---

27 Sayeed and Maldonado (2013) argue that investors betting that food prices will increase encourages food traders to hold back supplies of storable commodities with a view to selling them later when the price is higher. This restricts supply and pushes food prices up. They suggest that this was the case during the Mexican Tortilla Crisis in 2007, when corn prices were high. Agribusinesses such as Cargill are alleged to have hoarded corn in 2006 and early 2007, claiming stocks were limited; they then sold their stock later at vastly increased prices. As a result, the price of tortillas, a basic foodstuff in Mexico, increased by more than 40 per cent.

The countries worst hit by the crisis have been those with the lowest levels of domestic food production, as they are the most dependent on imports to feed their populations.[28] Exponential rises in the cost of food have had the most acute effects on the poorest people, because they are obliged to spend up to 80 per cent of their budget on food (see Hossain and Green 2011).[29]

Women have been particularly badly affected by the food crisis (see Rabaar 2009). They experience the rise in food prices most directly, as they often come under increasing pressure to continue providing good, nutritious meals for their families with less money and less food (Hossain and Green 2011). In times of crisis like this, women effectively become 'shock absorbers of household food security' (Quisumbing *et al.* 2008), reducing their own intake of nutritious food in favour of their families and also expending more energy to secure food. For example, a study from Ethiopia in 2007–2008 shows that higher food prices led female heads of households to increase their time searching for cheaper food and additional income to make ends meet (O Campos and Garner 2012).

Women and girls are differently affected depending on their stage of life and other social factors. Pregnant and post-natal women are most at risk from the rising prices (Holmes, Jones and Marsden 2009), with malnutrition rendering them more susceptible to infection, miscarriage and premature labour. Without a second income to bolster resources, widows and female-headed families also tend to be badly affected (ADB 2013). In parts of South Asia there are also indications that girls are being de-prioritised in household distribution of food under these crisis conditions. For example, in Bangladesh a high prevalence of wasting for girls aged 0–50 months was reported, compared to boys of the same age (Holmes, Jones and Marsden 2009).

Emerging analyses recognise the vital role women often play within households as providers of food, but they often fail to recognise the extent to which they are often sacrificing their own health and sometimes that of their daughters to protect their families when access to food is undermined. It is paramount that food and nutrition security programmes do not add to women's existing burden by relying on them to cushion the impacts of these external shocks, and greater understanding of these household dynamics is urgently needed. It is also important to take into account the needs and stresses of less visible groups such as widows, older women, adolescent girls and vulnerable men and boys.

2.4.2. The gendered food security impacts of climate change

The effects of global warming, climate change and environmental degradation are becoming ever more visible. The monopoly of monocultures has led to a significant loss of agro-biodiversity and accelerated soil erosion, while the overuse of chemical fertilisers has polluted fresh water and oceans (De Schutter 2014a). As a result of climate change, seasonal patterns are becoming more unpredictable, leaving many farmers facing erratic shifts between drought conditions and flooding. These phenomena are having a global impact on subsistence crops and agricultural yields,

---

28   The FAO predicts many countries will continue to be dependent on food imports, stating that by 2050, developing countries' imports are expected to double from 135 million tons of food to 300 million tons. This greatly affects food availability and affordability in developing countries, with a disproportionate impact on women and girls due to their social status (www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/docs/expert_paper/How_to_Feed_the_World_in_2050.pdf).

29   The amount of basic commodities that can be purchased by those living on $2 or less a day as part of a weekly 'food basket' has fallen significantly. For example, in South Africa 12 per cent of households reported experiencing hunger in 2007, but by 2010 24 per cent said they had periodically gone without food because they did not have enough money (Human Sciences and Research Council 2012: 1).

with food production in some African countries predicted to fall by 50 per cent by 2050 (IPPC 2007). Fish supplies are also being affected due to loss and degradation of oceanic and freshwater habitats (ADB 2013: 11).

Climate change has multiple emerging and anticipated implications for food and nutrition security. The failure of subsistence crops means that poor families can be left without the sources of basic food on which they rely, and are faced with the prospect of paying inflated prices for basic commodities in local markets (see UNDP 2012).[30] The livelihoods of farmers and those who make a living from fishing are often severely affected. Added to these challenges are associated impacts such as landslides and typhoons, which often have devastating effects for those with the fewest resources to cope with disaster.

Women are most affected by climate change and other environmental effects. In their roles as unpaid carers they are often obliged to travel further to fetch water and wood for their families as these resources become increasingly scarce. This not only intensifies their burden of work but also can expose them to the risk of harassment or sexual assault (Brody, Demetriades *et al.* 2008). Women farmers are also badly affected, as they have fewer assets on which to rely in times of crop failure and limited access to alternative livelihoods (Petrie 2008). Because they often lack official rights to land and do not make primary decisions about what crops will be grown, women are at a disadvantage in developing mitigation and adaptation strategies (World Agroforestry Center 2013; Skinner 2011). They also often have less access to vital information that would enable more effective climate adaptation. For example, local institutions in Andhra Pradesh, India, advised farmers on cropping patterns and strategies for coping with climate change. In theory, both men and women had access to the information. In practice, however, only 21 per cent of women, compared to 47 per cent of men, received this advice (FAO 2011a).

Climate change is also contributing to a growing problem of water scarcity (Bates, Kundzewicz *et al.* 2008), with serious implications for crop production and food security. Women in many poor, rural communities are often responsible for collecting water for drinking and irrigation and are forced to walk further to find it. Their access to these scarce resources is also being eroded as water is being increasingly privatised. Women are often unable to pay the fees charged by water supply companies or may be forced to borrow money to do so (Sever 2005; Bell 2001; Skinner 2011).

Short-term solutions are needed that strengthen resilience in the face of climate change, particularly for women farmers. There is an urgent need for more investment into solutions such as grain banks[31] and other forms of food preservation, as well as ensuring access to micro-insurance and affordable, local sources of clean water. Women must have equal access to any such measures, and be actively engaged in their management, where possible, to enable both gender equality and more effective outcomes. For example, emerging evidence indicates that grain banks managed by women are often more sustainable and successful.[32] There is also an urgent need for

---

30 A UNDP report notes that countries low on the Human Development Index, particularly those in sub-Saharan Africa's drylands, are already experiencing the greatest reduction in rainfall and the greatest increase in its variability, which could lead to reduced agricultural production. It predicts this will have severe implications for increased food insecurity and malnutrition (UNDP 2012: 6).

31 Grain banks enable communities to store part of their harvest of rice and other dry goods so they are better able to manage their food supply in the face of unpredictable weather and other shocks. The grain banks often sell food at a price lower than the market price to help poor people purchase food locally in times of food scarcity. In some cases women also benefit from training in numeracy, literacy and management.

32 For example, a woman-managed granary in Niger promoted by Plan sold 90 sacks of 100kg to villagers in its first year, improving food security for 536 families (see https://plan-international.org/where-we-work/africa/niger/what-we-do/our-successes/plan-cereal-banks-empower-nigerien-women-and-provide-food-security/, accessed August 2014).

longer-term interventions and commitments by governments and the private sector to sustainable, low-carbon growth and environmentally sustainable agricultural processes.

2.4.3. Conflict, food insecurity and gender

There is a circular relationship between conflict and food instability. Food insecurity itself can motivate rebellions, riots and civil war, particularly when shortages are acute and food is unevenly distributed due to internal inequalities or corruption. For example, in Mali during the 1990s the minority Tuareg group staged an uprising against the government in protest over their mismanagement of international food aid in the wake of a prolonged drought (Hendrix and Brinkman 2013).

Conflict is also a major contributing *cause* of food instability and, therefore, food insecurity. Children born in a fragile or conflict-affected State are twice as likely to be malnourished (World Bank 2011: 63). Conflict disrupts economic activity and food production, as farmers are displaced from their land or too terrified to tend to their animals or crops. Restricting access to food can also be a conscious strategy of warring parties (Oxfam 2006). Women are most likely to be affected by these effects of conflict, as they are often engaged in producing food for household consumption. Gender-inequitable access to assets such as land, property or credit mean that they have few financial resources to cushion against the loss of productive capacity, leaving them unable to afford the prices of food that increase as food production falls in conflict-affected areas (see UNDP 2012). As a result their ability to meet both their own nutritional needs and those of their families is severely compromised.

Despite the growing number of countries characterised by violence and fragility there is a notable gap in information mapping the linkages between gender, food security and conflict, and this urgently needs to be rectified.

2.5. Beyond the four pillars: what is missing?

While the four pillars outlined above are useful for an initial understanding of the ways in which gender inequalities and food insecurity are interconnected, they cannot fully capture the more personal, yet political issues of unpaid care work, GBV, HIV and AIDS. As a result these critical, yet often invisible elements of gender inequality are often not factored into analyses of and solutions to food insecurity. Below we argue that this must happen if we are to end global hunger and malnutrition in gender-just ways.

2.5.1. Care work and food security

Care is around us everywhere – from the mother who takes care of her children, to the wife who cooks her family's meals, the eldest daughter who helps with the housework, and the widow who works in the community kitchen. (Budlender and Moussie 2013: 4)

Care work includes everything from preparing food, collecting water, cleaning the house, caring for the sick and elderly and taking care of the children in a household (Esplen 2009). It also includes the work conducted by many women to produce food and other resources for use in the household. This additional burden of work that often falls on women can be rewarding, but it often adds to the stress and work they are expected to absorb to manage their families' food security, and it undermines their human rights and choices. Yet for years the interconnections between care work and food security have been ignored. Unpaid care work is not properly 'seen' or recognised in official calculations of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), nor is care work

often sufficiently valued, whether unpaid or paid, even by many of the women who undertake this work (see Budlender and Moussie 2013; Eyben and Fontana 2011; Randriamaro 2013; Elson 2000, 2002a, 2010).

Making unpaid care work visible means reflecting on how economies are organised, and what kinds of interventions will really make a difference in terms of empowering women. It also means ensuring that interventions designed to increase women's productivity do not overload them with additional work, neglecting to recognise their significant care burden. A participatory initiative led by Action Aid enables local women and men to reflect on gendered time-use and 'see' 'the time and energy required to do care-work and the effect it has on women's wellbeing and the fulfilment of their human rights'. This provides a starting point for identifying ways to alleviate this situation (Budlender and Moussie 2013: 5; see Chapter 5 for more information on the initiative).

2.5.2. Gender-based violence and food security

The relationship between food and GBV[33] is complex. According to FIAN, 'Gender-based violence, of which discrimination is a primary form, impedes women from engaging in their own right to adequate food and from acting on behalf of their families and communities to the full extent of their capabilities' (FIAN 2013). GBV is increasingly prevalent in conflict situations but is most common within households and communities. It is often invisible, happening behind closed doors, due to the veil of public silence and stigma that still surround GBV in all societies. Domestic and other forms of violence specifically affect women through various pathways such as their ability to produce and sell food, or even to access inputs essential for food productivity.

Food scarcity itself can lead to violence against women. For example, insufficient food in the home creates tensions and can lead to physical or psychological violence and discrimination by men towards women, or by older women towards their daughters-in-law. According to one study, the food price crisis has seriously undercut men's capacities to provide for their families, leading to arguments in the household and fuelling alcohol abuse and domestic violence (Hossain and Green 2011).

The threat of domestic conflict over money can also deter women from entering into market-based activities, as the example below illustrates.

Violence against female entrepreneurs in Kenya

Women participating in a study for USAID Kenya (2012) said their engagement in value chains had resulted in higher levels of violence against them as they struggled to control some of the monies earned. One woman involved in the production of passion fruit wept as she described how she had financed all the farm activities and conducted all the work. When the payment of 7,500 Kenya Shillings (KES) (US$68) was received, her husband gave her KES2,000 from which to purchase all the inputs, while he took KES5,000 for his own use. Other women said they did not engage in small businesses because the price of failure was too high: 'We fear the reed!' Several recounted how a loan from the Kenya Women Finance Trust had turned sour when their businesses had failed and a representative from a bank had taken away a cow, which had been offered as collateral. This resulted in severe assaults against them by infuriated partners (USAID 2012).

---

33   There is no single widely used definition of GBV, but the definition of the European Institute for Gender Equality best sums up our understanding for this report: 'GBV is violence that is directed against a person on the basis of gender. It constitutes a breach of the fundamental right to life, liberty, security, dignity, equality between women and men, non-discrimination and physical and mental integrity' (http://eige.europa.eu/content/what-is-gender-based-violence).

Additionally, food scarcity may lead to dangerous coping strategies for women, such as travelling longer distances for food and being placed at risk of rape and sexual assault (see Section 2.4.2.). In some cases women engage in transactional sex for money to buy food, which exposes them to further violence and increased susceptibility to HIV and AIDS (De Walque 2014). Food scarcity can also lead to forced and early marriage of girls (Girls Not Brides 2014).

It is vital for GBV to not only be recognised as a compounding element of food insecurity but also for programmes to explicitly address this problem. Short-term measures are needed, such as the provision of safe houses for abused women and children. However, there is also an urgent need for legislation that criminalises GBV, for education programmes that enable these issues to be discussed, and for men and boys, in particular, to challenge their own behaviours and assumptions about GBV.

2.5.3. HIV, AIDS and food security

Over 35 million people worldwide are currently living with HIV or AIDS. Ninety-five per cent of new infections occur in individuals living in low- and middle-income countries, with sub-Saharan Africa the most affected region (WHO 2014). Gender is an integral factor in determining an individual's vulnerability to HIV infection, his or her ability to access care, support and treatment and the ability to cope when affected (ZPCT 2010; see also Bujra 2004).

HIV, AIDS, gender and food security are certainly linked. For example, traders of agricultural produce, who are usually men, frequently spend many days away from home, and this predisposes some to extramarital relationships and multiple partners (Farnworth *et al.* 2011). Poverty and hunger can exacerbate the effects of HIV and AIDS, accelerating the spread of the virus and the course of the disease. For people who are already infected with HIV, hunger and malnutrition increase susceptibility to opportunistic infections, leading to an earlier onset of AIDS (Global Donor Platform 2010). In addition, women living with HIV or AIDS often lack sufficient resources to replace breastfeeding with appropriate replacement feedings, thus harming their children.

There are also multiple indirect effects on families. The care burden of tending the sick and looking after orphans typically falls to women, which can severely limit agricultural production in both male- and female-headed households (UNFPA/UNAIDS/UNIFEM 2004). Household assets may be stripped in distress sales occasioned by the need to pay for AIDS-related expenses, and as a result of property grabbing by relatives after the death of a spouse from AIDS. Widows are particularly vulnerable to this phenomenon (Izumi 2006). It is not only women and children who are vulnerable: in many countries men who have lost wives are increasingly living alone, stigmatised by their communities (Parker and Aggleton 2002).

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to articulate the gender inequalities that shape global, national and local food systems and compound food insecurity and malnutrition, through a focus on the gendered realities of people's lives and livelihoods. Drawing on the limited available evidence, the detailed analysis of women and men's roles in food production, marketing, distribution and consumption demonstrates the vital information that is lost by not taking a gender-aware approach to the problem of food insecurity. The analysis uses the four food security pillars to highlight the multiple gendered causes and impacts of food insecurity and malnutrition. It reveals the ways in which persistent underlying gender inequalities conspire to increase the susceptibility of women and girls to poverty, hunger and malnutrition, while social and cultural norms leave many women burdened by invisible 'normalised' stresses. It discusses how gender-inequitable access to productive resources often constrains potential pathways out of these situations for women and their families.

The chapter also shows how global trends, including inequitable agricultural, trade and finance policies, climate change and conflict are contributing to food insecurity and gender injustice. Finally, it highlights the importance of tackling issues of women's unpaid care work, GBV, HIV and AIDs as an integral part of food and nutrition security solutions.

Chapter 3 provides a gender analysis of key concepts and rights that are being mobilised in the global fight against hunger and malnutrition, critically assessing the extent to which they engage with the complex gender dimensions of food and nutrition insecurity.

3 Assessing Key Concepts and Rights through a Gender Lens[34]

Distracted meal
Photographer: Brian Wolfe via Flickr (CC BY-NC 2.0)

The precarious state of hunger and malnutrition in the world and the disproportionate impacts on women and girls highlight a conundrum. There is sufficient evidence to show why people are hungry and malnourished, but existing approaches – in terms of policy and practice – are failing to make headway in bringing about the substantive changes needed to ensure no one goes hungry. This chapter presents a broad outline of some of the global concepts that have been shaping thinking, policy and practice on food insecurity and its solutions. Exploring them through a critical gender lens, the chapter assesses the ways in which they define 'the problem' and identify solutions.

This chapter first outlines the terms 'right to food' and 'food security', focusing on the current definition and the four pillars. It interrogates the extent to which these different but linked concepts address unequal gender and power relations in the context of hunger and malnutrition. It asks 'How useful are these concepts for realising food security approaches with the capacity to transform gender inequalities?' The chapter goes on to explore the food sovereignty approach, asking what the dominant food and nutrition security frameworks can learn from this alternative approach, to ensure hunger and malnutrition are addressed in gender-just ways.

34 Chapter 3 is drafted by Georgina Aboud and builds on the work of Zo Randriamaro, as well as taking into account feedback from the Working Group and others in the team.

3.1. What is the right to food?

First raised in January 1943 by American President Roosevelt at the Hot Springs Conference,[35] the idea of a 'right to food' precedes the concept of 'food security'. The right to food is currently enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights[36] and in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which is ratified by 161 States, as well as being mentioned in other frameworks and conventions. The ICESCR is the international instrument most often cited as the main legal source of the right to food.[37]

Defining the 'right to food'

The ICESCR (1966) states that 'the right to adequate food is realized [sic] when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, has physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement' (paragraph 6). It also states that 'Food should be available in a quantity and quality sufficient to satisfy the dietary needs of individuals, free from adverse substances, and acceptable within a given culture' (paragraphs 8, 12).
(Adapted from Human Rights Council 2011, A/HRC/16/40)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and ICESCR, along with other humanitarian laws and human rights – including the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities – 'protect the right of all human beings to live in dignity and be free from hunger'.[38] These laws and conventions provide non-discriminatory international legal frameworks which set the norms for States and other duty-bearers. Under international law, governments are bound to respect, protect and fulfil the right to food. This implies that they have the obligations to:[39]

- improve methods of food production, conservation and distribution; in addition, to take into account the problems of both food-importing and food-exporting countries to ensure an equitable distribution of the world's food supplies;

- ensure that activities of the private business sector and civil society organisations conform with the right to food, respect existing access to food and ensure that companies or individuals do not block adequate access to food;

- revise their legislation, in particular laws dealing with access to food, social assistance or productive resources, to ensure that they do not include any discriminatory provisions;

---

35 The first United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, held in Hot Springs, Virginia, USA, was called on the initiative of United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt from 18 May to 3 June 1943. Representatives of 44 nations participated. The meeting was instrumental in the founding of the FAO (www.fao.org/docrep/009/p4228e/P4228E04.htm).

36 www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/.

37 www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx.

38 ICESCR (art. 11), General Comment No.12, cited in HRC 2011, A/HRC/16/40 (www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx).

39 *Ibid*. See also CWGL 2011.

- ensure that all individuals, including women and girl children, landless people or indigenous people, have equal access to adequate food as well as full and equal access to economic resources, including the right to inheritance and ownership of land and other property, access to credit, natural resources and appropriate technology; and

- take measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas to ensure that they participate in and benefit from rural development.

The ICESCR also states that coordinated efforts for the realisation of the right to food should enhance coherence and interaction among all actors concerned, including civil society (CWGL 2011).

3.1.1. How far does the right to food respond to gender inequalities and women's rights?

The importance of the right to food as a foundational principle for solutions to hunger has been reaffirmed through its centrality in recent high-level documents and processes (introduced in Chapter 4; see also FAO 2012b) and through the appointment of a UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food since 2000.[40] Yet despite these efforts, and the numerous legally binding frameworks, the idea of a right to food has struggled to move forward in a truly gender-transformative way. This is partly because the rights of women and the right to food are artificially isolated from each other in legally binding international documents and institutional and policy mechanisms, which are not harmonised (Bellows, Franco *et al.* 2012). The 'disconnect' is reflected in the invisibility of women in the ICESCR (FIAN 2013).[41] The 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), often described as the International Bill of Rights for Women, also fails to mention women's adequate right to food, and any references to food are narrowly focused on pregnant, breastfeeding and rural women. This is a crucial and disappointing omission given that the Convention is the key instrument for protecting women's rights and was adopted at a time when the right to food was already established as an important right in several international instruments (Rae 2008).

Other rights-based frameworks which could support the right to food are equally fragile. The Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) offers important mechanisms requiring governments to ensure that trade does not have an adverse impact on women's economic activities, make legislative reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, measure unpaid work on family farms and recognise women's role in food security and as producers. However 'as with CEDAW, the BPFA language on the global economy is weak, equally so with regard to global food and agricultural markets' (Spieldoch 2009: 64).

Despite this weakness, the work of the former UN Special Rapporteur for Right to Food, Oliver De Schutter, begins to provide a deeper analysis of the causes of hunger and to acknowledge the inextricable links between gender equality and the right to food. He stresses that the causes of hunger are not only technical but are also about

---

40   The Special Rapporteur is tasked with receiving information and highlighting violations of the right to food; cooperating with UN agencies, international organisations and NGOs and putting the right to food into practice around the world; and identifying emerging issues related to the right to food (see www.righttofood.org/work-of-jean-ziegler-at-the-un/un-soecial-rapporteu-on-the-right-to-food/).

41   For example, prior to the 1999 General Comment 12 'The Right to Adequate Food' (which is reflected in the box 'Defining the 'right to food''), the 1966 ICESCR recognised 'the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food' (Article 11.1), thus rendering 'women and children economically, socially and culturally invisible with their respect to their ability to claim accountability for their right to adequate food' (FIAN 2012: 6).

'discrimination, lack of accountability… social inequities… (and) power' (FAO 2011a: 162). The development by the FAO of a series of global Voluntary Guidelines also provides an example of globally endorsed and recognised mechanisms for incorporating the right to food into policy and practice in ways that link with gendered rights to land and other resources, and promote gender justice (see below).

Developing global guidelines on rights in the context of food security

The Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realisation of the Right to Adequate Food in the context of national food security (VGRtF) were developed in 2004 by an inter-governmental working group led by the FAO Council. The guidelines were seminal, aiming to provide practical guidance to States for the implementation of the right to adequate food, for building an 'enabling environment for people to feed themselves in dignity and to establish appropriate safety nets for those who are unable to do so' (FAO 2004: iv).

In 2012 the Voluntary Guidelines of Governance of Tenure of Land, Forests and Fisheries in the context of national food security were introduced, following a consultative process of multi-stakeholder negotiations involving NGOs, governments and the private sector. The issue of women's land rights was raised as paramount. One of the participants, representing Action Aid, noted:

'Our core interest in the negotiation was to safeguard and strengthen the protection of indigenous and customary communities' land tenure and ensure a strong focus on the protection of women's tenure rights to land forests and fisheries. As such Action Aid and other like-minded organisations made direct inputs through the plenary negotiations to strengthen the gender language and protection of legitimate rights, as well as participating in working groups mandated with developing specific language on gender and women's rights. This was informed by our conviction that the issue of governance of tenure is informed by power relations, which often disadvantage women even though they are the main users of land and other resources.'
(Catherine Gatundu, personal communication, 2014)

Largely as a result of these processes, the guidelines are underpinned by a strong gender equality and human rights component.

Yet the prevailing challenge still lies in the gap between rhetoric and the implementation of commitments to realising rights – particularly where gender equality and women's empowerment are concerned. Declarations of rights may secure valuable universal liberties, 'but they do it without coming clean about the costs and demands of respecting the rights they proclaim. Governments have generally been willing to sign up to the Declaration of Rights, indeed to ratify them, but are a lot less keen on counterpart duties' (O'Neill 2002). This can be due to a government being unable or unwilling to fulfil the obligations because of weak infrastructure, political reluctance or because economic policies are often difficult to square with a human rights framework (Spieldoch 2009).

There are, however, examples where the right to food is being used as a key advocacy tool to hold national governments to account and even to catalyse major changes in policy. Chapter 5 provides some concrete examples of where rights are being realised in the context of responses to food insecurity.

3.2. What is food security?

The concept of food security came into being in the 1970s as a response to the global food crisis, and as a means to implement the right to food. The initial focus was on ensuring global availability of food and stable food prices. This understanding evolved with increasing recognition of food security as an issue affecting mainly vulnerable people, and of the need to balance supply and consumption by those in most need. The focus on the human and social dimensions of hunger was captured in the much-utilised 1996 World Food Summit definition introduced in Chapter 1.[42]

3.2.1. Limitations of the four pillars for achieving gender-just food and nutrition security

In 2009, leaders from over 180 nations gathered in Rome to attend the second World Summit on Food Security. World leaders unanimously adopted a pledge reflecting renewed commitment to combat hunger in a timely and sustainable way, and recognised the need to take a more multidimensional approach that did not focus only on the availability of food. As already noted, the Final Declaration identified four pillars that need to be addressed to achieve the goal of food security: availability, access, utilisation and stability (see Chapter 1). It is suggested that, if one or more of these pillars is not in place or when any of these key variables are disrupted, a nation or a community may no longer be food secure, and the consequences for the population may be devastating.

These pillars allow for a more comprehensive analysis of the complex dimensions of food security, identifying the need for action at individual, household, national, regional and global levels together with 'coordinated efforts and shared responsibilities across institutions, societies, and economies to tackle food insecurity effectively' (Ecker and Breisinger 2012). Yet they noticeably present food security as a gender-neutral phenomenon, failing to identify the ways in which women, men, boys and girls of all ages are differently affected by hunger and malnutrition, or to outline their specific needs.

Even with the recent global focus on the four pillars, the definition of food security also fails to deliver in terms of capturing the complex gender dimensions of food security. While outwardly inclusive, stating that 'all people at all times [should] have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food', it renders 'neutral' or invisible certain groups of people who are disproportionately affected by hunger, particularly women and children. It also fails to examine or sufficiently address the underlying gendered politics of power and injustice which shape food systems and food distribution at global, national, local and household levels. As noted in Chapter 2, the lack of a clear gender equality focus means that issues such as unpaid care work, GBV and the gender-specific impacts of climate change, conflict and other global phenomena are often sidelined or ignored in the context of food security.

Furthermore, focusing exclusively on what a woman or man needs to consume in order to live a healthy life misses the key element of a comprehensive and holistic food security framework: what it is to live well. Current definitions of food security tend to focus on survival in the form of tangible resources and assets. Yet it is also crucial to remember that quality of life is not about 'bread alone' but also 'roses':[43] food security

---

42 The World Food Summit definition of food security is 'at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life'.

43 Raised by Ines Smyth, Working Group member, in closed e-discussion, July 2013.

should move beyond the notion of basic survival, to ensure women and men are able to live with respect and dignity. Finally, as Chapter 4 argues, solutions to food and nutrition insecurity are being framed largely in terms of increasing availability, with little regard for the remaining three pillars.

3.2.2. The gendered gap between nutrition and food security

At present, while no particular covenant or international framework is exclusively dedicated to the issue of nutrition, its importance is being recognised, as the Final Declaration of the World Summit on Food Security 2009 stated that food security cannot be achieved without adequate nutrition (FAO 2009b) in terms of adequate protein, energy, vitamins and minerals for all household members at all times (Quisumbing *et al.* 1995). This responds to the growing recognition that 'food security at the household (and individual) level is a necessary but not sufficient condition for adequate nutrition… and that food and nutrient intake interacts with the individual health status' (Ecker and Breisinger 2012). Nutrition security goes beyond access to food, and is understood as an individual's capacity to consume and metabolise the nutrient-rich food he or she needs, in a sanitary environment (CFS 2012).

However, connections are still not being made between nutrition, food security and gender at the level of policy and programming. Nutrition-focused interventions are also very narrow, primarily focusing on pregnant women, mothers and children. The World Health Organization's (WHO) global targets for 2025 focus on children's health and women of reproductive age, while a key focus of the Scaling Up Nutrition (SUN) initiative[44] is the first 1,000 days between a woman's pregnancy and her child's second birthday. This thinking fails to provide any analysis of the unequal power relationships that contribute to the malnourishment of women and girls, outlined in Chapter 2, and stops short of being transformative. Furthermore, very little attention is paid to other age groups – for example, older women and men who have specific dietary requirements, or adolescents, for whom malnourishment can delay physical and mental growth (WHO 2005).

3.3. What is food sovereignty?

While the concepts of food security and the right to food both offer important starting points in tackling the production, access and consumption of food, they do not provide routes for challenging and changing the gender-inequitable food systems introduced in Chapter 2 and further explored in Chapter 4. The concept of 'food sovereignty', which has become globally recognised over the past two decades, may offer alternative ways of thinking that can enhance current notions of food security without necessarily replacing them. These are explored below, along with some of the limitations of food sovereignty in terms of addressing gender discrimination at household and other levels. Practical and conceptual pathways towards a more holistic, inclusive and gender-just conceptualisation of food and nutrition security are also presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

---

44 SUN is a unique movement founded on the principle that all people have a right to food and good nutrition. It unites people — from governments, civil society, the United Nations, donors, businesses and researchers — in a collective effort to improve nutrition. Within the SUN movement, national leaders are prioritising efforts to address malnutrition. Countries are striving to put the right policies in place, collaborating with partners to implement programmes with shared nutrition goals, and mobilising resources to effectively scale up nutrition, with a core focus on empowering women (http://scalingupnutrition.org/about).

Born as a form of resistance to the model of globalisation that was institutionalised in the Uruguay Round of trade agreements[45] and the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO)[46] in 1995 (Burnett and Murphy 2014), food sovereignty challenges the unsustainable and inequitable systems of economic growth that have contributed to food and nutrition insecurity outlined in Chapters 2 and 4 (Wittman and Nicholson 2009). Developed by Via Campesina – the international peasants' movement which brings together millions of peasants, small and medium-size farmers, landless people, women farmers, indigenous people, migrants and agricultural workers from around the world – food sovereignty calls for radical changes in agricultural, political, economic and social systems (Park, White *et al.* 2013). These calls respond to the connections identified by Via Campesina between large-scale production-focused strategies, corporate food regimes, inequalities and environmental degradation.

The global food sovereignty movement has sought to provide an antidote to the reliance on inequitable, unsustainable global agricultural production and trade models (see Chapters 1, 2 and 4). It offers an alternative vision that restructures food production and consumption at the local, national and global level, with the aims of creating localised systems for producing nourishing food in an affordable, sustainable and environmentally friendly manner, and of ensuring democratic processes for the control of food production and consumption (Windfuhr *et al.* 2005). Via Campesina defines food security as:

The right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems… It puts those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations…Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just income to all peoples and the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition. It ensures that the rights to use and manage our lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food. Food sovereignty implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social classes and generations.
(Via Campesina 2007)

There is an appetite for this new thinking: in just 15 years, the food sovereignty movement has become a leading transnational agrarian movement, representing primarily marginalised rural people including peasants and small-scale family farmers, pastoralists, artisanal fisher-folk, forest dwellers and indigenous peoples from over 150 social movements and 79 countries, including 12 African countries and several in South and East Asia. Additionally, a number of governments have integrated food sovereignty into their constitutions or laws, including Ecuador, Senegal, Mali and Nepal, with varying degrees of success (Burnett and Murphy 2014).

Food sovereignty recognises the realisation of women's economic, social, political and cultural rights as an integral part of its democratic process, with the understanding that ensuring women's access to the necessary resources and services, as well as their control of their own lives, is the precondition for their meaningful democratic engagement. However, in practice it has been historically weak on gender equality issues. More recently the rural women and women farmers in Latin America

---

45 The Uruguay Round was the largest trade negotiation in history, covering nearly every trade policy issue. It was initiated in 1982 and lasted until 1994 (www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/fact5_e.htm).

46 The WTO is the only global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between nations. At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and ratified by most of the world's trading nations. The WTO's stated goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters and importers conduct their business (www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/whatis_e.htm).

participating in Via Campesina and in the Latin American Coordination of Rural Organizations (CLOC) have advanced the gender equality agenda within the food sovereignty movement (see below).

Gender equality and women's rights in CLOC, Via Campesina

CLOC[47] is the Latin American space for coordination as part of Via Campesina.[48] Since 1997, when the first Women's Assembly was held, women's organisations within the CLOC movement have worked hard to ensure rural women's rights are defended and a gender focus is present in all of the movement's documents, proposals and actions. They have had considerable success. Women are a central force in today's movement, their work is legitimised, and they play an increasingly key role in political decision-making. The majority of member organisations also now have women on their boards of directors.
(Source: Horn 2013)

Despite the benefits of the food sovereignty approach, there are clear challenges associated with scaling it up at a global level (Burnett and Murphy 2014), not least because of the already prevalent economic models that prioritise global trade in food rather than local self-sufficiency. However, much can be learned from the approach, and there is scope for integrating many of its principles into policy planning and implementation. Food sovereignty provides many opportunities for gender equality and women's empowerment. For example, as well as acknowledging the 'historic role women have played since the invention of farming in gathering and sowing seeds',[49] food sovereignty promotes more sustainable, diverse agricultural methods that are much better for the environment and which enable women's contributions to be enhanced and recognised (Sachs 2013). Finally, food sovereignty is built on the right to food and on people's right to decide what to produce, providing lessons for integrating rights into food and nutrition security.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter provides a gender analysis of key approaches that are guiding responses to hunger and malnutrition. It shows that each approach has made progress, but at present no one approach is sufficient. The chapter argues that the food security definition has progressed but still fails to articulate the specific gender inequalities that intensify and are intensified by the effects of food insecurity. The four pillars enable a more comprehensive understanding of the complex dimensions of food insecurity, but again they contain no gender-specific language. Notably, this is leading to the continued invisibility of issues such as GBV and unpaid care work that shape many women's experiences and relationships and are closely connected to food production and consumption.

The 'right to food' is more political in its understanding of food insecurity, emphasising that 'discrimination, lack of accountability and social inequalities' (FAO 2011a: 162) lie at the heart of hunger and malnutrition and recognising the need for more equitable global food systems. Yet it still remains divorced from pivotal women's rights frameworks such as CEDAW. At both national and local levels the right to food struggles to make any real impression without strong political will and commitment,

---

47 Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo.

48 Literally in English: the peasants' way or road.

49 http://blogs.oxfam.org/en/blogs/feminism-and-food-sovereignty.

and can evaporate at the stage of implementation. However, there are some notable exceptions (see Chapter 5).

Food sovereignty is also becoming increasingly influential, offering what more mainstream food and nutrition security approaches lack – a chance for people to self-determine what they produce and eat through the creation of local, environmentally sustainable food systems. The food sovereignty movement has also made considerable progress in promoting a more gender-equitable approach, although little has been done to challenge inequitable intra-household distribution of food.

At a theoretical level the right to food and food sovereignty approaches offer potential opportunities for strengthening the way food insecurity is understood and addressed. Chapter 4 goes on to outline food security policy through a critical gender equality lens, and explores how the notions of food security, right to food and food sovereignty are being taken forward at the global, regional and national levels of policy thinking and implementation.

4 Policy Responses: Opportunities and Risks for Achieving Gender-Just Food and Nutrition Security[50]

Training of the Tanzanian Network of Small Scale Farmers Groups in better agricultural techniques, Morongoro, Tanzania
Photographer: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)

The phenomenon of food insecurity, described as 'our tragic achievement in these modern days'[51] during the World Summit on Food Security in 2009, is forcing policymakers at global, regional and national levels to take notice. High-level processes involving multiple players have been mobilised to identify urgent responses to hunger and malnutrition. These fall into two, connected categories: 'direct action' in the form of food assistance and social safety protection interventions for the most vulnerable; and longer-term actions such as increasing agricultural productivity and promoting global and regional trade to 'build resilience and address the root causes of hunger' (CFS 2013: 15). These longer-term strategies have stressed a renewed emphasis on agricultural production and on small-holder farmers, seeing them as vital players in a 'virtuous cycle' of economic growth and food security.

---

50   This chapter was drafted by Alyson Brody, with inputs from the Working Group and other members of the team.
51   Quote from Director-General of the FAO, Jacques Diouf (www.fao.org/wsfs/world-summit/en/?no_cache=1).

Encouragingly these policy prescriptions are increasingly no longer completely gender blind (Quisumbing and Meizen-Dick 2012). There are calls to increase women's productive capacity as a means to catalyse economic growth, poverty reduction and greater food and nutrition security, while empowering women (FAO 2011b; World Bank/FAO/IFAD 2009). Yet there is a risk that an exclusive emphasis on production and economic indicators of empowerment will eclipse the gendered political, social and cultural dimensions of poverty and food insecurity outlined in Chapter 2. In addition, critics have pointed out the risks of integrating women into a 'polluted stream' (Women's Major Group 2013: 6) of the market-led, environmentally unsustainable economic growth model that has, arguably, perpetuated gender and broader social inequalities and contributed to food and nutrition insecurity. Some of these contradictions are explored in this chapter.

The chapter starts with a critical overview of the global architecture which is influencing food and nutrition security policy, examining potential opportunities as well as barriers to progress from a gender equality perspective. It goes on to consider how global-level discussions and agreements are being operationalised at national, regional and programme levels, and the ways in which gender concerns are being addressed as part of these processes. It provides a critical gender analysis of the focus on production-heavy, market-led policies and also of 'short-term' food assistance policies and programmes, with a particular focus on the gender-transformative limitations of these – and the consequences for achieving gender-just food and nutrition security. The chapter highlights vital areas to address to enable more gender-aware policy responses to food and nutrition security that are both sustainable and contribute to gender equality and women's rights.

4.1. Global food and nutrition security governance and decision-making

There is no single governance body for global food and nutrition security. Rather, decision-making on food security and nutrition has been characterised by multiple, decentralised processes involving international institutions as well as regional, non-governmental and private organisations. Among the proliferation of activities and institutions there have also been some key moments around which global attention has coalesced – most recently the 2008 food crisis. The FAO was established in 1945 during the early years of the United Nations, to address the challenge of feeding the growing world population. In the 1960s the UN World Food Programme (WFP) and Food Aid Committee (FAC) were established in response to an accelerating demand for food aid in developing countries. In 1996 and 2001 two World Food Summits were held, out of which the first MDG – an international commitment to reduce poverty and halve world hunger by 2015 – was born.

4.1.1. Responses to the 2008 global food crisis through a gender lens

The 2008 international food crisis outlined in Chapters 1 and 2 sparked a number of high-level initiatives at global and regional levels, involving stakeholders from government, the UN and other international agencies, and civil society. Two major, high-profile initiatives with significant implications for global, regional and national policy on food security are assessed below, with attention to their gender dimensions.

The **UN High Level Task Force (HTLF) on the Global Food Security Crisis** was intended to provide a 'coordinated, coherent and collective response given the severity of the food crisis' (Margulis 2012: 241). The HLTF represents the most comprehensive effort so far to achieve policy coherence on food security at both global and country levels. Headed by Ban Ki-Moon, Secretary-General of the UN, the Task Force comprises 22 members, including UN agencies and economic and trade governance institutions such as the World Bank and the WTO. A key outcome of the Task Force has been the **Comprehensive Framework for Action** (CFA),[52] produced in 2008, which reflects the HLTF's recognition of food security as a highly complex issue needing multiple, connected policy responses that take gender inequality into account and strengthen women's role in agricultural production. It also draws attention to CEDAW as a vital instrument for realising food security and women's rights (HLTF 2010: 4).

Also in 2008, the Committee for World Food Security (CFS) was appointed as coordinator of a **Global Strategic Framework for food security and nutrition**, and advisor to countries and regions on food security policy. The **Global Strategic Framework for Food Security and Nutrition**, developed through the CFS process in 2013,[53] attempts to link with other high-level processes and agreements, including the CFA, the Rome Principles for Global Food Security[54] and the Voluntary Guidelines (see Chapter 3). Participants in the CFS include the HLTF, WFP, World Bank and WTO, INGOs and transnational rural and farmer movements such as Via Campesina.

Both the CFS and the HLTF have called for a **'twin-track'** approach that focuses on 'direct action to immediately tackle hunger and malnutrition for the most vulnerable' and provide resistance to shocks, and on 'medium/long-term actions to build resilience and address the root causes of hunger' (CFS 2013: 15). Immediate actions include emergency assistance, nutrition interventions and social protection strategies such as cash and food transfers (see Section 4.4.), while the longer-term actions rely on improving agricultural productivity and investment, with a focus on increasing capacity and market linkages of small-scale farmers.

What is the potential of these policy processes for enabling gender-just, sustainable food security?

Both these processes have identified some key gender dimensions of food insecurity and offer ways forward that are progressive in many respects. The Global Strategic Framework, in particular, represents a step forward in terms of a collective set of principles for achieving gender-just food and nutrition security. It recognises the value of the four pillars of food security, stresses the need for more policy coherence around food security and points to the Voluntary Guidelines as a mechanism for implementing the right to food (see Chapter 3). The strategy also highlights the gender dimensions of food security, particularly with respect to women's key role in food production and the importance of improving their access to land and other resources. It recognises the links between GBV and food insecurity and highlights the importance of CEDAW for establishing gender-aware food security policy and programming.

---

52   See the latest framework at www.ifad.org/hfs/docs/2010_UCFA_Final.pdf.

53   www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/cfs/Docs1213/gsf/GSF_Version_2_EN.pdf. See also the World Summit on Food Security on 16, 17 and 18 November 2009; and the report from the CFS, 40th session, October 2013.

54   The Five Rome Principles for Sustainable Global Food Security were adopted in November 2009 by Heads of State and Government from 182 countries attending the World Summit on Food Security in Rome. They are intended to provide a strategic underpinning for coordinated action by all stakeholders at global, regional and country levels to address food insecurity and reverse the current trend. The principles are: 1. Invest in country-owned plans; 2. Foster national, regional and global-level coordination; 3. Implement a twin-track approach to food security that consists of direct, immediate action and medium- and long-term sustainable agriculture and rural development programmes; 4. Ensure a strong role for the multilateral system; 5. Ensure sustained and substantial commitment by all partners to invest in agriculture, food security and nutrition (From Declaration of World Summit on Food Security 2009).

However, considerable work is needed at the levels of process, implementation, governance and policy prescriptions before they can contribute to the goal of gender-just food and nutrition security. The involvement of civil society actors in the CFS has succeeded in raising the profile of small farmers' needs and rights, and in ensuring that gender equality and women's empowerment are being integrated into global-level policy guidance. However, there is relatively little participation of women's organisations in these high-level consultations, and 'meaningful discussions about gender are largely absent from the CFS process' (Lauren Ravon, Oxfam, personal communication, 2014). Second, the Global Strategy is not a binding agreement, and there are no clear accountability mechanisms associated with its principles. Furthermore, while the inclusion of gender dimensions in the CFS and HLTF strategies is encouraging, there is a lack of concrete guidance on how to address these complex issues, and attention is focused on tackling structural symptoms without addressing the underlying social and cultural roots of inequality.

Next, the institutions with the most decision-making power in these high-level processes are typically unrepresentative with regard to gender, with fewer women than men in their higher echelons of decision-making due to a range of factors that include implicit, unchallenged male biases and often inflexible working conditions that restrict the participation of women with caring responsibilities (see Brody 2009). With the emergence of these global spaces for negotiation around food security, it is more important than ever to ensure that women and others marginalised on the basis of their gender are enabled to participate effectively. Finally, while the twin-track approach offers a multilayered response to the complex dimensions of food insecurity, it also raises questions and concerns in relation to its potential to transform unequal gender power relations. These concerns are explored in Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

4.1.2. Integrating nutrition into global food security processes

Currently there are no internationally binding covenants or frameworks dedicated exclusively to safeguarding nutrition,[55] nor are there mainstreamed approaches that deal with malnutrition. Nutrition is seen as 'everyone's problem and no one's responsibility'.[56] As noted in Chapter 3, approaches to food security and to nutrition have not been integrated, despite the clear need to consider them as interconnected issues. However, this is beginning to change, and there is a growing recognition of the need for a coordinated food security and nutrition focus.

The Second International Conference on Nutrition (ICN2), the first global intergovernmental conference to address the world's nutrition problems in the 21st century is being held in late 2014 (FAO and WHO 2014). It is expected that the ICN2 will reach a consensus on a global policy framework that addresses current and foreseeable major nutrition challenges. The expected Declaration will be accompanied by a multisectoral framework and a plan of action to guide its implementation. While this focus on nutrition at the global level is very welcome, ICN2 is not informed by a comprehensive gender analysis, and as Chapter 3 noted, gender concerns in the context of nutrition are narrowly confined to expectant and breastfeeding mothers and children below the age of two.

---

55 The most comprehensive coverage can be found in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

56 In conversation with Katherine Pittore (Nutrition Convenor, IDS).

4.1.3. The sustainable development process for the post-2015 agenda

At the time of writing this report, processes are underway to define the post-MDG global architecture and a new set of 'sustainable development goals' (SDGs), which are highly relevant for the issues raised in this report, as they will contribute significantly to shaping the ways in which the issues are understood and tackled, and the measures for evaluating progress. It is vital that they draw on lessons from the failure of MDG1 to adequately capture or address the magnitude and complex realities of hunger and malnutrition. Decisions made on priorities and indicators will significantly affect the amount of attention governments devote to developing gender-just and transformative food and nutrition security policies, as well as other directly relevant issues that include agriculture, trade, climate change and the environment, so influencing these decisions and holding governments to account for their commitments is paramount.

Rio + 20 – a missed opportunity for gender-just, sustainable solutions to hunger and malnutrition

The UN Conference on Sustainable Development, usually referred to as Rio + 20, was held in 2012[57] and was intended to make a major contribution to the development of the SDGs. A UN Declaration – 'The future we want' – was issued and endorsed as part of a UN General Assembly Resolution in 2012, based on principles of equality, sustainability, inclusive and equitable economic growth and human rights.[58] The Secretary-General of the UN, Ban Ki-Moon, also used Rio + 20 as an opportunity to launch the Zero Hunger Challenge, which calls on governments, the private sector, NGOs and the public to join forces to end hunger.

Despite these grand intentions, there was a resounding sense of disappointment and anti-climax from environmental activists, rural producers, gender equality and women's empowerment activists who had participated in and followed the Rio + 20 events.[59] The consensus was that, despite the work put into lobbying governments and other actors, little progress was made in terms of developing strong, clear language on gender equality issues, setting concrete milestones or establishing firm commitments (AWID website).[60]

The Sustainable Development Goals post 2015 – are we moving forwards?

Rio + 20 was one of several high-level processes intended to initiate the development of a set of sustainable development goals that have been underway since 2012. These have included meetings of a High-level Panel of Eminent Persons; the establishment of a UN System Task Team; an Open Working Group of governmental bodies; and a series of national, regional, global and thematic consultations. In parallel, civil society organisations, networks and movements have joined forces to develop shared positions for influencing the post-2015 process. For example, the Women's Major Group was created to ensure effective participation of women's groups, organisations and social movements striving for gender equality and gender justice in the post-2015 UN

---

57 Marking 20 years since the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio, the aim of the global conference was to review progress against Agenda 21 – a blueprint intended to motivate more socially equitable and environmentally sustainable approaches to economic growth – to develop practical strategies for building a 'green economy'; and to contribute towards a post-2015 development agenda.

58 www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/66/288&Lang=E.

59 Daniel Mittler, Political Director of Greenpeace, called Rio + 20 an 'Epic failure… a reminder that short-term corporate profit rules over the interests of the people' (www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2012/06/22/analysis-rio-20-epic-fail/).

60 www.awid.org/News-Analysis/Friday-Files/Rio-20-Outcomes-What-Was-Agreed-And-What-This-Means-For-Women-s-Rights-Going-Forward.

process.[61] There is a consensus from many civil society observers that current official drafts of the post-2015 framework are apolitical, failing to address the underlying power dynamics that fuel poverty, food insecurity, gender inequality and other critical issues (see, for example, Women's Major Group 2013).[62]

This section has provided insights into the global architecture and processes and thinking that are framing food and nutrition security policy at global, regional and national levels. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 consider the implications of this framing for gender-just food and nutrition security, with a specific focus on the twin-track approach outlined above.

4.2. Medium and long-term solutions: assessing enhanced production and market-led solutions through a gender lens

The provision of food is no doubt important but food insecurity is a more complex problem – one that requires an approach that deals with access to financial and productive assets, markets, steady returns, and a change in the underlying cultural context to one that would bring women into the mainstream rather than being confined to actions in smaller groups.
(Priya Bhagowalia, BRIDGE e-discussion, 2014)

As noted above, despite the apparent movement towards a more comprehensive global framing of food security with an apparent focus on multiple solutions and founded on rights, medium- and longer-term food security policy solutions are currently being interpreted primarily in terms of the need to increase agricultural production and trade.

This emphasis on agricultural production is articulated in the highly influential *World Development Report 2008*, which states that 'agriculture has special powers in reducing poverty' (World Bank 2007: 6 (overview); also see Scoones and Thompson 2011). The report highlights the importance of small-scale agriculture in poverty reduction, noting that 'improving the productivity, profitability, and sustainability of smallholder farming is the main pathway out of poverty in using agriculture for development' (World Bank 2007: 10). It also calls on governments and international agencies to 'increase the assets of poor farmers (particularly access to land, water, education, and health care), to raise the productivity of small-scale producers, and to generate opportunities in the rural non-farm economy' (Wise and Murphy 2012: 12).

The report sees smallholder farmers as key actors in a new 'green revolution' in sub-Saharan Africa and other countries that would increase their productive capacity, enabling them to grow and sell high-value crops within the lucrative global commercial food market or find employment within agricultural industries. This would in turn generate income for purchasing food and improving the quality of life in other ways as countries move from agriculture-based to urbanised societies. Figures have been cited indicating rapid growth in Asia emanating from such policies, particularly in China and India, over the past 20 years (World Bank 2008; IFAD 2010).[63] Other high

---

61 www.womenmajorgroup.org/.

62 The Women's Major Group point out that 'Gender equality and women's rights are being inadequately framed as "mainstreaming" concerns, rather than as a transformative necessity for the realization of sustainable development. The recent report of the HLP [High Level Panel] on the Post 2015 Development Agenda shows a heightened and disturbing reorientation of development toward the interests and priorities of corporations, further marginalizing and minimizing the concerns of women all over the world, as well as their communities' (2013: 13).

63 The African Green Revolution Forum, a community of African Heads of State, farmers, agribusinesses, financial institutions, NGOs and citizens – and supported by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) – is a strong advocate of agricultural investment in Africa (see blog, http://ifad-un.blogspot.co.uk/2010/09/african-green-revolution-forum-agrf.html).

profile documents such as the *2012 FAO State of Food and Agriculture Report* (2012a) also stress the importance of investing in increased agricultural production as a means to reduce poverty and hunger.

As a consequence of this new emphasis, global investment in agriculture has been increased, with inputs from governments, the World Bank and private-sector players such as the Gates Foundation. For example, in July 2009, leaders of the G8 countries[64] committed to providing $20 billion over three years to address the food security crisis. The L'Aquila Joint Declaration on Global Food Security[65] stated that 'food security, nutrition and sustainable agriculture must remain a priority issue' and that funding should not only go to emergency food aid but to short-, medium- and long-term agricultural development in developing countries (G8 2009: 1). This is translating into regional and national investment in agriculture. For example, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)[66] urges African countries to devote at least 10 per cent of national budgets to agriculture (see box below).

Commitments to agricultural production in Africa: focus on CAADP

The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) was established as part of NEPAD in 2003. It is an Africa-owned and led initiative working to boost agricultural productivity in Africa through research and operational programmes. It focuses on four pillars: land and water management, market access, food supply and hunger, and agricultural research. Under CAADP African Heads of State and Government have pledged to allocate at least 10 per cent of their national budgets to agriculture. Since its inauguration, CAADP has successfully guided country and regional actions designed to stimulate economic growth and reduce hunger and poverty through increased investment in agriculture. However, the majority of participating African countries have not committed adequate financial resources and have not yet met the CAADP targets of raising annual agricultural growth by at least 6 per cent.

As we argue below, investment in agriculture is badly needed in developing countries. Yet the neat economic projections that demonstrate the trajectory from agriculture to food security are problematic. There are indications that these linear, market-driven growth models of development do not reduce poverty but, rather, perpetuate or create inequalities between rich and poor and between women and men.[67] A focus on green growth in Asia may have contributed to overall economic growth, but in many cases this has done little to reduce large-scale poverty or food and nutrition insecurity. For example, India may be one of the fastest growing Asian economies, but, as noted in Chapter 1, it is home to the poorest women in the world and has the highest rate of

---

64   The **G8 summit** is an annual meeting between leaders from eight of the most powerful countries in the world. The aim is to find solutions to global problems by discussing big issues and planning what action to take. The leaders of the countries meet every year in a different member country.

65   In July 2008, the G8 leaders' meeting in Japan issued a Leaders Statement on Global Food Security which emphasised the urgency of meeting short-term needs in relation to food insecurity, including a commitment to increase food aid and investment. At the L'Aquila summit the following year, the G8 issued a stronger declaration highlighting the need to increase agricultural production. Twenty-six nations and 14 international organisations committed to raising $22 billion over three years for agricultural investment (http://foodgovernance.com/2012/02/07/laquila-food-security-has-its-first-meeting-of-2012/). The statement can be found at:
www.g8italia2009.it/static/G8_Allegato/LAquila_Joint_Statement_on_Global_Food_Security%5B1%5D,0.pdf.

66   NEPAD is an African Union strategic framework for pan-African socio-economic development, providing both a vision and a policy framework for Africa in the 21st century. NEPAD is a radically new intervention, spearheaded by African leaders, to address critical challenges facing the continent: poverty, development and Africa's marginalisation internationally. Its intention is to provide opportunities for African countries to take full control of their development agenda, to work more closely together and to cooperate more effectively with international partners on issues that include agriculture and food security, climate change, gender and economic and corporate governance (www.nepad.org/about).

67   Thomas Picketty's book *Capital in the Twenty-first Century* (2014) reviews data from 20 countries over the past two centuries to assess key social and economic patterns. He argues that today's model of economic growth threatens to generate extreme inequalities that fuel discontent and threaten democracies.

stunting due to malnutrition (Spieldoch 2007; Sayeed and Maldonado 2013; World Bank/IFAD/FAO 2009: module 1).

Questions therefore remain as to who will benefit from these policies without fundamental changes to the current inequitable economic systems within which poor women and men are often compelled to produce, sell and purchase food, and without addressing the gendered social and cultural dimensions of food and nutrition insecurity. Below we set out some of the broad constraints that need to be addressed as an integral part of gender-just, sustainable food and nutrition security.

4.2.1. Mapping the gender equality and environmental implications of current food systems

The food price volatility outlined in Chapter 2 highlights deep flaws in current global food and economic systems, which both rely on and contribute to gender inequality. The production and sale of food is being increasingly governed by market-led strategies which privilege multinational companies and agro-businesses that can generate high-value yields at low costs, often with negative implications for the environment and for the interests of rural women and men. Higher productivity is often achieved through the unsustainable use of genetically-modified seeds and chemical fertilisers, which create the greenhouse gases that contribute to climate change.

In addition, rich countries and companies are taking advantage of weak land laws and corrupt governments in many poor countries to 'grab' land at low costs on a massive scale (Wise and Murphy 2012). Often this land is not being used in ways that benefit local populations, but for the production of biofuels and for grazing cattle and other animals to feed a growing desire for meat in developed and middle-income countries. At the national level this dramatically affects locally available food stocks and leads to greater reliance on external sources when crops fail. At the same time local producers, particularly poor women, are losing their rights to sovereignty over food production and land. Because they often do not have land and property rights, they are rarely consulted when local land is being bought and sold (CWGL 2011). As noted in Chapter 2, available legal frameworks are often inadequate for regulating this phenomenon (see Cotula 2013; Oxfam 2011; Oxfam 2012; Oxfam Grow website).[68]

These unsustainable, gender-inequitable food systems are compounded, and driven, by a focus on food as a key commodity in global trade systems, which continue to benefit richer nations. The past 30 years have seen a global move towards greater trade liberalisation – the lifting or reduction of import tariffs which could protect local markets from an influx of cheaper foreign goods – led by the WTO. The WTO Agreement on Agriculture, negotiated between 1986 and 1994, has required developing countries to liberalise agricultural trade (Joshi 2013: 54). This has allowed powerful players from industrialised countries to undercut local producers[69] (see De Schutter 2011; Joshi 2013; Häberli 2013). Coupled with low national and international investment in local agricultural production, these policies have created a reliance on imported produce that many developing countries could and should be growing themselves.[70]

---

68 www.oxfam.org/en/grow/landgrabs.

69 For example, as a result of the North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA) Mexico's locally produced breeds of white maize – a staple crop – have been undermined by cheap imported American yellow corn. Imports of Thai rice to West Africa have also affected demand for local rice and other traditional staples such as cassava (Spieldoch 2007; see also Sayeed and Maldonado 2013; Joshi 2013).

70 The FAO predicts many countries will continue to be dependent on food imports, stating that by 2050, developing countries' imports are expected to double from 135 million tons of food to 300 million tons (FAO how to feed the world, undated).

According to both the World Bank and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), trade liberalisation has resulted in few, if any, advantages for developing countries, while poverty has *increased* in Least Developed Countries that have liberalised (Wise and Gallagher 2006; UNCTAD 2002). Yet these figures have not managed to influence World Bank or WTO policies (Wise and Murphy 2012).

Local producers are being directly affected by the global trade imbalance. Often they are marginalised in markets dominated by global and nationally owned supermarkets that prioritise agro-businesses, which can offer competitive prices for milk, rice and other food products due to economies of scale and capacity to store and process foods (Spieldoch 2007; Sayeed and Maldonado 2013). Even when selling to local markets, farmers are often disadvantaged, lacking the means to transport their goods and relying on middle men who pay low prices to make large profits.

Women farmers are particularly affected by these disparities. As noted in Chapter 2, their access to productive assets such as land, credit and seeds is often highly restricted, and they are often not targeted by agricultural extension programmes that could provide them with knowledge of more efficient modes of production and tools to enhance productivity. They also often have no capital to diversify their crops, and few opportunities to seek alternative livelihoods (see Catagay 2001; Randriamaro 2006). As one working group member pointed out, '*African governments have committed to invest 10 per cent of their annual national budgets to agriculture, but which agriculture are they actually supporting, and are they geared towards addressing the challenges among women and girls*?' (Catherine Gatundu, personal communication, 2014).

It is imperative to move beyond these current food systems that are damaging the environment, contributing to inequalities between rich and poor and between women and men, and increasing food insecurity. Large-scale agricultural production and trade can offer real opportunities for female and male smallholder farmers. However, regulations are needed that ensure their voices are heard and they have choices about the crops they grow and the markets they engage in. It is also vital to invest in the rural sector and to build sustainable livelihoods, by ensuring small-scale farmers receive fair prices and opportunities, and are paid fair wages when employed in food production. To achieve this, the constraints around women's access to productive resources must be lifted, without losing sight of the need for more engaged, transformative approaches, as we argue in Section 4.3.2.

Global movements such as Via Campesina are actively demonstrating that there are viable alternatives that move beyond the reliance on cash-driven monoculture, food imports and market-driven policies and promote the voices and livelihoods of small-scale farmers – including women. As one e-discussion participant noted: '*It is vital to recover the diversity of the rural economy and enhance rural-regional food circuits, since it is not only necessary to ensure dignified livelihoods for women and their families but also to guarantee an adequate supply of healthy, traditional and locally produced food for urban people*' (Claudia Gimena, BRIDGE e-discussion, 2014).

Yet, despite the recognition of the need for these critical changes, reflected in the CFS Global Framework, the HLTF and in the right to food framework ratified by so many countries, there is so far little indication of shifts in policy focus (Wise and Murphy 2013).

4.2.2. Assessing the benefits and risks of focusing on women's potential as agricultural producers

Just as there is little done to check that more production means more food security there is no check as to how women really benefit within this. There is however evidence that more production can mean less food security for women. Women as labourers on plantations are often poor, struggling to ensure childcare and food for children while working long, hard hours for little pay.
(Marc Wegerif, BRIDGE e-discussion, 2014)

The untapped productive potential represented by women has gained recent visibility in several high-profile reports (FAO 2011b; ADB 2013; Mehra and Rojas 2008; CFS 2013). The FAO report *The State of Food and Agriculture 2010–11* encapsulates this in its often-quoted prediction that:

'closing the gender gap in agriculture would generate significant gains for the agriculture sector and for society. If women had the same access to productive resources as men, they could increase yields on their farms by 20–30 percent. This could raise total agricultural output in developing countries by 2.5–4 percent. [This in turn] could reduce the number of hungry people in the world by 12–17 percent.'
(FAO 2011: 5)

Attention has also been brought to the vital role women often play in enabling food security at the household level, managing the production of subsistence crops and taking responsibility for the purchase of nutritional, diverse foods for their families. One high-profile resource stresses that women 'are crucial in the translation of the products of a vibrant agricultural sector into food and nutritional security for their households' (World Bank/FAO/IFAD 2009: 12).

These analyses have served to raise awareness of women as agents with huge, largely unrealised capacity, and are commendable in many ways. They recognise the need to lift constraints to women's productivity through a range of strategies, including more gender-just land rights legislation, and they also identify the need to address the issue of women's unpaid care work.

However, they are somewhat limited in terms of their potential to contribute to *transforming* existing gender inequalities and promoting women's empowerment. They fail to acknowledge the deeply political nature of gender inequality, and particularly the *rights* of women and girls to be both food secure and free from discrimination. Furthermore, without a clear and explicit gender equality objective they risk *instrumentalising* women (see Kabeer 1999), positioning them as 'drivers' of efficient agricultural and economic growth (see Ashby, Hartl *et al.* 2009) and food security, and assuming they will automatically experience empowerment as a result of these improvements. Yet there is a risk that these approaches will reinforce inequitable gender roles and norms, as well as creating additional burdens for women (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2009). This in turn means they may be less likely to achieve food and nutrition security for all: evidence shows that approaches which actively seek to transform gender roles and promote more gender-equitable relationships between men and women are more effective (Barker, Ricardo and Nascimiento 2007).

The following case study illustrates how interventions designed to improve women's productivity can fall short in terms of empowering women and addressing discriminatory gender norms if they do not start from an analysis of gender power relations and a commitment to gender transformation.

Multifunctional platforms in Mali: missed opportunities for gender transformation

Since the 1990s the Malian government has been implementing a countrywide programme to distribute multifunctional platforms, with support from UNDP. The project aims to promote women's productivity, advance their economic status and promote their well-being and empowerment. Groups of women within communities were provided with diesel-powered platforms with the capacity to mechanically carry out functions usually performed by women such as husking rice and grinding and extracting oil from shea nuts. The rationale for installing the platforms was to free up time for the women to engage in agricultural production and commercial activities such as selling their surplus produce. A study found that there were benefits for women and girls, including increased disposable income, increased time and increased education for girls – who no longer had to help their mothers at home. Women also reported they had more of a role in community decision-making. However, there was no evidence that the project had contributed to shifting gender power relations, particularly with regard to domestic violence and female genital mutilation, which are prevalent in Mali. There was also no evidence of change in the gendered division of labour – 'in fact, in many ways the project contributed to reinforcing women's specific roles' (Kabeer 2010: 111), enabling women to perform their traditional roles more effectively.
(Source: Kabeer 2010)

If they are to be truly empowering, production-focused interventions, therefore, need to challenge the inequitable gender relations outlined in Chapter 2 that prescribe socially devalued gender roles and responsibilities for women and normalise GBV. As noted in Chapter 2, it is also vital that any opportunities for women do not intensify their existing pressures, expectations and workload. De Schutter has highlighted the need to 'recognise, reduce and redistribute'[71] unpaid care work, to 'allow women greater opportunities for education and employment, particularly employment outside subsistence agriculture' (ADB 2013: 3). This not only means investing in subsidised childcare and crèches but also establishing more flexible working hours and encouraging men to share care responsibilities with women (see Esplen 2009). Finally, gender-just food and nutrition security policies should open up opportunities for women beyond the confines of domestic roles and farming.

4.2.3. Reframing women's empowerment

A central obstacle to truly empowering women through food security-related interventions are the narrow indicators used to measure change, which often conflate an increase in women's financial status with overall empowerment. Kabeer's well-known empowerment framework (1999) offers a holistic, multidimensional way of understanding and measuring empowerment, which goes beyond these financial indicators and could facilitate progress beyond instrumentalism towards more gender-transformative food security policies and programmes. The framework draws on Amartya Sen's (1999) capability approach, which sees poverty reduction as being about well-being, dignity and choice as well as access to material resources. Kabeer's framework is founded on an understanding of empowerment as the ability to make informed and free choices. It centres around three interrelated domains of empowerment: current access and future claims to material, social and human

---

71   The 'three Rs' were first defined by Diane Elson at a UNDP workshop and later included in Fälth and Blackden (2009).

resources; agency, including decision-making but also less measurable aspects of agency such as the power to negotiate; and achievements, assessed in terms of well-being outcomes.

4.3. Immediate responses to hunger: assessing food assistance through a gender lens

When acute food crises strike, most people are extraordinarily resourceful and draw on a wide range of strategies to survive. But when these survival strategies are exhausted, and when national governments fail to help, international humanitarian assistance is vital to help save lives and prevent acute malnutrition.
(Oxfam 2006: 6)

The propensity of humanitarian crises has risen sharply over the past 15 years due to a combination of extreme weather-related disasters induced by climate change and persistent conflict in a number of regions (Harvey *et al.* 2010: 1). The provision of food aid[72] is still the most prevalent response to crises such as these and is also provided in some non-emergency situations (Oxfam 2006). However, food aid is often delivered 'too little and too late'.[73] Additionally the food provided can be nutritionally limited and not suited to local diets, while its availability can damage local markets. In recognition of these limitations there is a growing shift to a 'food assistance' approach by donors, key UN agencies such as the WFP, and NGOs.[74]

There is no clear definition of food assistance, but its modalities generally include social protection strategies such as conditional and unconditional cash and voucher transfers; school feeding programmes; and production and market support for farmers. Food assistance can also include supplementary feeding and prioritisation of vulnerable groups – for example, with a focus on meeting the immediate nutritional needs of infants, pregnant women and mothers of newborn babies. The intention behind a food assistance approach is to facilitate longer-term resilience and sustainability and create greater self-sufficiency and autonomy (Oxfam 2006; Harvey *et al.* 2010). Below is a critical assessment of some of these food assistance approaches, paying attention to the ways in which they take gender dimensions into account.

4.3.1. Assessing school feeding programmes through a gender lens

School feeding programmes are targeted social safety nets designed to improve children's nutritional health and educational potential. Research shows there are multiple benefits when schools offer nutritious hot meals, mid-morning snacks and take-home rations. Parents are more willing to retain their children in school, knowing they will receive these benefits, and figures show that school feeding is resulting in increased enrolment and retention of girls (World Bank 2012). There are also other gender-specific benefits, as the example below highlights.

---

72 Food aid is the donation of internationally sourced food to recipient households, communities or governments. It can be provided in the form of food or as cash resources for the procurement of food. Emergency food aid entails the distribution of basic food rations as well as supplementary and therapeutic feeding.

73 During the Niger famine in 2005, although the earliest warnings came in late 2004, it was only when pictures of suffering children were shown on television in June 2005 that the international community was galvanised into action. By the time aid arrived, 3.6 million people were suffering from hunger (Oxfam 2006)

74 The Global Strategic Framework and CFA endorse food assistance as part of a 'twin-track approach'.

The National Midday Meal Scheme in India

The Midday Meal Scheme (MDM) was launched in 1995 in India. The programme entitles every child in all government and government-assisted primary schools to receive a nutritious hot meal for a minimum of 200 days during school hours. The scheme provides paid employment for cooks and helpers in the schools, and often this offers women a source of income (Mander 2012). In several states the scheme provides employment for widows and women from disadvantaged communities such as scheduled castes, who are often marginalised (Kattumuri 2011). The scheme has contributed to increased attendance of children in schools in rural and urban districts, especially girls (Kattumuri 2013).

Despite the focus on encouraging greater school attendance of girls, the programmes often lack a comprehensive gender analysis. The case study below shows the importance of conducting a gender analysis from the outset of these interventions.

Moving beyond assumptions about gender: school feeding in Senegal

The risk of basing policies such as school feeding on simplistic binary assumptions about gender is borne out in the example of government-supported school feeding programmes in Senegal, which are run in partnership with the WFP. The programmes initially aimed to address the gender gap in education by offering the incentive of free food for Senegalese girls (and their parents) if they attended school. The scheme was so successful that the number of girls in school increased exponentially, but it had the inverse effect of reducing the number of boys attending school, their parents making the choice to keep them at home where they could assist with farm labour. Introducing school canteens for both girls and boys has since led to more gender parity in Senegalese schools, but a lesson has been learned about the unexpected outcomes of any project and the gendered assumptions that often underpin policy planning.
(Based on reflections of WFP Senegal staff, 2014)

4.3.2. Assessing nutrition-focused services through a gender lens

Nutrition-focused programmes are intended to provide nutritious, mineral- and vitamin-rich foods for pregnant and breastfeeding women and their young children, as well as health and nutrition advice. However, as the example below from India shows, there is often a gap between the development of policies and programmes and their implementation. It is clear that lessons need to be learned both from strategies that are working and from those that are not.

ICDS in Kanchipuran, Tamil Nadu

The Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) in India are intended to provide supplementary nutrition, health care, childcare and preschool education to children below the age of six. The services extend to adolescent girls and pregnant and lactating mothers. The schemes are implemented through Anganwadi Centres (AWCs), located in local communities, and run by women workers who are usually from the local village.

Anganwadi means 'courtyard shelter' in Hindi, but few centres resemble the friendly

and lively settings of household courtyards, which are a hub of activity for women and children. Centres in urban slum areas have received particularly poor reports, with one study noting 'Whether winter or summer, they make the kids sit on a paper-thin *durrie* (mat), and even if they soil themselves they are made to sit like that for hours. All they get is a meal but no personal touch' (Ghosh 2012, quoted in Saxena 2012: 12). These inadequate services mean that many women working in the informal sector are often obliged to take their children to work with them if they cannot find alternative care provision.

However, Kanchipuram district in Tamil Nadu state, considered among the best in terms of maintaining centres and services, paints a different picture (Naandi Foundation 2011). AWCs operate from permanent structures; children below two years are given a fortified powder, while those aged between two and five years old receive hot cooked meals consisting of pulses, cereals and vegetables, and one egg per week.[75] In addition, nutrition education sessions are organised for pregnant and lactating mothers in most districts in Tamil Nadu (NIPCCD 2009). Pregnant women are immunised, and iron and folic acid tablets are given to adolescent girls. A village-level monitoring committee (VLMC)[76] actively enrols children up to five years of age and women in the schemes and also educates them about hygiene and the negative effects of early marriage and female infanticide. Kishori Shakthi Yojana (KSY), a programme to empower young girls, is also run by the AWCs to improve literacy and provide vocational training in nutrition and health.

The ICDS scheme is based on well-considered principles and a clear mandate of providing an integrated service to address health, nutrition, education and childcare. However, poor implementation can seriously undermine the value of the service. There is a need to learn from positive examples such as Kanchipuram.
(Based on a case study by Priya Bhagowalia, 2014)

4.3.3. Assessing cash and food transfers through a gender lens

Cash and food voucher transfers are widely mobilised forms of social protection. Conditional transfers of cash, food or food vouchers are distributed to targeted households that meet certain requirements, such as ensuring children regularly attend school, and are sometimes provided in exchange for work on local infrastructure projects. Unconditional transfers are given to the most vulnerable, often in humanitarian situations. There is an increasing move towards making women primary recipients of these transfers, in recognition of the role women often assume in ensuring household food security (WFP 2009; Khogali and Thakar 2001).

Evidence indicates that making women primary recipients of these entitlements can have a beneficial effect in terms of challenging entrenched gender inequalities and empowering women. For example, Oxfam established a cash-for-work programme in Orissa, India, in response to the devastation caused by a cyclone. The programme targeted women to carry out work that might usually be associated with men, and to receive cash for this work. As a result there were reports of an increase in gender equality – for example, women felt able to demand equal wages for equal work after the Oxfam intervention because they had experienced this during the programme (Khogali and Thakar 2001).

---

75 Tamil Nadu government website: http://icds.tn.nic.in/index.html (accessed June, 2014).

76 VLMCs consist of Anganwadi workers, women, adolescent girls, the local government committee (*panchayat*), school headmaster/headmistress and social workers.

However, it is also clear that the provision of entitlements is often insufficient to achieve the practical goal of meeting the nutritional needs of women and girls, or the strategic goal of promoting gender equality. As the WFP Gender Policy (2009: 9) points out, 'issuing ration cards in women's names does not necessarily give them control over household rations because control is determined by the capacity to negotiate and decide the use of food'. Furthermore, research on conditional cash transfers to women beneficiaries has found that there are clear impacts for girls, as more household income is invested in their education when women hold the purse strings. However, 'the situation regarding their mothers is less clear' (Molyneux 2007: 70). Questions have been raised about the extent to which temporarily giving women more economic control has lasting effects in terms of redistributing power and status within households. Molyneux (*ibid*.: 72) notes that 'receipt of the transfers in effect reinforces their traditional roles and responsibilities, so that women are empowered only within these structures, which are ones through which disempowering gender asymmetries are reproduced'. Devereux and Sabates Wheeler (2007: 23) note that social protection measures such as food transfers are often merely safety nets, or economic measures that are 'hardly socially transformative'. The example below of social safety net programmes in Ethiopia illustrates this point.

Assessing the gender implications of the Productive Safety Nets Programme in Ethiopia

Many areas of Ethiopia are characterised by chronic and /or transitory food insecurity (Woldemichael 2013: 1), which is both persistent and highly gendered. Ethiopia is ranked 173rd out of 187 countries, according to the *2013 Human Development Report* (UNDP 2013b) in terms of gender equality, and these inequalities affect women in various ways with reference to food security (see Gebreselassie and Halie 2013). Recently the Ethiopian government has moved towards more progressive, gender-aware policies. The Ethiopia Food Security Programme (2010–14) *'attempts to mainstream gender issues by focusing on food security among female and male members of chronically food insecure households by appreciating the heterogeneity of women in terms of the specific needs of female heads of households, women in male-headed households and young women'* (Kidist Gebreselassie, BRIDGE e-discussion, 2014).

The Food Security Programme consists of four components, including a comprehensive Productive Safety Nets Programme (PSNP). The PSNP recognises both women's substantial role in agriculture and household food provisioning as well as their vulnerability to food insecurity (Holmes and Jones 2011), and has built in a range of important approaches to facilitate women's participation. These incorporate provisions for gender-specific life-cycle needs, including allowing women time off for pregnancy and breastfeeding, the provision of crèche facilities, and flexibility in terms of women's working hours so they can balance their domestic and care-work responsibilities.

Its gender-aware approach has 'made remarkable progress in terms of targeting women as its main beneficiaries and, to some extent, enhancing their participation in programme decision-making' (Gebreselassie and Halie 2013). At household level the PSNP is also beginning to change gender-related attitudes. For example, some women noted that they are now accorded more respect from their husbands as a result of their participation in public works activities. However, the programme stops short of being transformative, by not questioning the assumption that women should be primary caregivers within the household. In addition, there is no evidence of a more gender-equitable balance in household decision-making (Holmes and Jones 2011).

Some critics have called for a more transformative reframing of social protection that is based on a social well-being and rights approach to poverty and an appreciation of structural inequalities, including gender inequalities (see, for example, Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2007).

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has argued that there have been positive steps forward at the level of the global architecture that is framing food security policy in terms of the renewed commitment to rights, more environmentally sustainable approaches, greater policy coherence, and enabling gender equality and women's empowerment. However, work is still needed to integrate a more coherent approach to nutrition into food security policy. There is also a yawning gap between the commitments made at this high level and their translation into action at national, regional and global levels.

The chapter also points out that the twin-track approach of promoting enhanced production and food assistance will fail to achieve gender-just food and nutrition security if it does not have transformation at its heart. For small-scale farmers, particularly women, to benefit from investments in agriculture, it is vital to move beyond linear models of economic growth that are perpetuating rather than reversing inequalities. In tandem, fundamental changes are needed to the existing inequitable global economic and food systems that are biased towards men and the rich, while contributing to environmental degradation. There is an urgent need to reconfigure these systems in ways that benefit, rather than marginalise, poor countries and people, including small-scale women farmers.

The chapter also argues that understandings of women's potential role in both immediate and longer-term food security solutions often reinforce unequal gender norms and roles, rather than contributing to transformation of unequal gender power relations. It highlights the critical importance of these transformations for achieving gender-just food and nutrition security and for truly empowering women and girls.

Chapter 5 takes stock of the gender critique presented in the preceding chapters and offers some practical solutions grounded in experience, policy and practice.

5 Towards Gender-Just Food and Nutrition Security Interventions: Learning from Successes and Challenges[77]

Isa Banu (left) and Joygun Islam (right), sort through chillies grown by women in their village, ready to sell at market or to a national food processing company. The women have received training on growing, sorting and picking chillies, so they can earn a better income and cope with regular floods.
Photographer: Abir Abdullah/Oxfam

The previous chapters have highlighted some of the key gender dimensions of food and nutrition insecurity and security, and outlined key gaps, concerns and opportunities in relation to these. Chapters 3 and 4 highlighted the challenge of translating principles of rights, gender equality, environmental sustainability and policy coherence into practice as part of food and nutrition security approaches, and operationalising them in ways that remain gender-aware while not instrumentalising women. A persistent barrier to progressive solutions to hunger and malnutrition is the lack of interconnection between global, regional and national policy, and local-level practices and realities. These disconnects are only partially being addressed through the consultative spaces provided in high-level processes; there is a need for far more engaged dialogue, mediated through national, regional and local-level structures and processes, where mutual learning can take place and practical, gender-just solutions can be identified.

---

77 This chapter was drafted by Alyson Brody and Georgina Aboud, and benefits greatly from case studies provided by members of the BRIDGE Programme Working Group and Community of Practice (see Chapter 1).

This chapter provides a stepping stone in this learning process, drawing attention to useful examples of food and nutrition security policies, processes and interventions at the regional, national and local level which begin to demonstrate how principles of rights, gender justice and sustainability can be practically realised in the context of food security. The examples are not exhaustive – there are still many gaps. However, they illustrate both the possibilities and the challenges of undertaking such processes, and as such are intended to provide critical tools for reflection and for inspiring action.

5.1. Towards dialogue and policy coherence

Chapter 4 highlighted the contradictions between food security, agricultural, nutrition and trade policies, and the extent to which failing to address these discrepancies has contributed to the food crisis and is likely to perpetuate or create new gendered inequalities. The need for policy coherence is clear, and has already been recognised at the highest level, with the interagency policy processes and agreements mobilised through the UN HTLF and the CFS demonstrating a commitment to greater cooperation between and within institutions and countries (see Chapter 4).

With a stronger, central push for measurable targets and accountability systems, coupled with governments that are strong enough to implement radical, alternative policies, and tougher legislation at national, regional and international levels, far greater policy coherence could be possible. A stricter, more regulated global system would also require actors to respect the internal conditions and principles to which they have committed. The two examples below demonstrate how commitments to policy coherence are being realised at the national level in Malawi and at the regional level in Africa.

5.1.1. Learning from a coordinated response to hunger, malnutrition and gender inequality in Malawi

Malawi is among the poorest countries in the world, ranking 171st out of 186, according to the *2013 Human Development Report* (UNDP 2013a). Hunger and malnutrition are rife: one third of the population is food insecure, with people in rural areas and female-headed households most likely to skip meals and reduce their intake of food (De Schutter 2014b). In recent years the Malawian government has demonstrated great political commitment to tackling food insecurity,[78] as well as dedicating resources to addressing gender inequality, HIV and AIDS. This responds to the realisation that women provide 70 per cent of the agricultural workforce, yet often have limited decision-making and control over production and resources (De Schutter 2014b), while also being disproportionately affected by food insecurity. At the same time, HIV is a major concern in Malawi and is a major factor in the country's low life expectancy of just 54.8 years.[79]

The Malawian government has acknowledged that these issues are all interlinked and cannot be tackled in silos (Malindi *et al.* 2010). With this in mind, in 2003 the government sought to create a coordinated response in the form of the Agriculture Sector, Gender and HIV and AIDS Strategy (see box below).

---

78 Malawi is third on the Hunger and Nutrition Commitment Index (HANCI), which ranks governments on their political commitment to tackling hunger and nutrition.

79 www.avert.org/hiv-aids-malawi.htm#footnote9_fpwrkbg.

Successes and lessons learned from a coordinated policy response in Malawi

The Agriculture Sector Gender, HIV and AIDS Strategy 2003–2008 aimed at mainstreaming gender, HIV and AIDS into all agricultural policies, programmes and projects. However, the implementation of the strategy faced a number of challenges, which included: inadequate knowledge and skills of implementing staff on gender, HIV and AIDS programming; and weak coordination among stakeholders in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the strategy. The Malawi government learned from the challenges and in 2011 facilitated consultations with various stakeholders at national, district and community levels to identify key gender, food security, HIV and AIDS issues. This led to the formation of a national taskforce, which called for a coherent strategy that takes gender, food security, HIV and AIDs into account. This resulted in a revised strategy (2012–2017), which commits to the integration of gender, HIV and AIDS into all agricultural policies and programmes, and for these to be underpinned by rights.
(Case study source: Malawi Agriculture Sector Gender, HIV and AIDS Strategy 2012–2017, summarised by Dalitso Baloyi).

5.1.2. Promoting regional policy coherence in sub-Saharan Africa

While policy coherence at the national level is vital, there is a strong need to create more interconnections between countries at the regional and global levels, to enable mutual learning on gender-just food and nutrition security solutions, and to ensure that trade agreements and processes do not undermine local knowledge and agricultural value chains. An example of how these connections between countries can work in practice is provided below.

Coordinated approaches to gender, climate change and agricultural support at the regional level

The African regional Gender, Climate Change and Agricultural Support Programme (GCCAP),[80] funded by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), was planned through the NEPAD planning and coordinating agency. Stakeholders were governments, regional economic communities, development partners, private-sector actors, smallholder women farmers, farmers' organisations and research and academic institutions in Cameroon, Ethiopia, Malawi, Niger and Rwanda. The programme goal was to achieve more effective and equitable participation and to build capacities among African women smallholders in climate-smart agricultural practices. A key aim of the programme was to ensure that all agricultural investments, including the CAADP investment plan, are gender-aware and enhance women's participation. The programme was linked to the Gender Programme in NEPAD and to CAADP (see Chapter 4). Stakeholder consultations with smallholder women farmers were conducted in all five countries, to raise their awareness of the programme and ensure it was informed by their knowledge and experience.
(Case study source: Gry Synnevag)

---

80 www.nepad.org/nepad/news/3339/nepad-and-norway-join-hands-fight-impact-climate-change-agriculture.

5.2. Making rights real

This report has stressed that rights to food, land and other vital resources are the foundations on which gender-just solutions to hunger and malnutrition should be based. Yet, as we have already noted, too often rights remain at the conceptual level but are not realised in practice. Contributing to this lack of implementation is the reality that the women and men who could gain the most from rights-based laws are often not informed of their existence or supported in claiming their rights. The examples below illustrate practical strategies for putting rights to land, food and other resources into practice.

5.2.1. Translating the right to food into practice at the national level in India

India is one of the most food-insecure countries in the world. The *2013 Global Hunger Index Report* (IFPRI 2013) shows that hunger in India is 'alarming', with starvation affecting the most vulnerable sections of the populations even in times of high economic growth in the country. Women and children are most acutely affected by hunger and malnutrition in India. Forty-eight per cent of children under five are malnourished, and over half of women between the ages of 15 and 49 are anaemic (Kattumuri 2011: 1). This is despite the fact that India produces enough food for its population, and its GDP has nearly doubled since 1991 (see, for example, Kattamuri 2011; Saxena 2012; Mamgain and Diwakar 2012). Inequitable and inefficient food access and distribution, coupled with corruption, have fuelled these shocking realities.

The Indian government has responded with various public schemes that are sound in principle but have not always been successfully implemented for multiple reasons (see Chapter 4). In March 2013 a revolutionary new bill, the **National Food Security Act**, was passed in India. The Bill represented the culmination of over ten years of campaigning and negotiation, and has been described as 'potentially the largest step towards food justice the world has ever seen' (Haddad *et al.* 2012: 1). Uniquely, the Bill translates the concepts of the 'right to food' and the 'right to life' into a constitutional mandate that takes the form of 'legally binding and enforceable rights and obligations' (De Shutter 2012: vii). The Act takes significant steps forward in terms of recognising women's rights, but, as the following case study argues, these are as yet far from adequate. The case study below provides insights into the development and negotiation of the Act.

Engendering the India National Food Security Act: the Right to Food Campaign

The Right to Food (RTF) Campaign is an informal network of organisations and individuals committed to the realisation of the right to food in India. It has called for the Indian government to recognise the provision of food as a legal entitlement and has stressed the need for food security policy and related laws to be gender just. The campaign has demanded that India's excessive food stocks be used to protect people from hunger and starvation and called for greater governmental accountability in delivering food to the poorest through national programmes such as the Midday Meal Scheme and Integrated Child Development Services (see Chapter 4) and the Targeted Public Distribution System, which aims to reach around 600 million target families below the poverty line, ensuring they receive 20 grams of grains per month (Kattamuri 2011).

The RTF Campaign tirelessly lobbied the Indian government for these entitlements to be universalised and turned into a political commitment through an Act of Parliament. An improved National Food Security Act[81] was finally passed in 2013. It establishes the legislative framework for one of the largest public provisioning systems in the world. The Act provides an allocation of 549.26 lakh tonnes of food grain to 75 per cent of the rural population and 50 per cent of the urban population of the country. While this entitlement is for individual family members, it is obtained through ration cards that are issued at the household level. Responding to a commitment to empower women, the Act designates the oldest female household member as the head of household named on these cards. This is the first Act that has recognised Indian women as heads of households. However, the Act has been criticised for not going far enough in recognising women's multiple roles in food production and unpaid productive and care work.
(Case study source: Sejal Dand)

5.2.2. Implementing land and property rights: learning from community-level processes

As noted in Chapter 2, unequal distribution of land, particularly women's lack of rights over land or property, is a major constraint to building gender-just food systems that empower women (see, for example, FAO 2011b; ADB 2013). The issue of women's unequal land rights has been highlighted in the global policy frameworks summarised in Chapter 4. These high-level policy recommendations resonate with the agendas of movements such as Via Campesina, which have land rights and food sovereignty at their core.

There is an urgent need for national laws that promote women's rights to own land and property. Yet even when gender-aware land laws are passed at the state level this is no guarantee they will be put into practice at the level of communities and households, where customary laws often prevail (see, for example, Agarwal 2012). Commitments to change, therefore, need to be backed up by investment in micro-level research to better understand the gender dimensions of land ownership and local barriers, as well as learning from, adapting and scaling up practical initiatives that address these often sensitive issues at both community and state levels. The following case study from Burundi provides insights into how these processes can be practically managed.

Changing attitudes to women's land inheritance at the community level in Burundi

Burundi is a small, landlocked country with the highest population density in Africa. The majority of the population in Burundi is rural, and 99.4 per cent of rural households are engaged in agricultural activities. The food security situation in the country remains precarious as poverty levels rise and constraints around land access and ownership increase. Gender-based discrimination in formal laws and local customary laws and practices cause severe inequalities for women in their ability to access, control, own and use land. For example, under formal law, wives and daughters are not granted rights to inherit land in Burundi.

Over the last three decades civil society organisations have been lobbying the Burundi government to reform the inheritance and marital property regimes, in line with the international and regional instruments it has signed and ratified – including

---

81 http://164.100.24.219/BillsTexts/LSBillTexts/PassedBothHouses/Food-House.pdf.

CEDAW and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.[82] At the local level, UN organisations and national and international NGOs have been working with local organisations to mobilise training and sensitisation of communities on women's rights, raising their awareness of relevant state and customary laws and of the equitable management of household assets, through discussions, radio broadcasts and other methods.

Reports from these processes reveal that engaging male spouses in the debates has been instrumental in changing attitudes, with more men agreeing that women and men, boys and girls should have equal rights to land and property. With the growing number of stakeholders working towards the same objective and with the support of media, there are indications that Burundian communities may support the promotion and implementation of a law that could guarantee equal rights to land and property.

As the case study below illustrates, to effectively shift practices and attitudes to land rights, a comprehensive multi-level approach is required that enables constructive dialogue between grass-roots actors, local leaders and other stakeholders. It is also vital to promote women's leadership so they can actively demand their rights and inspire others to take up the call.

Inspiring model for grass-roots women's leadership on land rights in Africa

Grass-roots women have been working collectively through 12 organisations in seven African countries (Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe) to build strategies, leadership and voice to advocate for their rights. They come from different walks of life, and their everyday work varies from collective farming, advocacy against domestic violence, help for disabled children, and caregiving for people affected by HIV and AIDS. They have joined forces around the issue of land rights, working with Women's Land Link Africa (WLLA) and the Huairou Commission's Land and Housing Campaign.[83] Their approach involves:

- training for grass-roots women and local leaders to generate a dialogue on land and property rights;

- interviewing grass-roots women as a means to map their needs and to identify actions;

- organising local-to-local dialogues between grass-roots women and local leaders;

- hosting multi-stakeholder dialogues between chiefs, legal officials and social workers;

- training community members on basic legal issues, and providing information to women and girls; and

- providing mediation and partnership-building among local leaders and other stakeholders.

---

82 www.achpr.org/files/instruments/women-protocol/achpr_instr_proto_women_eng.pdf.

83 The Huairou Commission and UNDP have published a report, *Engendering Access to Justice*, which shares more information on the participating organisations, their approach and their findings. Contributors to the report support local justice solutions that can address reform of both traditional and informal law as well as partnerships to leverage advocacy (Brown and Gallant 2014).

5.2.3. Supporting right to food claims: mediating local-level responses

The role of the State must not be overlooked in mobilising land rights. Governments can enable women's market access to land in a number of ways – for example, by providing subsidised grant or credit schemes to women for purchasing or leasing land (Agarwal 2012). However, it is important not to rely on top-down, government-led approaches. The case of the Right to Food Campaign in India shows the value of a collective approach to promoting the right to food in ways that governments cannot ignore. The example below from the Food-First Information and Action Network (FIAN) illustrates ways in which communities can hold authorities to account and demand their rights to food by launching their own claim processes.

Supporting claims for the right to food for rural Nepalese communities

FIAN focuses on promoting the human right to adequate food in Nepal. The organisation works with individuals and communities affected by right-to-food violations, and supports them in holding state actors to account on the right to food. Once communities being affected by these issues have been identified, FIAN approaches them, with their consent. The organisation works with community members to document and analyse their specific right-to-food violations. It also strengthens their capacity to make claims, linking communities to local civil society organisations to enable joint lobbying of government authorities at local, district and national levels. Analysis of the issues includes a focus on their gender dimensions. Often participants are surprised to learn that 'to be free from hunger is a right'. These discussions are key to raising strong interest among the affected communities to initiate actions to improve their situation.

The process for making a claim begins with the formation of a 'struggle committee' from among the community members, in which the representation of women is mandatory. FIAN works closely with the struggle committee, which takes the lead in meeting government officials and presenting the evidence for their claim. The claims are often based on access to resources that have direct implications for their right-to-food situation, such as land, forests, water and seeds, as well as social security-related entitlements and other government services. Where possible, FIAN establishes a collaborative relationship with the concerned government actors while advocating for the specific case of the affected community, and continues facilitating the committee until its claims are realised.
(Case study source: Basudha Gurung)

5.3. Grounding solutions in cultural and social analysis

Gender-transformative approaches to food and nutrition security should ideally be grounded in a detailed understanding of the local cultural and social context with regard to gender relations and norms around food distribution. To enable lasting change it is vital to engage both women and men in activities and discussions, and to build capacity among local field staff and partners so that they are setting an example through their own behaviour and views, as the following case study illustrates.

Join My Village

Though an innovative project on maternal health named Join My Village, CARE India is integrating gender and food concerns into the design of a maternal health project linked to the ICDS (see Section 4.4.2). Needs assessment exercises indicated that women had adequate knowledge of food intake during pregnancy, transmitted through government programmes and the mass media. However, in practice pregnant women often do not consume the recommended diet. Women usually cook the food every day and serve it to their families, but often eat last and reduce their food intake when supplies are short.

The CARE programme has been addressing these inequities in a number of innovative ways. First, project staff are encouraged to reflect on their own gender biases and assumptions around health, food and nutrition. Pregnant women and their mothers-in-law are then brought together to discuss how the food intake patterns can be changed. Expectant fathers are also organised into groups and encouraged to reflect on some of the health needs of men and women, specifically during pregnancy. Many of them have said they are happy to begin eating together with their wives.

Families who have tried these new practices shared their experiences at men's group meetings and mother's group meetings. A few couples reported that this process had made their family closer. Some men also said that they had been helping with household chores such as cooking and childcare. Join My Village shows that small steps such as these can go a long way in challenging and changing food-related gender norms at the household level.
(Case study source: Suniti Neogy)

5.4. Harnessing technology as part of gender-just approaches to food and nutrition security

As part of a holistic, comprehensive approach to enabling gender-just food and nutrition security, technology can play an important and exciting role, but can sometimes be incompatible with women's needs and underestimate the range of farming tasks for which they are often responsible. However, when employed in appropriate, accessible and participatory ways, technology '*can contribute to overcoming women's time and mobility constraints, facilitate access to relevant information and financial services, and address power imbalances at the household and community levels' (*Alvaro Valverde, BRIDGE e-discussion, 2014).

Tools such as mobile phone applications can provide multiple benefits to women. For instance, women farmers using phone 'apps' to transfer cash and make loan payments save time and are able to control their financial transactions. In households that restrict women's mobility, this is an important intervention (Duncombe and Boateng 2009). Mobile phones can also be a vital source of essential information that can improve quality of life and enhance livelihoods (see example below).

Using mobile phones to assist in food and nutrition security for women and children

The DFID-funded mNutrition initiative aims to improve the nutrition and food security of women and children by harnessing the potential of mobile phones for communicating information on nutrition-specific behaviours as well as nutrition-sensitive health and agricultural practices. The project targets farmers and the rural population, particularly women and adolescent girls. It is striving to reach at least 3 million beneficiaries across ten sub-Saharan Africa and four Asian countries in three years, by engaging partners such as extension service providers, governments, mobile operators, NGOs and private-sector companies. As far as possible, programme planning and design are driven by the voices and needs of women in the target countries.[84]
(Case study source: Alvaro Valverde)

5.5. Valuing local and women's knowledge in developing food and nutrition security solutions

The implicit knowledge of local farmers, particularly women, is too often overlooked in the rush to create expert-led policies and programmes. Taking the time to listen and learn from local people who have been adapting to and mitigating the effects of climate change on agriculture and forests is a vital part of developing appropriate, jointly owned and informed solutions, while being empowering for the women and men involved, as the example below illustrates.

Promoting local knowledge systems in the Himalayas

A small initiative implemented through community-based organisations in the Middle Himalayan range of India sought to work with women on the protection, strengthening and production of local knowledge. Dialogue and knowledge-sharing were enabled through participatory approaches, workshops, exposure trips and other activities. As women's confidence grew as a result of these interactions there was a revival in planting and growing a diverse variety of highly nutritional and climate-resilient traditional crops which had become almost extinct. The result was nutritious, tasty and diverse food varieties, improved soil fertility and increased participation of women in decision-making around crop selection.
(Case study source: Reetu Sogani)

5.6. Promoting collective action among women

Chapter 2 outlined some of the constraints affecting the majority of women farmers in developing-county contexts, and Chapter 4 cautioned that interventions aimed at increasing women's productive capacity will not achieve broader gender equality impacts unless they also address gender-inequitable access to resources and markets. Evidence indicates that when women form groups to farm collectively and pool finances and other resources such as land, there are multiple benefits. These include greater leverage for accessing credit and leasing land; more scope for producing higher-value crops; and a greater ability to offer competitive prices (Agarwal 2012). There are also personal and social benefits, as outlined in the case study below.

---

84 For more information, see www.cabi.org/news-and-media/2014/go-ahead-for-new-mobile-project-to-tackle-malnutrition-in-africa-and-asia/ and www.gsma.com/mobilefordevelopment/programmes/mwomen/overview.

The potential of women's collective action for enabling food security and women's empowerment

Oxfam's Women's Economic Leadership (WEL) initiative implements practical strategies to enable women to gain economic and social power. Taking a holistic approach, the initiative works with women to strengthen their productive potential and capacity to participate in markets. As part of the WEL initiative, efforts are made to support women's collective action groups in agriculture. A research project was launched in 2009 to gather evidence on effective ways of organising for women smallholder farmers to enhance their incomes, asset ownership and empowerment, with a focus on the production and marketing of honey in Ethiopia, shea butter in Mali and vegetables in Tanzania. The initiative found that, although the outcomes differed by context, there were clear economic, social and personal benefits. Women participating in the groups had increased access to credit and market information, and their productivity had improved, partly as a result of training and new technologies. In some cases women had acquired more decision-making power, although their rights to assets were rarely strengthened. A key finding was that the women's farmer groups had enormous value in building women's confidence and skills.

(Based on comments by Ines Smyth for BRIDGE e-discussion, 2014, and on information from http://growsellthrive.org/our-work/wel)

5.7. Promoting gender-aware agro-ecological approaches to food production

The report has argued that global food systems emphasise efficiency gains through intensive agricultural production processes, with disastrous impacts for the environment and often disempowering effects for small-scale women farmers. A possible way forward is agro-ecology – often incorporated into food sovereignty approaches – which includes techniques such as intercropping, recycling of manure and food scraps into fertilisers, and agroforestry. The example below from Latin America demonstrates the potential of agro-ecology to promote sustainable agriculture, enable a heathier, more diverse and nutritious diet, empower women and challenge unequal gender power relations.

Gender-aware agro-ecological approaches among the Chorti in Latin America

A three-year pilot project implemented among the Chorti communities in the border municipalities of Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador sought to develop and disseminate models of gender-equitable sustainable land use. Prior to the project the Chorti communities practised smallholder subsistence farming and often suffered from food insecurity due to drought or land mismanagement. A first step was to provide reflective spaces for women to come together, openly discuss issues such as nutrition, health and sexuality and share challenges. Once the women felt more empowered, six months of gender-sensitive training was conducted with both women and men to address unequal power relations within the family and to discuss more sustainable agricultural practices, including agroforestry.

The pilot project was extremely successful. The experience helped women to independently undertake the production of new crops, manage their own home garden plots to grow vegetables with an irrigation system, and achieve more economic autonomy. By producing a surplus that they were able to sell, women

were able to increase the family income. The home garden plots, which included the cultivation of ten different types of vegetables and nutritional herbs, contributed to a balanced diet and increased access to healthy, nutritious foods. These women became role models for others who were not involved in the project.
(Case study source: Torres and Hausinger 2013, summarised by Marcella Ballara)

5.8. Providing space to reflect on women's unpaid care work

This report has argued for a greater emphasis on the connections between women's unpaid care work and food security. The case study below outlines a participatory approach developed by ActionAid that could be adapted to better understand women's unpaid care work in the context of food insecurity and to develop appropriate, people-led responses.

Making unpaid care work more visible and changing attitudes through participatory approaches

In 2011 ActionAid launched a multi-country programme in Nepal, Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya focused on women's unpaid care work. The programme had the dual aims of making this work more visible and valued by women and men, community leaders and government; and changing perceptions and beliefs that unpaid care work is only women's work. ActionAid adapted time-use surveys into a participatory time diary tool that could be completed by the women and men involved in the programme. The data collected showed that in poor rural and urban areas women work longer hours than men, spend more time on unpaid care work and subsistence agriculture, and have less time to engage in paid work and social and cultural activities.

The process of filling out and reviewing the time diaries led the women involved to question their primary responsibility for unpaid care work. Some women used community discussions to push for men and leaders to recognise their unpaid care work and to demand that men become more involved in this work. In other communities women organised and took action to demand that local government allocate increased budgets for more public services that would support them in their unpaid care work. Short-term changes resulting from the programme included shifts in male attitudes to care work. In communities in Uganda and Nigeria, women reported that men are now helping them with tasks in which they did not previously engage.
(Source: Budlender and Moussie 2013)

5.9. Developing empowering solutions to urban food and nutrition insecurity

As noted in Chapters 1 and 2, poverty is most acutely felt in rural areas. However, there are growing populations of urban poor in developing countries, many of whom live in slum conditions and have little access to fresh, nutritious and affordable foods. Women often face many of the same barriers to food security and the same stresses as in rural areas, but the lack of access to productive land and subsequent dependence on purchasing food can add to these challenges. The case study below shows how creative use of space in cities can enable women to become more self-sufficient by producing nutritious fresh food, while building their capacity as producers.

The food and nutrition security and empowerment benefits of urban gardening in Ethiopia

Urban gardening is an important nutritious bridge for many women and families who are food insecure for much of the year in Addis Adaba. It can also generate an income for buying medical supplies and other household goods. Women who are fortunate enough to have outdoor space in Addis Ababa grow a variety of vegetables and legumes including kale, cabbage, onions, beans and garlic, depending on the season. However, access to water is often restricted, and many women find it difficult to keep their crops watered in the dry season. Other challenges include limited land to grow vegetables, conflict on communal sites, lack of training and lack of access to seeds.

Despite these challenges there are indications that urban gardening can transform lives, as shown by a recent project run by the WFP and Ratson, a local NGO in Debre Zeit, about 50km from Addis Adaba. This scheme trained HIV-positive women and men in urban gardening. Under the scheme, the WFP provides food aid to food-insecure people living with HIV. If they are healthy enough to work, Ratson trains the women and men to grow vegetables, using simple and inexpensive techniques. The project has strengthened and diversified HIV-positive women's and men's livelihoods and food security and increased their confidence.

(Based on original research by Kidist Gebreselassie and Bamlaku Alamirew for BRIDGE *Cutting Edge* Programme, and on information on the *Guardian* website.)[85]

5.10. Conclusion

This chapter has been solution-focused, drawing on examples of practices, policies and programmes at the regional, national and local levels that use strategies that are often simple, yet innovative, to address food and nutrition insecurity in gender-aware and often gender-transformative ways. The strategies share a common thread of seeking responses to hunger and malnutrition that are often participatory, empowering, locally owned, environmentally sustainable and gender transformative. Many engage women in ways that amplify their voices and enhance their existing knowledge or build new capacities. Strategies such as Join My Village and local land rights initiatives in Burundi recognise the importance of engaging men and boys in challenging gendered social norms, beliefs and behaviours for real transformation at all levels. The examples begin to demonstrate how the right to food can be mobilised in practice and connect to other rights frameworks such as CEDAW. They also show how principles such as policy coherence and agro-ecology can facilitate the shift from commitment to action while promoting gender equality. However, there are some notable gaps, particularly with regard to innovative examples that address GBV and unpaid care work as part of food and nutrition security responses. This points to an urgent need for investment to tackle these and other invisible issues as part of effective, gender-just responses to food and nutrition insecurity.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the key points from this report. Drawing on examples from chapter 5 and from broad lessons throughout the report, a set of key principles and recommendations for moving towards gender-just food and nutrition security are also presented in chapter 6.

---

85   www.theguardian.com/global-development/2011/dec/01/hiv-aids-ethiopia-urban-gardening-project.

6 Key Principles and Recommendations for Achieving Gender-Just Food and Nutrition Security

Raising poultry in Colombia
Photographer: Charlotte Kesl/World Bank via Flickr (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)

6.1. Summary: moving beyond a partial framing of 'the problem'

This report has argued that hunger and malnutrition are urgent and growing concerns for many developing countries, with particular implications for women and girls. The urgency is being reflected to some extent in the increased policy emphasis at global, regional, national and local levels on finding solutions. However, even though they are not completely gender blind, the proposed and emerging responses to hunger and malnutrition are unlikely to result in sustainable, gender-just food and nutrition security for all. This report has argued that there is no 'quick fix' to solve the problem of hunger and malnutrition in gender-just ways, and has pointed out the need for far more comprehensive, engaged responses that go far beyond the current superficial readings of 'the problem' and are grounded in deep gender analyses.

The current lack of these analyses at the heart of all food and nutrition security policy and programmes means that both short- and longer-term solutions are often failing to adequately take into account the complex inequitable gender power relations that shape food production, consumption and distribution and undermine the four pillars of food security. There is a growing recognition of women and girls' specific vulnerabilities in the face of hunger and malnutrition, and of the resource constraints they face. Yet these understandings are often de-politicised, divorced from the realities of gender discrimination that are reproduced in patterns of production, household dynamics and economic policies.

The gender equality potential of short-term solutions is being limited by narrow targeting of groups perceived as the most vulnerable, with an almost exclusive focus on pregnant women and very young children. As a result the needs of other vulnerable groups such as older women, adolescent girls, women from marginalised communities, single women and men, women with disabilities, gay and transgender women and men and people living with HIV or AIDS are rendered invisible. In addition, social protection programmes such as cash and voucher and food-for-work schemes may be empowering for women in some respects but are often not gender transformative, instead often reinforcing the status quo of unequal gender roles and relations.

Longer-term strategies are also short-sighted. A focus on increasing agricultural production is needed, but at present there is a failure to fully understand and respond to the constraints faced by smallholder farmers – and particularly by women – not only in terms of accessing land, seeds, credit and other productive assets but also in terms of marketing produce and getting a fair price. Their relationship to land, forests, water and other natural resources for food security are being ignored or undermined. In addition, the deep knowledge of farmers – both women and men – is being sidelined, and vital opportunities to learn from what is already working and to be guided by their needs, concerns and ideas are being lost.

In identifying these longer-term interventions, understandings of the problem fail to acknowledge the systemic economic, social and cultural causes of food and nutrition insecurity that are inherently gender unjust. They fail to take into account the enormous yet often invisible contribution women and girls already make to food and nutrition security in the form of unpaid productive and care work. As a result, solutions place too much emphasis on enhancing the flow of productive resources for women. They do not address gender injustice in transformative ways that challenge and transform the gender-inequitable distribution of food at the household level, tackle the issues of GBV and women's unpaid care work, and provide opportunities and choices for women and girls that go beyond the domestic realm. This stymies progress towards both gender equality and food and nutrition security, which are inextricably linked.

The report has argued that food and nutrition insecurity is highly political, revealing fault lines of gendered inequalities between and within countries, and within communities and households. Inequitable global, regional and national food systems govern food production, distribution and consumption, and are closely connected to all four food security pillars. These systems depend on value chains of agricultural production, markets and trade that systematically both exclude and hold to ransom the poorest people, the majority of whom are women and girls. They create reliance on external food sources that are subject to global fluctuations, with women and girls often experiencing the most negative effects. They are often predicated on environmentally harmful practices that contribute to climate change, thus creating a vicious cycle of food instability. They are also often odds with one another, creating dissonances between policy areas that lead to incoherent approaches and unsuccessful

or even destructive outcomes.

Finally, despite an awareness of the right to food as a vital foundational concept for all food security thinking and interventions, there is a persistent failure to translate this commitment and understanding into concrete actions. Likewise, the rights enshrined in CEDAW, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant agreements are not being respected at the level of implementation in the context of food and nutrition security programmes.

Unless the problem of hunger and malnutrition is framed in a more comprehensive way that captures these complex gendered dynamics and is grounded in human rights, food security and nutrition interventions will do little to challenge the fundamental imbalance that has generated a situation of food scarcity for many in a world that produces more than enough nutritious food for everyone. They can do little to address the specific gender dimensions of food insecurity, or to transform the gender inequalities that both perpetuate and result from hunger and malnutrition.

In short, three clear messages emerge from this report and need to inform the level and type of attention being accorded food and nutrition security:

1. Reversing hunger, malnutrition and poverty must be a top global priority.

2. Gender equality, human rights and the right to food are primary requirements for the achievement of gender-just food and nutrition security.

3. The current disconnected, 'siloed' ways through which hunger and malnutrition are being addressed limit our ability to understand the full nature of the problem and to develop the solutions required. We need comprehensive analysis and action.

While we have pointed out some of the fissures and contradictions in food security analysis and interventions, there are also many innovative, constructive approaches that are contributing to increased gender-just food and nutrition security. Chapter 5 focused particularly on some of these, showing how learning from and investing in rights-based, people-centred approaches, in empowering women and men to actively contribute to solutions, in creating more coherent strategies and in enabling dialogue between stakeholders at different levels are vital for achieving a world free from hunger for all. The next section identifies some concrete ways forward that draw from these lessons. In presenting these we recognise that there are still many outstanding gaps and questions, and that this is just the beginning of a much longer process of change.

6.2. Principles and recommendations for achieving gender-just food and nutrition security

In response to the gaps outlined above and drawing on lessons from local-, national- and regional-level initiatives, we propose some key principles and recommendations for moving towards gender-just food and nutrition security. First, we call for a fundamental interrogation and reconfiguration of the foundational assumptions on which understandings of food and nutrition insecurity are based and which drive responses. As part of this reframing of the issues we set out a preliminary vision for gender-just food and nutrition security. We then outline a set of core principles that we agree must be at the heart of all thinking, policy and programming aimed at alleviating hunger and malnutrition. Finally, we set out some recommendations for planning, implementing and evaluating interventions that contribute to gender-just food and nutrition security.

6.2.1. Reframing understandings of food and nutrition security and insecurity

The right to food must be at the heart of all food and nutrition security interventions

Food and nutrition security is a human right that makes the shift from treating hunger and food insecurity as a charitable endeavour to recognising the provision of adequate food with dignity as a right that must be protected by law. The right to adequate food is a basic human right that must be upheld by all governments and implemented as an integral part of all policies and programmes that contribute to enabling food and nutrition security.

It is vital to redefine the problem of food and nutrition insecurity as social injustice

There is an urgent need to redefine food and nutrition insecurity in more political, people-centred ways that recognise the deep intersections between hunger, gender injustice and rights violations – and the central role of unequal systems of food production, distribution and trade in creating the current problem. This means revisiting fundamental questions that include: 'What are the causes of hunger and malnutrition?' and 'Who is being affected and why?', and asking new ones such as 'How and why does gender inequality affect the experience of food and nutrition insecurity?', 'To what extent are unsustainable, gender-inequitable market-based agricultural and food systems compounding food insecurity?' and 'What would a rights-based and gender-just perspective additionally bring to definitions of food security?' A focus on social injustice means addressing gender-inequitable distribution of food within households to overcome differences in nutritional levels between women and men, and girls and boys of all ages.

A shared vision for gender-just food and nutrition security is needed

To develop policies and programmes that promote gender justice as both a means to food and nutrition security and an end goal, it is vital to have a clear vision of what success should look like. As pointed out in Chapter 1, a vision of gender-just food and nutrition security has transformation at its heart. This vision needs to inform a **revised definition of food security** as well as being **integrated across the four pillars**. Progress towards the achievement of the vision needs to be mapped through progressive, gender-sensitive indicators.

A preliminary vision for gender-just food and nutrition security

Gender-just food and nutrition security means a world without hunger or malnutrition, where women, men, girls and boys have equal access to nutritious, healthy food at all levels, and access to the means to produce, sell and purchase food. It is a world where the right to food for all it realised. Importantly, it is a world free from GBV, where the roles, responsibilities and choices available to women and men – including unpaid caregiving and food provision – are not predetermined at birth but can, where possible, be developed in line with individual capacities and aspirations. Finally, it is a world where all countries are equipped to produce enough food for their own populations through environmentally sound processes, while also being able to participate in (gender-) equitable global and regional food trading systems.

6.2.2. Core principles that must underpin thinking and action on food and nutrition security

To move towards the achievement of this vision, all food and nutrition security thinking and responses must have the following five principles at their core:

A commitment to rights must be at the heart of all food and nutrition security interventions

The right to adequate food is a human right for everyone, and inequality in food and nutrition security is discrimination, whether it be at household, community or national level. It is also vital for the intersecting domains of human and women's rights to be respected in specific and connected ways.

Solutions must be people-centred

Progressive solutions need to be based on an understanding of food systems that **put people at the centre** and take into account the specific experiences, needs and concerns of women, men, boys and girls in relation to hunger and malnutrition.

Solutions must be gender transformative

Solutions need to actively **promote** the **transformation of unequal gender power relations**. To achieve this it is vital to **take into account and address pre-existing gender inequalities that cause and/or compound food and nutrition insecurity for women and girls**, and prevent them from benefiting from food and nutrition security policies. Solutions need to support **women's empowerment and gender justice as goals in their own right** in relation to food and nutrition security.

Solutions should prioritise stable national and global economies

Food and nutrition security interventions must be supported by gender-equitable trade and investment policies that support the local production of culturally appropriate food through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and the ability of States and people to define their food and agricultural systems. Policies at all levels should promote the rights of small-scale farmers, especially women.

Solutions must be ecologically sustainable and respect local knowledge and rights

Crucially, solutions must take into account climate trends and their gender dimensions, while ensuring they do not contribute to further environmental degradation and climate change. They must recognise and respect traditional local knowledge of agriculture, including women's knowledge. They must **move beyond market-based solutions** and an over-emphasis on global agri-business and increased production as the solution to pervasive hunger and malnutrition.

6.2.3. Recommendations for translating these principles into practice

It is critical to ensure that these principles both drive and are integrated into practical strategies that both draw on existing innovations and seek new ways forward. Broad areas of action should include:

Develop and implement strategies and instruments for protecting and recognising rights

Chapter 5 provided examples from India, Burundi and other countries that show

how collective action at the community and national levels can contribute to shifting attitudes and bringing about significant change at micro and macro levels towards the recognition of the basic right to food and resources such as land. The existence of formal legislation provides a vital mechanism for claiming these rights and holding governments and local authorities to account, but to achieve this the poorest groups – especially women – must have access to relevant information, and efforts must be made to facilitate the realisation of these laws in practice.

In parallel there is a need for governments to translate a commitment to the principles of CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action into concrete actions and to hold themselves accountable, while also being held to account by NGOs and food security and gender equality activists. At the global level, CEDAW and other relevant instruments need to be revised to capture the gender violence represented by food insecurity.

Develop gender-aware programming that goes beyond instrumentalising women

Programmes need to go beyond the inclusion or recognition of women and girls either as target 'vulnerable' groups or as potential drivers of economic growth. It should not be assumed that women will, or should, automatically take on the roles of farmers or guardians of food and nutrition security within their families. Rather, they should have access to a range of choices that are socially endorsed. Moving from unitary concepts such as 'investing in women farmers' and 'women are our route to family nutrition' towards more comprehensive, contextualised **gender analyses** that revolve around understandings of power relations and socio-cultural dynamics will help to facilitate the subtle shift in thinking and action that is needed in relation to gender-just food and nutrition security.

As part of these analyses is it vital to **recognise, redistribute and reduce women's unpaid care work**, using time-use mapping surveys and participatory exercises that reveal the gender-inequitable distribution of unpaid domestic and productive work (see the example in Chapter 5) and seek alternatives. All food security interventions need to incorporate an awareness of unpaid care work and identify ways to reduce this burden – for example, through the provision of crèches and flexible working arrangements.

Efforts are also needed to **challenge the silence that often surrounds GBV** through sensitive discussions with women and men, and to challenge also the culture of impunity that characterises GBV in many societies. A growing number of resources set out practical pathways for multidimensional responses to GBV (see, for example, DFID 2012).

Assess multiple dimensions of women's empowerment

Women's empowerment is a condition of gender-just food and nutrition security as well as being an essential, non-negotiable outcome. Yet an increase in women's productive and financial capacity does not indicate whether they have the power to use those resources, be involved in decision-making or make informed life choices. Measures of women's empowerment, therefore, need to be urgently revisited. Alternative frameworks should provide the basis for the development of appropriate and relevant indicators of empowerment that are more able to capture these social, cultural and relational dimensions, and promote gender transformation (see Kabeer 1999).

Engage men and boys in promoting gender-just food and nutrition security

Deep social and cultural change cannot happen unless there is support from all members of society. For sustainable, gender-just outcomes in terms of the interrelated issues of gender equality and food and nutrition security, the active involvement of men and boys is a prerequisite. Examples in Chapter 5 such as the Indian Join My Village project and the Burundian grass-roots initiatives to challenge unequal land rights begin to reveal the transformative potential of engaging men and boys in gender and food security programming. Evidence from organisations such as Promundo,[86] Sonke Gender Justice[87] and Men Engage[88] also shows that through these spaces men and boys can begin to challenge and change the norms and behaviours that may result in violence or prevent them from sharing care responsibilities.

Support women's collective action as a lever of change

As the example from Oxfam in Chapter 5 illustrates, creating and supporting women-only groups of producers can provide an immediate means to strengthen women's bargaining power in both producing and selling goods. Greater investment in these and other types of initiatives, including women's self-help groups and grain banks, will result in financial benefits for women, and will also contribute to building their skills in a range of areas that include leadership, business knowledge, literacy and numeracy.

Invest in and promote gender-aware agro-ecological approaches

As the examples from India and Latin America in Chapter 5 begin to illustrate, agro-ecology can provide powerful gender-just alternatives to intensive farming and production. Investing in agro-ecology means moving towards a more people-centred approach which prioritises women's existing knowledge and promotes sustainable farming practices, with low input and cost and reduced impacts on the environment. Agro-ecology, through the diversification of crops, enables more varied diets for the women and communities that produce their own food, thus contributing to improved nutrition. Agro-ecological approaches need to be seen as an alternative to monoculture. Even though they are often implemented on small-scale farms, they 'can be disseminated on a large scale, and should inspire reforms in how large production units operate' (De Schutter 2014: 9).

Facilitate access to information and appropriate technologies

Chapter 2 outlined the immense potential value of increased information and technologies for addressing the gender gaps in food production, for ensuring improved nutrition outcomes within families and for empowering women through knowledge and tools. Chapter 5 provided an insight into the gender equality potential of investing in digital technologies, yet often the provision of simple but appropriate tools can bring enormous benefits. It is critical to involve the women and men who will be using the technologies in their design, to ensure they respond to their knowledge and understanding of what is needed. As noted in Chapter 4, while new technologies can reduce the burden of women's labour and time, it is important not to overestimate their transformational capacity.

---

86 www.promundo.org.br/en/.

87 www.genderjustice.org.za/.

88 http://menengage.org/.

Commit to more interconnected, coherent policies, processes and institutions

Food security interventions must move beyond policy silos towards more **coherent, multisectoral approaches** that link nutrition, gender equality, trade, finance, agriculture, HIV, AIDS and other relevant areas to ensure that positive, equitable actions in one policy area are not undermined by inequalities created by another. While this is often challenging, lessons can be learned from processes at the regional, national and local levels, as the examples in Chapter 5 begin to demonstrate. **Gender equality dimensions must be integrated** across all of these intersecting policy processes. It is vital to ensure these policies and institutions financially support commitments to gender justice through **gender-responsive budgeting**.

Commit to gender-just governance of food and nutrition security solutions

There is currently an unacceptable gender imbalance in decision-making around food and nutrition security from the household level up to global platforms such as the CFS. Other related policy areas such as trade and agriculture are invariably dominated by male-heavy institutions and governance processes. It is time to address this gap through targeted strategies that include assessing the 'deep structures' (Horn 2013) of organisations – including farmer organisations and social movements – that are implicitly, or explicitly, gender blind and perpetuate exclusionary practices by de-prioritising women's voices or making 'real decisions' in closed, male-dominated spaces. Vitally, positions of power need to be flexible enough to accommodate care responsibilities for both women and men.

Develop stronger accountability mechanisms

There is a need for **clear and binding accountability mechanisms** for governments, rights bodies and global institutions, as well as for NGOs and the private sector. Mechanisms are needed to ensure principles of gender equality, policy coherence and rights articulated in global frameworks such as the CFS Global Strategy, Voluntary Guidelines and CEDAW do not evaporate.

These mechanisms must be founded on clear, appropriate and relevant **indicators** that are established at the planning stage and are developed through participatory processes where possible. They should enable food security to be assessed in more integrated, holistic ways that capture nutritional, social, economic and gender equality outcomes.

Invest in new research and evidence generation

There is currently a paucity of available, gender-aware evidence and a lack of funds to undertake new research that will improve understanding of the gender implications of food insecurity and enable the development of informed solutions. Funds should be provided not only to focus on gaps but also to reflect on which policies and practices are working and why, towards the realisation of a gender-just vision of food and nutrition security. As part of a research agenda it is important to conduct gender-aware analyses of the existing situation regarding food and nutrition insecurity, to gain a deep understanding of the gendered economic, social and cultural dimensions.

Create spaces and opportunities for dialogue

The collaborative process that lies behind this report has begun connecting a diverse range of actors across countries and sectors. The process has highlighted the immense value of bringing together women and men that are pushing for a gender-transformative agenda in relation to food and nutrition security from diverse countries and organisations. It is vital to continue the provision of this space for dialogue among these different groups and individuals so they are able to gain a more informed understanding of the issues, share their experiences, generate new ideas and apply their knowledge and learning with conviction. As part of these processes it is paramount to promote the leadership and advocacy skills of those working on gender and food and nutrition security and other related areas, so that they may push for institutional change and enter into meaningful dialogue with global institutions, rights bodies and private-sector actors, and within their own movements and organisations.

7 **Bibliography**[89]

Aboud, G. (2011) 'The power of local networks for gender-aware climate responses in Colombia', *BRIDGE Gender and Climate Change In Brief,* Brighton: IDS, BRIDGE

ActionAid International, CARE, Christian Aid, Concern Worldwide, Find Your Feet, Oxfam, Practical Action, Save the Children, Self Help Africa and the University of East Anglia (2012), *What Works for Women: Proven approaches for empowering women smallholders and achieving food, security*, London: ActionAid and DFID, www.care.org/sites/default/files/documents/CC-2012-What_Works_for_Women.pdf

ADB and FAO (2013) *Gender equality and food security: women's empowerment as a tool against hunger*, Philippines: Asian Development Bank www.adb.org/sites/default/files/pub/2013/gender-equality-and-food-security.pdf

Agarwal, B. (2013) 'Food Security, productivity and gender inequality', in *Handbook of Food, Politics and Society*, New York: Oxford University Press

Ashby, J.; Hartl, M., Lambrou, Y., Larson, G., Lubbock, K., Pehu, E. and Ragasa, C. (undated) *Investing in Women as Drivers of Agricultural Growth*, Gender in Agriculture Brief, Washington, DC: World Bank/IFAD, www.ifad.org/gender/pub/sourcebook/flyer.pdf

Baden, S. (2013) *Women's Collective Action: Unlocking the Potential of Agricultural Markets*, Oxfam Research Reports, Oxford: Oxfam International, http://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/oxfam/bitstream/10546/276159/6/rr-womens-collective-action-unlocking-potential-africa-agriculture-270312-en.pdf

Barker, G.; Ricardo, C. and Nascimento, M. (2007) *Engaging Men and Boys in Changing Gender-based Equity in Health*, Geneva: WHO and Promundo

Bates, B.; Kundzewicz, Z. *et al.* (2008) *Climate Change and Water*, Technical Paper of the IPCC, Geneva: IPCC Secretariat

Batliwala, S. and Dhanraj, D. (2004) 'Gender Myths that Instrumentalise Women: A View from the Indian Frontline', *IDS Bulletin* Vol. 34, Issue 4, Brighton: IDS

Bell, E. (2001) *Water for Production: an Overview of the Main Issues and Collection of Supporting Resources*, Brighton: BRIDGE, IDS

Bellows, A.; Franco A. and Jenderedjian, A. (2012) 'Overcoming the Disconnect between Women's Rights and the Right to Adequate Food', *Right to Food Journal* Vol.7, No.1, www.fian.org/fileadmin/media/publications/FIAN_Right_to_Food_Journal_Vol_7_No._1.pdf

Berhane, G.; Hodinott, J., Kumar N., Taffesse A.S., Diresse M.T., Yohannes Y., Sabates-Wheeler R., Handino, M., Lind J., Tefera M. and Feyera, S. (2013) *Evaluation of Ethiopia's Food Security Program: Documenting Progress in the Implementation of the Productive Safety Net Program and the Household Asset Building Programme*, Washington, DC: IFPRI and IDS, http://essp.ifpri.info/files/2013/05/ESSPII_EDRI_Report_PSNP.pdf

---

89 All websites were accessed 10 October 2014.

Bittman, M. (2013) 'How to Feed the World', *New York Times*, 15 October 2013, www.nytimes.com/2013/10/15/opinion/how-to-feed-the-world.html?pagewanted=1&_r=0

Brody, A. (2009) *Gender and Governance*, BRIDGE Cutting Edge Overview Report, Brighton: IDS

Brody, A.; Demetriades, J. and Esplen, E. (2008) *Gender and Climate Change: Mapping the Linkages: a scoping study on knowledge and gaps,* BRIDGE Scoping Study, Brighton: IDS

Brown, J. and Gallant, G. (2014) *Engendering Access to Justice Grassroots women's approaches to securing land rights*, New York: UNDP and Huairou Commission www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Access%20to%20Justice%20and%20Rule%20of%20Law/Engendering%20Access%20to%20Justice.pdf

Brown, L.; Deshpande, C., Hill, C.L.M., Lambrou, Y., Lambrou, M. and Ragasa, C. (2009) 'Module 1: Gender and Food Security', in *Gender and Agriculture Sourcebook: Investing in Women as Drivers of Agricultural Growth*, Washington, DC: World Bank, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGENAGRLIVSOUBOOK/Resources/Module1.pdf

Budlender, D. and Moussie, R. (2013) *Making Care Visible: Women's Unpaid Care Work in Nepal, Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya*, Rosebank: ActionAid International, www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/making_care_visible.pdf

Bujra J. (2004) 'AIDS as a crisis in social reproduction', *Review of African Political Economy* No. 102, Oxford: Routledge

Burmeister, L. and Choi, Y-J. (2012) 'Food sovereignty movement activism in South Korea: national policy impacts?', *Agriculture & Human Values* 29.2, London: Springer

Burnett, K. and Murphy, S. (2014) 'What place for international trade in food sovereignty?', *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* Oxford: Routledge

Cagatay, N. (2001) *Trade, Gender and Poverty*, Background paper for UNDP project on Trade and Sustainable Human Development, New York: UNDP, www.undp.org/poverty/docs/pov_tradegenderpoverty_doc.pdf

CFS (2012) *Coming to terms with terminology,* Rome: Committee on World Food Security, www.fao.org/docrep/meeting/026/MD776E.pdf

CFS (2013) *Global Strategic Framework for Food Security and Nutrition*, Rome: Committee on World Food Security, www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/cfs/Docs1213/gsf/GSF_Version_2_EN.pdf

CFS and High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (2012) *Social Protection for Food Security. A report by the High Level Panel of Experts on food security and Nutrition*, Rome: Committee on World Food Security, www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/hlpe/hlpe_documents/HLPE_Reports/HLPE-Report-4-Social_protection_for_food_security-June_2012.pdf

Chicago Council on Global Affairs (2011) *Girls Grow: a Vital Force in Rural Economies*, Chicago: The Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Colbran, N. (2012) 'The financialisation of agricultural commodity futures trading: the 2006-8 global food crisis', in R. Rayfuse and N. Weisfelt (eds), *The Challenge of Food Security: International Policy and Regulatory Frameworks*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing

CTI (2014) Blog: *Engaged Villagers in Senegal respond to CTI's Tools*, St. Paul, MN: Compatible Technology International, http://compatibletechnology.org/blog/engaged-and-outspoken-villagers-in-senegal-respond-ctis-tools/

Delisle, H. (2005) *Nutrition in adolescence – Issues and Challenges for the Health Sector*, Geneva: WHO

Dercon, S. and Singh, A. (2013) 'From Nutrition to Aspirations and Self-Efficacy: Gender Bias over Time among Children in Four Countries', *World Development* 45, www.younglives.org.uk/files/journal-articles/dercon-and-singh-2013-from-nutrition-to-aspirations-and-self-afficacy

De Schutter, O. (2014a) *Final report: The transformative potential of the right to food*, New York: United Nations General Assembly, www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/Documents/A_HRC_25_57_ENG.DOC

De Schutter, O. (2014b) *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to food: Mission to Malawi*, New York: United Nations Human Rights Council, www.srfood.org/images/stories/pdf/officialreports/20140310_Malawi_en.pdf

De Schutter, O. (2012) 'Foreword', *Standing on the Threshold: Food Justice in India*, IDS *Bulletin* Vol. 43, Special Issue, Brighton: IDS

De Schutter, O. (2011) *The World Trade Organization and the Post-Global Food Crisis Agenda: Putting Food Security First in the International Trade System, Activity Report November 2011*, Geneva: WTO, www.wto.org/english/news_e/news11_e/deschutter_2011_e.pdf

Devereux, S. and Sabates Wheeler, R. (2007) 'Social Protection for Transformation', *IDS Bulletin* Vol. 38, No. 3, Brighton: IDS

De Walque, D.; Dow, W.H. and Gong, E. (2014) *Coping with risk: the effects of shocks on reproductive health and transactional sex in rural Tanzania*, Policy Research Working Paper No. WPS 6751, Washington, DC: World Bank, http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2014/01/18832582/coping-risk-effects-shocks-reproductive-health-transactional-sex-rural-tanzania

Drèze. J., and Sen, A. (1989) *Hunger and Public Action*, Oxford: Oxfam

Duncombe, R. and Boateng, R. (2009) 'Mobile Phones and Financial Services in Developing Countries: a Review of Concepts, Methods, Issues, Evidence and Future Research Directions', *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 30, No. 7, Oxford: Routledge

Ecker, O. and Breisinger, C. (2012) *The Food Security System: A New Conceptual Framework*, IFPRI Discussion Paper 01166, Washington, DC: IFPRI, www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpridp01166.pdf

Elson, D. (2010) 'Gender and the global economic crisis in developing countries: a framework for analysis', *Gender and Development* Vol. 18, Issue 2, Oxford: Routledge, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2010.491321

Elson D. (2002) 'International Financial Architecture: A view from the kitchen', *Politica Femina*, www.eclac.org/mujer/curso/elson1.pdf

Elson, D. (2000) *Progress of the World's Women 2000, UNIFEM Biennial Report*, New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women

Esplen, E. (2009) *Gender and Care*, BRIDGE Cutting Edge Overview Report, Brighton: IDS

Eyben, R. (2012) *The Hegemony Cracked: The Power Guide to Getting Care onto the Development Agenda*, IDS Working Paper No. 411, Brighton: IDS

Eyben, R. and Fontana, M. (2011) *Caring for Wellbeing*, Bellagio Initiative Commissioned Paper, New York: IDS, The Resource Alliance, The Rockefeller Foundation

FAO (undated) *How to Feed the World in 2015*, Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization, www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/docs/expert_paper/How_to_Feed_the_World_in_2050.pdf

FAO (2014) *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Strengthening the Enabling Environment for Food Security and Nutrition*, Rome: FAO, http://www.fao.org/3/a-i4030e.pdf

FAO (2013) *State of food insecurity in the world: the Multiple Dimensions of Food Insecurity*, Rome: FAO

FAO (2012) *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Economic Growth is Necessary but Not Sufficient to Accelerate Reduction of Hunger and Malnutrition*, Rome: FAO, http://www.fao.org/docrep/016/i3027e/i3027e.pdf

FAO (2012a) 'Investing in Agriculture for a Better Future', *State of Food and Agriculture Report 2012*, Rome: FAO

FAO (2012b) *Guidance Note: Integrating the right to adequate food into food and nutrition security programmes*, Rome: FAO

FAO (2011a) *Right to Food – making it happen: Progress and lessons learnt through implementation*, Rome: FAO

FAO (2011b) 'Women in Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap', *State of Food and Agriculture Report 2010–11*, Rome: FAO

FAO (2009a) Bridging the Gap: FAO's Programme for Gender Equality in Agriculture and Rural Development, Rome: FAO

FAO (2009b) *Declaration of the World Summit on Food Security*, Rome: FAO, www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/Summit/Docs/Final_Declaration/WSFS09_Declaration.pdf

FAO (2008) *The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2008: High Food Prices and Food Security – Threats and Opportunities*, Rome: FAO

FAO (2006) *Food Security*, Policy Brief, Issue 2, Rome: FAO, ftp://ftp.fao.org/es/ESA/policybriefs/pb_02.pdf

FAO (2004) *Voluntary Guidelines to protect the realization of the right to adequate food in the context of national food security*, Rome: FAO

FAO (2003) 'Gender: Key to Sustainability and Food Security', *Plan of Action: Gender and Development*, Rome: FAO

FAO (1996) 'Rome Declaration on Food Security', World Food Summit, 13–17 November 1996, FAO: Rome, www.fao.org/docrep/003/w3613e/w3613e00.htm

FAO and WHO (2014) 'Better Nutrition and Better Lives', *Second International Conference on Nutrition, Frequently Asked Questions*, Rome: FAO and WHO

FAO, WFP and IFAD (2012) *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Economic growth is necessary but not sufficient to accelerate reduction of hunger and malnutrition*, Rome: FAO

Farnworth, C.R.; Akamandisa, V. and Hichaambwa, M. (2011) *USAID Zambia Feed the Future Gender Assessment*, Bodmin: Pandia Consulting, www.pandiawarleggan.com/pdf/Gender%20and%20Value%20Chain%20Study%20for%20USAID%20Zambia%202011.pdf

FIAN (2013) *Gender, Nutrition, and the Human Right to Adequate Food: towards an inclusive framework: An academic-NGO collaborative approach* (book synopsis), Heidelberg: FIAN, www.fian.org/fileadmin/media/publications/2013_Gender__Nutrition__and_the_Human_Right_to_Adequate_Food_book_synopsis.pdf

Gebreselassie, K. and Haile, H. (2013) 'The Gender Dimensions of Food Insecurity', in D. Rahmato, A. Pankhurst and J. van Uffelen (eds), *Food Security, Safety Nets and Social Protection in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies

Ghosh, P. (2012) 'A Sitter of a Job in a Shanty Town', *The Times of India,* 11 February 2012, www.timescrest.com/society/a-sitter-of-a-job-in-shanty-town-7238

Giovarelli, R. and Aggarwal, S. (2007) *Women and Land in Pakistan and FATA: A Concept Note*, Washington, DC: USAID

Girls Not Brides (undated) *Why does child marriage happen?*, London: Girls Not Brides, www.girlsnotbrides.org/why-does-it-happen/

Gittelsohn J.; Thapa, M. and Landman, M. (1997) 'Cultural Factors, Calorific Intake and Micronutrient Insufficiency in Rural Nepali Households', *Social Science & Medicine* Volume 44, Number 1, www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/9178416

Global Donor Platform for Rural Development (2010) *Gender and Agriculture*, Platform Policy Brief No. 3, Bonn: Global Donor Platform for Rural Development, www.donorplatform.org/gender-equity-and-youth/latest/273-platform-policy-brief-on-gender-and-agriculture

Global Gender and Climate Alliance (2012) *Gender, agriculture and food security*, Gender and Climate Change, Capacity Development Series, Africa, Training Module 4, New York: UNDP

Goetz, A.-M. (2007) Gender Justice, Citizenship and Entitlements – Core Concepts, Central Debates and New Directions for Research, in M. Mukhopadhyay and N. Singh (eds.), *Gender Justice, Citizenship and Development*, Ottawa: International Development Research Centre

Government of Malawi Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security (2012) *Agriculture Sector Gender, HIV and AIDS Strategy 2012–2017*, Lilongwe: Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security/FAO, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Gender%20HIV%20and%20AIDS%20Strategy%20Final.pdf

Guendel, S. (2009) 'What are "women's crops", and why?', *Gender Insight*, Rome: FAO, www.fao.org/gender/gender-home/gender-insight/gender-insightdet/en/c/36003/

G8 (2009) *"L'Aquila" Joint Statement on Global Food Security: L'Aquila Food Security Initiative*, L'Aquila, Italy: G8

Häberli, C. (2013) 'The WTO and food security: what's wrong with the rules?', in R. Rayfuse and N. Weisfelt (eds), *The Challenge of Food Security: International Policy and Regulatory Frameworks,* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing

Haddad, L.; Chandrasekhar and Swain, B. (2012) 'Standing on the Threshold: Food Justice in India (Overview'), *Standing on the Threshold: Food Justice in India, IDS Bulletin* Vol. 43, No. S1, Special Issue, Brighton: IDS

Haddad, L.; Peňa, C., Nishida, C. Quisumbing, A. and Slack, A. (1996) *Food Security and Nutrition Implications of Intrahousehold biases: a Review of Literature*, FCND Discussion Paper No. 19, Washington, DC: IFPRI, www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/pubs_divs_fcnd_dp_papers_dp19.pdf

Hadley, C.; Lindstrom, D., Tessema, F. and Belachew, T. (2009) 'Gender bias in the Food Security Experience of Ethiopian Adolescents', *Social Science & Medicine* Jan 2008 Vol. 66, No. 2, www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2791354/

Harvey, P.; Proudlock, K., Clay, E., Riley, B. and Jaspars, S. (2010) *Food aid and food assistance in emergency and transitional contexts: a review of current thinking*, London: ODI

Hendrix, C. and Brinkman, H.-J. (2013) 'Food Insecurity and Conflict Dynamics: Causal Linkages and Complex Feedbacks', *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, www.stabilityjournal.org/article/view/sta.bm/82

High Level Task Force on the Global Food Security Crisis (2008) *Comprehensive Framework for Action*, New York: United Nations, www.un.org/en/issues/food/taskforce/Documentation/CFA%20Web.pdf

Hill, C. (2011) 'Background paper', prepared for UN Women Expert Group Meeting on Enabling Rural Women's Economic Empowerment: Institutions, Opportunities and Participation, New York: UN Women

Holmes, R. and Jones, N. (2011) *Gender inequality, risk and vulnerability in the rural economy: Refocusing the public works agenda to take account of economic and social risks*, Rome: FAO, www.fao.org/docrep/013/am318e/am318e00.pdf

Holmes, R.; Jones, N. and Marsden, H. (2009) *Gender vulnerabilities, food price shocks and social protection responses*, ODI Background Note, London: ODI

Horn, J. (2013) *Gender and Social Movements*, BRIDGE Cutting Edge Report, Brighton: IDS

Hossain, N. and Green, D. (2011) Living on a Spike: How is the 2011 Food Price Crisis Affecting Poor People?, Oxfam Research Report, Oxford: Oxfam

Human Rights Council (2011) *Study of the Human Rights Council Advisory Committee on discrimination in the context of the right to food*, New York: United Nations General Assembly, www.righttofood.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/A-HRC-16-40.pdf

Human Sciences and Research Council (2012) *Protecting Food Insecure Households Against Rapid Price Inflation*, Policy Brief, Pretoria: Human Sciences and Research Council

IAASTD (2009) *Agriculture at a Crossroads Synthesis Report*, Washington, DC: International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development

IFAD (2010) Blog on green revolution, http://ifad-un.blogspot.co.uk/2010/09/african-green-revolution-forum-agrf.html

IFPRI, Concern, Welthungerhilfe and IDS (2013) *Global Hunger Index: The Challenge of Hunger - Building Resilience to Achieve Food and Nutrition Security*, Bonn/Washington/Dublin: Welthungerhilfe, IFPRI and Concern Worldwide

IFPRI (2013) 'The Challenge of Hunger: Building Resilience to Achieve Food Nutrition and Security', *2013 Global Hunger Index,* Washington, DC: IFPRI, www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ghi13.pdf

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2007) *Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report of the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*, Geneva: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

Izumi, K. (ed.) (2006) *Reclaiming Our Lives: HIV and AIDS, Women's Land and Property Rights, and Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern and Eastern Africa – Narratives and Responses*, Pretoria: HSRC Press

Jack, B.K. (2013) *Constraints on the Adoption of Agricultural Technologies in Developing Countries, Literature review,* Agricultural Technology Adoption Initiative, J-PAL (MIT) and CEGA (UC Berkeley), www.povertyactionlab.org/publication/market-inefficiences-and-adoption-agricultural-technologies-developing-countries

Joshi, A. (2013) 'Food Security in the Great Lakes Region: Reconciling Trade Liberalisation with Human Security Goals', in R. Rayfuse and N. Weisfelt (eds), *The Challenge of Food Security: International Policy and Regulatory Frameworks*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing

Kabeer, N. (2012) *Women's Economic Empowerment and Inclusive Growth: Labour Markets and Inclusive Development*, Discussion Paper Vol. 29, No. 12, London: School of Oriental and African Studies and Centre for Development Policy and Research

Kabeer, N. (1999) 'Resources, Agency, Achievement: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment', *Development and Change* Vol. 30, UK: Wiley

Kabeer, N. and Humphrey, J. (1991) 'Neo-liberalism, Gender and the Limits of the Market', in C. Colclough and J. Manor (eds), *States or Markets? Neoliberalism and the Development Policy Debate*, London: Clarendon Press

Kabeer, N. and Subrahmanian, R. (1996) *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: Framework and Tools for Gender-Aware Planning*, IDS Discussion Papers, Brighton: IDS

Kattumuri, R. (2011) *Food Security and the targeted public distribution system in India*, LSE Asia Research Centre Working Paper 38, London: London School of Economics

Khogali, H. and Thakar, P. (2001) Empowering Women through Cash Relief in Humanitarian Contexts, *Gender and Development Journal Vol. 9, No.3*, Oxford: Routledge

Kiptot E. and Franzel S. (2011) Gender and Agroforestry in Africa: are Women Participating? *ICRAF Occasional Paper No. 13*. Nairobi: World Agroforestry Centre http://www.worldagroforestry.org/downloads/publications/PDFs/OP16988.pdf

Köhler-Rollefson, L. (2012) *Invisible Guardians: Women Manage Livestock Diversity*, FAO Animal Production and Health Paper No. 174, Rome: FAO

Kristjanson, P.; Waters-Bayer, A., Johnson, N., Tipilda, A., Njuki, J., Baltenweck, I. et al. (2010) *Livestock and Women's Livelihoods: A Review of the Recent Evidence,* ILRI Discussion Paper No. 20, Nairobi: ILRI, https://cgspace.cgiar.org/bitstream/handle/10568/3017/Discussion_Paper20.pdf;jsessionid=C7C3212D292D257E5A06D6CC3050006A?sequence=2

Kumar, N. and Quisumbing, A. (2012) *Policy Reform toward Gender Equality in Ethiopia: Little by Little the Egg Begins to Walk,* Washington, DC: IFPRI, www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpridp01226.pdf

Landesa (2012) *Land Rights and Food Security: the linkages Between Secure Land Rights, Women and Improved Household Security and Nutrition*, Issues Brief, Seattle, WA: Landesa, www.landesa.org/wp-content/uploads/Landesa-Issue-Brief-Land-Rights-and-Food-Security.pdf

Malindi, G.; Kayuni F., Chikomola A., Mandula, B., Namakhoma, A., Fatch, P. and Masambuka, F. (2010) Gender, HIV & AIDS and Agricultural Biodiversity in Malawi (unpublished paper), Lilongwe: Malawi

Mamgain, R. and Diwakar, D. (2012) 'Who do ICDS and PDS exclude and what can be done to change this?', *Standing on the Threshold: Food justice in India, IDS Bulletin* Vol. 43, No. S1, Special Issue July 2012, Brighton: IDS

Mander, H. (2012) 'Food from the Courts: the Indian Experience', *Standing on the Threshold: Food justice in India, IDS Bulletin* Vol. 43, No. S1, Special Issue July 2012, Brighton: IDS

Margulis, M. (2012) 'Global food security governance: the Committee on World Food Security, Comprehensive Framework for Action and the G8/G20', in R. Rayfuse and N. Weisfelt (eds), *The Challenge of Food Security: International Policy and Regulatory Frameworks*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing

Mehra, R. and Rojas, M.H. (2008) *Women, Food Security and Agriculture in a Global Marketplace*, Washington, DC: International Center for Research on Women

Molyneux, M. (2007) 'Two Cheers for CCTs', *IDS Bulletin* Vol. 38, No. 3, Brighton: IDS

Naandi Foundation (2011) *HUNGaMA: Fighting hunger and malnutrition: The HUNGaMA Survey Report – 2011*, Hyderabad: Naandi Foundation, www.hungamaforchange.org/HungamaBKDec11LR.pdf

Nelson, G.; Rosegrant, M., Koo, J., Robertson, R., Sulser, T., Zhu, T., Ringler, C., Msangi, S., Palazzo, A., Batka, M., Magalhaes, M., Santos, R.V., Ewing, M. and Lee, D. (2009) *Climate Change: Impact on Agriculture and Costs of Adaptation,* Washington, DC: IFPRI

Neogy, S. (2012) 'Challenging Cultural Attitudes that Affect Food Security in India', *Innovative Approaches to Food Security: Changing Attitudes, Changing Behaviours*, Insights Policy Brief, Brighton: IDS, www.eldis.org/go/topics/insights/2012/innovative-approaches-to-gender-and-food-security#.VAhBiMeDTIU

NIPCCD (2009) *Research on ICDS (1996–2008), Volume 3: An Overview,* New Delhi: National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, http://nipccd.nic.in/reports/icdsvol3.pdf

O Campos, A. and Garner, E. (2012) *Women's Resilience to Food Price Volatility: A Policy Response*, Discussion Paper, Rome: FAO, www.fao.org/docrep/019/i3617e/i3617e.pdf

OECD (2008) *Rising Food Prices. Causes and Consequences*, Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

O'Neill, O. (2002) 'Lecture 2: Trust and Terror', *Reith Lectures 2002: A Question of Trust*, London: BBC, http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/rmhttp/radio4/transcripts/20020410_reith.pdf

Oxfam (2012) *Our Land, Our Lives*, Oxford: Oxfam, www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/bn-land-lives-freeze-041012-en_1.pdf

Oxfam (2011) *Land and Power: the growing scandal surrounding the new wave of investments in land*, Oxford: Oxfam, www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/bp151-land-power-rights-acquisitions-220911-en_4.pdf

Oxfam (2006) *Causing hunger: an overview of the food crisis in Africa*, Oxfam Briefing Paper 91, Oxford: Oxfam

Park, C.; White, B. and Julia (2013) 'We Are Not All the Same: Taking Gender Seriously', conference paper No. 17 from Food Sovereignty: A Critical Dialogue, 14–15 September, New Haven, CT: Yale University, www.yale.edu/agrarianstudies/foodsovereignty/pprs/17_Park_et_al_2013_APPROVEBIO-1.pdf

Parker, R.; Aggleton, P. *et al.* (2002) *HIV/AIDS-related Stigma and Discrimination: a Conceptual Framework and an Agenda for Action*, New York: The Population Council

Patel, R. (2012) 'Food Sovereignty, Gender and the Right to Food', *PLoS Medicine* Vol. 9, No. 6: e1001223, http://rajpatel.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/journal.pmed_.1001223.pdf

Petrie, B. (2008) *Gender and Climate Change: Regional Report*, Cape Town: Heinrich Böll Foundation

Picketty, T. (2014) *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard Press

Pottier, J. (1999) *Anthropology of Food: The Social Dynamics of Food Security*, London: Polity

Quisumbing, A. and Meizen-Dick, R. (2012) 'Women in agriculture: closing the gender gap', *IFPRI Global Policy Report*, Washington, DC: IFPRI, www.ifpri.org/gfpr/2012/women-agriculture

Quisumbing, A.; Meinzen-Dick, R. and Bassett, L. (2008) *Helping Women Respond to the Global Food Price Crisis*, Policy Brief No. 7, Washington, DC: IFPRI

Quisumbing, A.R.; Brown, L.R., Feldstein H.S., Haddad, L. and Peña, C. (1995) *Women: The Key to Food Security*, Washington, DC: IFPRI

Rabaar, N. (2009) *The Impact of the Crisis on Women: Main Trends Across Regions*, AWID Brief 11, Canada/Mexico/South Africa: Association for Women's Rights in Development

Rae, I. (2008) *Women and the Right to Food: International Law and State Practice*, Rome: Right to Food Unit, FAO, www.actuar-acd.org/uploads/5/6/8/7/5687387/fao_women_and_the_rtf.pdf 2014)

Rahmato, D.; Pankhurst, A. and van Uffelen, J.-G. (eds.) (2013) *Food security, safety nets, and social protection in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies

Ramachandran, N. (2012) 'Reducing Gender Inequalities in Food Security and Nutrition: The Other Side of the Equation', paper produced for Global Thematic Consultation: Addressing Inequalities, The Heart of the Post 2015 Development Agenda and the Future we Want for All, Delhi: Institute of Economic Growth

Ramachandran, N. (2006) *Women and Food Security in South Asia: Current Issues and Emerging Concerns*, UN-WIDER Research Paper No. 2006/131, New York: UN WIDER

Randriamaro, Z. (2013) 'The hidden Crisis: Women, Social Reproduction and the Political Economy of Care in Africa', *Pambazuka News* No. 619, www.pambazuka.net/en/category/features/86492

Randriamaro, Z. (2006) *Gender and Trade*, BRIDGE Cutting Edge Report, Brighton: IDS

Razavi, S. (2007a) 'Liberalisation and the Debates on Women's Access to Land', *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 28, No. 3, London: Routledge, http://courses.arch.vt.edu/courses/wdunaway/gia5524/razavi07.pdf

Razavi, S. (2007b) *The Political and Social Economy of Care in a Development Context: Conceptual Issues, Research Questions and Policy Options*, UNRISD Gender and Development Programme Paper No. 3, Geneva: UNRISD

Sachs, C. (2013) 'Feminist Food Sovereignty: Crafting a New Vision', conference paper No. 58 from Food Sovereignty: A Critical Dialogue, 14–15 September, New Haven, CT: Yale University, www.yale.edu/agrarianstudies/foodsovereignty/pprs/58_Sachs_2013.pdf

Sayeed, A. and Madonado, N. (2013) 'Food Sovereignty and women's rights', *Gender equality: women's rights and women's priorities: Recommendations for the proposals of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the post-2015 development agenda*, New York: Women's Major Group

Saxena, N. (2012) 'Hunger and Malnutrition in India', *Standing on the Threshold: Food justice in India, IDS Bulletin* Vol. 43, No. S1, Special Issue, July 2012, Brighton: IDS

Scalese, E. (2009) *Land Inheritance and Property Rights in 2009: A study of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka*, Seattle, WA: Rural Development Institute

Scoones, I. and Thompson, J. (2011) 'The Politics of Seed in Africa's Green Revolution: Alternative Narratives and Competing Pathways', *IDS Bulletin* Vol. 42, No. 4, Brighton: IDS

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Sever, C. (2005) *Gender and Water: Mainstreaming gender equality in water, hygiene and sanitation interventions*, Bern: SDC

Shah, A. (2013) 'Poverty Facts and Stats', *Global Issues*, www.globalissues.org/article/26/poverty-facts-and-stats

Shenggan, F. (2012) 'Food Policy in 2012: Walk the Talk', *2012 Global Food Policy Report*, Washington, DC: IFPRI

Sitko, N.; Chapoto, A., Kabwe, S., Tembo, S., Hichaambwa, M., Lubinda, R., Chiwawa, H., Mataa, M., Heck, S. and Nthani, D. (2011) *Technical Compendium: Descriptive Agricultural Statistics and Analysis for Zambia in Support of the USAID Mission's Feed the Future Strategic Review*, Working Paper No. 52, Lusaka: Food Security Research Project, http://fsg.afre.msu.edu/zambia/wp52.pdf

Smith, L.; Ramakrishnan, U., Ndiaye, A., Haddad, L. and Martorell, R. (2003) *The Importance of Women's Status for Child Nutrition in Developing Countries*, Research Report No. 3, Washington, DC: IFPRI

Spieldoch, A. (2009) 'Women at the Center of the Global Food Challenge', in S. Murphy and A. Paasch (eds), *The global food challenge: Towards a human rights approach to trade and investment policies*, Bern: Brot für Alle

Spieldoch, A. (2007) *A Row to Hoe: the gender impacts of trade liberalization on our food system, agricultural markets and women's human rights*, IGTN/IATP Paper, Geneva: Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung

Spieldoch, A. and Murphy, S. (2009) 'Agricultural Land Acquisitions: Implications for Food Security and Poverty Alleviation', in M. Kugelman and S. Levenstein (eds), *Land Grab?: The Race for the World's Farmland*, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ASIA_090629_Land%20Grab_rpt.pdf

Stein, A. and Qaim, M. (2007) 'The Human and Economic Cost of Hidden Hunger', *Food and Nutrition Bulletin* Vol. 28, No. 2, Tokyo: United Nations University

Sweetman. C. (2012) 'Introduction', *Innovative Approaches to Gender and Food Security: Changing Attitudes, Changing Behaviours,* Insights Policy Brief, Brighton: IDS

Tandon, N. and Wegerif, M. (2013) *Promises, Power and Poverty: Corporate Land Deals and Rural Women in Africa*, Oxford: Oxfam

Technical Support Team (undated) *TST Issues Brief: Food Security and Nutrition*, New York, Technical Support Team, http://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/1804tstissuesfood.pdf

Torres, G. and Hausinger, I. (2013) *Huertos familiares: Cultivando Valores de Equida*, Guatemala: Programa Bosques y Agua/GIZ, Oficinas del Plan Trifinio

UNCTAD (2002) *The Least Developed Countries Report: Escaping the Poverty Trap*, Geneva: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UN DESA (2009) 'Women's Control over Economic Resources and Access to Financial Resources, including Microfinance', *2009 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development*, New York: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

UN DESA (2010) *The World's Women 2010: Trends and Statistics*, New York: UN

UN DESA (Division for the Advancement of Women) (2011) *Population Distribution, Urbanization, Internal Migration, and Development: An International Perspective*, New York: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, www.un.org/esa/population/publications/PopDistribUrbanization/PopulationDistributionUrbanization.pdf

UNDP (2013a) *Human Development Report, Malawi*, New York: UNDP, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/Country-Profiles/MWI.pdf

UNDP (2013b) *Human Development Report, Ethiopia,* New York: UNDP, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/Country-Profiles/ETH.pdf

UNDP (2012) *Africa Human Development Report 2012: towards a food secure future*, New York: UNDP, www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/corporate/HDR/Africa%20HDR/UNDP-Africa%20HDR-2012-EN.pdf

UNDP (2010) *2010 Human Development Index. The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathways to Human Development*, New York: UNDP

UN ECOSOC (2007) *Strengthening efforts to eradicate poverty and hunger, including through the global partnership for development*, New York: United Nations Economic and Social Council, www.un.org/en/ecosoc/docs/pdfs/07-49285-ecosoc-book-2007.pdf

UNFPA, UNAIDS, UNIFEM (2004) *Confronting the Crisis*, New York: UNFPA/UNAIDS/UNIFEM, www.unfpa.org/hiv/women/docs/women_aids.pdf

UN Women (2013) *Advancing gender equality: Promising practices – Case studies from the Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund*, New York: MDG Achievement Fund Secretariat and UN Women, www.unwomen.org/mdgf/downloads/MDG-F_Case-Studies.pdf

USAID (2012) *Gender Integration Strategy: Kenya Horticulture Competitiveness Project (USAID-KHCP),* Washington, DC: USAID, www.fintracuniversity.com/sites/default/files/topic_documents/KHCP%20Gender%20and%20Youth%20Integration%20Strategy%202012_Final.pdf

Vaarst, M. and Farnworth, C. (2012) 'Making It Too Simple? Researchers, Recommendations, and NGOs in the Sundarbans, Indian West Bengal', *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development* Vol. 2, No. 4, Online only: http://dx.doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2012.024.001

Via Campesina (2007) *Declaration of Nyéléni*, Sélingué, Mali: Forum for Food Sovereignty http://nyeleni.org/IMG/pdf/DeclNyeleni-en.pdf

Windfuhr, M. and Jonsen, J. (2005) *Food Sovereignty: Towards democracy in localised food systems,* Rugby: ITDG Publishing

Wise, T. and Gallagher, K. (2006) *Doha Round and Developing Countries: Will the Doha Deal do More Harm than Good?*, RIS Policy Brief No. 22, Medford, MA: Tufts University

Wise, T. and Murphy, S. (2012) *Resolving the Food Crisis: Assessing Global Policy Reforms since 2007*, Medford, MA: Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy and Global Development and Environmental Institute at Tufts University

Wittman, H. (2009) 'Reworking the metabolic rift: La Via Campesina, agrarian citizenship, and food sovereignty', *Journal of Peasant Studies* Vol. 36, No. 4, Oxford: Routledge

Wittman, H. and Nicholson, P. (2009) 'Is market gardening compatible with food sovereignty? Insights from a case study of small-scale micro-irrigated vegetable production in southwest Burkina Faso', conference paper No. 76, Food Sovereignty: A Critical Dialogue, 14–15 September 2009, New Haven, CT: Yale University, www.yale.edu/agrarianstudies/foodsovereignty/pprs/76_Dowd_Uribe_et_al_2013.pdf

Woldemichael, B. (2013) 'The Government Food Security Program', in D. Rahmato, A. Pankhurst and J. van Uffelen (eds), *Food Security, Safety Nets and Social Protection in Ethiopia*, Addis Adaba: Forum for Social Studies

World Agroforestry Center (2013) *Addressing Gender in Climate-Smart Smallholder Agriculture*, World Agroforestry Center Policy Brief No. 14, Nairobi: World Agroforestry Center, www.worldagroforestry.org/downloads/publications/PDFs/PB13013.PDF

World Bank (2012) *Scaling up School Feeding: Keeping Children in School while improving their Learning and Health*, Washington, DC: World Bank, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1334777272566/Results2012-SB-HDN-Update-SchoolFeeding.pdf

World Bank (2011) 'Conflict, Security and Development', *World Development Report 2011*, Washington, DC: World Bank

World Bank (2007) *World Development Report: Agriculture for Development*, Washington, DC: World Bank

World Bank/IFAD/FAO (2009) *Gender and Agriculture Sourcebook: Investing in Women as Drivers of Agricultural Growth*, Washington, DC: World Bank

WFP (2009) *WFP Gender Policy Promoting Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women in Addressing Food and Nutrition Challenges,* Rome: WFP http://one.wfp.org/eb/docs/2009/wfp194044~2.pdf

WHO (2005) *Nutrition and Adolescence – Issues and Challenges for the Health Sector*, WHO Discussion Papers on Adolescence, Geneva: WHO, http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2005/9241593660_eng.pdf

WHO (2014) *Obesity and Overweight*, Fact Sheet No. 311, Geneva: WHO, www.who.int/ mediacentre/factsheets/fs311/en/

Women's Major Group (2013) *Gender equality: women's rights and women's priorities: Recommendations for the proposals of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the post-2015 development agenda*, New York: Women's Major Group

ZPCT (2010) 'Integrating Gender into HIV/AIDS Prevention, Care and Treatment', *ZPCT II Gender Strategy*, Lusaka: ZPCT

BRIDGE
development - gender

Gender and Food Security
TOWARDS GENDER-JUST FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY
OVERVIEW REPORT

BRIDGE 2014

There is more than enough food in the world to feed everyone, but the number of people who do not have enough to eat remains unacceptably high, with disproportionate impacts on women and girls. Reversing this shocking trend must be a top priority for governments and international institutions and responses must treat food insecurity as a gender equality, rights and social justice issue.

This Overview Report makes the case for a new, gender-aware understanding of food security, arguing that partial, apolitical and gender-blind diagnoses of the problem of food and nutrition insecurity is leading to insufficient policy responses and the failure to realise the right to food for all people. Showcasing effective and promising existing strategies, the report suggests that in order to truly achieve food security for all in gender equitable ways, responses need to be rights-based, gender-just and environmentally sustainable.

The report is the result of a collaborative and participatory process, involving over 40 experts on food and nutrition security and gender from around the world.

FSC

Printed on paper from responsible sources