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Research Article

Ecofeminism, Urban Agriculture, and Women's Food Sovereignty in Post-Industrial Cities

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Abstract

Rapid urbanization, rising food prices, and supply chain disruptions have intensified food insecurity among low-income households in sprawling metropolitan areas across the Global South. In response, urban women's collectives have transformed vacant municipal plots, rooftops, and peri-urban corridors into productive agroecological gardens that supply fresh vegetables for household consumption and local markets. However, insecure urban land tenure, municipal zoning bans on urban farming, and soil contamination threaten the sustainability of women-led urban agriculture. This paper examines how women urban farmers negotiate municipal land access and build community food resilience in Nairobi, Kenya, and Lima, Peru. Grounded in urban ecofeminism and food sovereignty theory, the study combines spatial garden audits with 50 interviews involving female urban growers. We advocate for municipal recognition of urban agriculture as vital green infrastructure and secure communal land leases for women's farming groups.

Keywords: Urban agriculture, ecofeminism, food sovereignty, women's collectives, urban land tenure, agroecology, Kenya, Peru

1. Introduction

Metropolitan regions across the Global South are undergoing an unprecedented socio-ecological transformation. Driven by rapid demographic expansion, rural-to-urban migration, and volatile global commodity markets, cities in Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America face acute structural food insecurity (Crush & Frayne, 2011; Battersby & Watson, 2018). Unlike rural hunger, which is frequently tied to seasonal harvest failures, urban food insecurity is predominantly a crisis of affordability, spatial inequality, and dependency on long, fragile supply chains (Tacoli, 2019). When inflation spikes or logistical shocks disrupt regional transport networks, low-income urban households—which routinely spend between 50% and 70% of their disposable income on food—are forced to reduce caloric intake and substitute nutrient-dense fresh produce with ultra-processed, calorie-dense staples (FAO et al., 2023; Ruel et al., 2017).

Within these precarious urban foodscapes, the burden of provisioning is heavily gendered. Across working-class neighborhoods and informal settlements, women bear primary responsibility for household food acquisition, preparation, and nutritional care (Hovorka et al., 2009; Agarwal, 2018). Confronted with shrinking real wages and rising food costs, urban women have increasingly turned to urban and peri-urban agriculture (UPA) not merely as a survivalist coping mechanism, but as a deliberate, collective strategy to reclaim control over their food systems (White, 2011; Tornaghi, 2017). From sack gardens and rooftop hydroponic units in Nairobi's informal settlements to terraced community bio-gardens (biohuertos) along Lima's arid peri-urban slopes, women's collectives are converting neglected interstitial spaces into vibrant hubs of agroecological production (Foeken, 2006; Bellwood-Howard et al., 2018; Arce et al., 2009).

Despite their demonstrable contributions to household nutrition, urban biodiversity, and micro-climate regulation, women urban farmers operate within hostile legal and spatial regimes. Post-colonial and modernist urban planning frameworks across the Global South have historically categorized agriculture as an exclusively rural activity, viewing urban cultivation as an eyesore, a public health hazard, or an impediment to speculative real estate development (Smit et al., 2001; Cabannes & Marocchino, 2018). Consequently, women growers face chronic tenure insecurity, arbitrary evictions, restrictive municipal zoning ordinances, and severe environmental hazards such as heavy metal soil contamination and polluted irrigation water (Lee-Smith, 2010; Orsini et al., 2013).

This article investigates how women's urban farming collectives navigate these structural barriers to forge community food resilience in two contrasting yet structurally comparable post-industrializing metropolises: Nairobi, Kenya, and Lima, Peru. By integrating urban ecofeminism with food sovereignty theory, we analyze how women cultivators challenge patriarchal and neoliberal enclosures of urban space. Specifically, this study addresses three interrelated research questions:

1. *How do women's urban farming collectives in Nairobi and Lima mobilize agroecological practices to achieve household and community food sovereignty?*
2. *What legal, spatial, and environmental barriers—particularly concerning land tenure, municipal zoning, and soil quality—constrain the sustainability of women-led urban gardens?*
3. *What institutional mechanisms and planning reforms are required to transition women's urban agriculture from precarious informality to recognized green infrastructure?*

2. Theoretical Framework: Urban Ecofeminism and Food Sovereignty

To capture the political, ecological, and gendered dimensions of urban cultivation, this study synthesizes two complementary critical frameworks: urban ecofeminism and food sovereignty.

2.1 Urban Ecofeminism and the Politics of Care

Ecofeminist scholarship posits that the capitalist-patriarchal domination of nature and the subordination of women are structurally intertwined through a shared logic of extraction, devaluation, and enclosure (Merchant, 1980; Mies & Shiva, 1993). In classical political economy, both ecological regeneration and women's social reproductive labor—cooking, caregiving, subsistence farming, and community maintenance—are treated as infinite, unremunerated externalities that subsidize formal capital accumulation (Federici, 2012; Salleh, 2017).

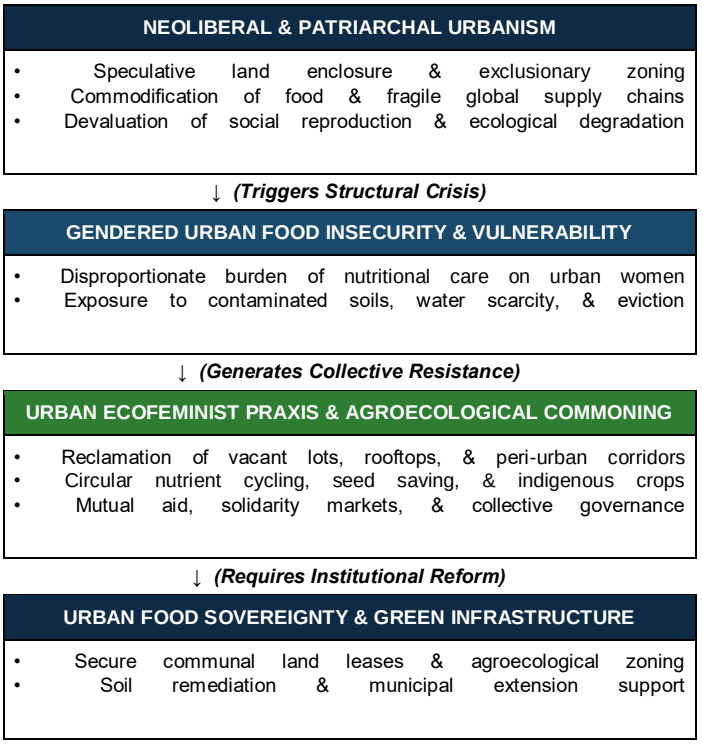
Applying ecofeminism to the urban context illuminates how neoliberal urbanism prioritizes exchange value (luxury real estate, commercial corridors, and speculative land banking) over use value (ecological health, communal space, and social reproduction) (Harvey, 2012; Tornaghi & Dehaene, 2020). When municipalities pave over wetlands, privatize public commons, or criminalize informal street vending and urban farming, they simultaneously degrade urban ecosystems and undermine the material base of women's care work (Gaard, 2015). Conversely, women-led urban agriculture embodies what Mies and Shiva (1993) term the "subsistence perspective"—an ethic of care, reciprocity, and ecological stewardship that treats urban soil, water, and seeds as shared commons rather than commodities (di Chiro, 2008; Harcourt & Nelson, 2015).

2.2 Re-territorializing Food Sovereignty in the City

First articulated by the transnational peasant movement La Vía Campesina in 1996, food sovereignty is defined 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 (La Vía Campesina, 1996; Patel, 2009). While originally formulated in defense of rural smallholders against corporate agribusiness and neoliberal trade liberalization, scholars and activists have increasingly adapted food sovereignty to urban environments (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011; Alkon & Mares, 2012).

Urban food sovereignty moves beyond the narrow, apolitical metric of "food security"—which merely measures caloric availability and market access—to interrogate who controls urban land, water, seeds, and food distribution networks (Claeys, 2015; Siegner et al., 2018). When viewed through an ecofeminist lens, urban food sovereignty highlights how women's collectives reclaim bodily and community autonomy by cultivating indigenous, culturally meaningful crops, saving heirloom seeds, recycling organic municipal waste into compost, and establishing solidarity economies that bypass exploitative middlemen (Altieri & Toledo, 2011; Pimbert, 2018).

Figure 1. *Conceptual framework linking urban ecofeminism, agroecological commoning, and urban food sovereignty in post-industrializing cities.*



3. Contextual Background: Nairobi and Lima

Nairobi and Lima represent compelling comparative sites for examining women's urban agriculture in the Global South. Both cities function as the primary economic, industrial, and demographic engines of their respective nations, and both have experienced rapid, poorly regulated spatial expansion accompanied by stark socio-spatial segregation.

3.1 Nairobi, Kenya: Post-Colonial Zoning and Informal Settlement Agroecology

Nairobi, with a metropolitan population exceeding 5.5 million, exhibits extreme spatial inequality, wherein roughly 60% of residents live in informal settlements (such as Kibera, Mathare, Korogocho, and Mukuru) occupying less than 6% of the city's residential land (UN-Habitat, 2022). Historically, urban agriculture in Nairobi was suppressed under colonial-era municipal bylaws—specifically the Local Government Act (Cap. 265) and the Public Health Act—which prohibited crop cultivation on public land and framed urban farming as a vector for malaria and urban disorder (Lee-Smith, 2010; Foeken, 2006).

A major legislative shift occurred with the passage of the Nairobi City County Urban Agriculture Promotion and Regulation Act of 2015, which legally recognized urban farming as a legitimate land use and mandated county support for high-density and informal

settlements (Nairobi City County, 2015; Halloran & Magid, 2013). However, implementation has lagged far behind statutory intent. Rapid infrastructure expansion, real estate speculation, and the pollution of the Nairobi River basin continue to threaten community gardens, leaving women growers reliant on innovative space-saving techniques such as vertical sack gardening, raised-bed agroecology, and rooftop hydroponics (Gallaher et al., 2013; Karanja & Njenga, 2011).

3.2 Lima, Peru: Arid Urbanization and Peri-Urban Biohuertos

Situated on a hyper-arid coastal desert strip between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes, Metropolitan Lima is home to over 11 million people—roughly one-third of Peru's population (INEI, 2023). Decades of internal migration, rural-to-urban displacement, and informal land occupations (pueblos jóvenes) have pushed low-income settlements up rocky hillsides (lomas) and into the fertile alluvial valleys of the Rímac, Chillón, and Lurín rivers (Fernández-Maldonado, 2015). As industrial parks and gated housing complexes encroach upon prime agricultural valleys, Lima faces severe water scarcity and the loss of regional food-producing land (Arce et al., 2009).

Lima has a rich history of women-led grassroots food provisioning, anchored by the Comedores Populares (communal kitchens) and Vaso de Leche (Glass of Milk) programs forged during the economic crises of the 1980s and 1990s (Blondet, 2002; Hays-Mitchell, 2002). Building on this feminist organizational infrastructure, the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima enacted Municipal Ordinance No. 1629 in 2012 (alongside the Mi Huerta program), establishing a framework to promote urban agriculture for food security, environmental management, and social inclusion (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima, 2012; Bellwood-Howard et al., 2018). Nevertheless, fluctuations in municipal political will, severe water rationing, and industrial heavy metal contamination along the Rímac basin pose persistent obstacles to women's farming collectives in districts such as Villa El Salvador, San Juan de Lurigancho, and Carapongo (Castro et al., 2018).

4. Methodology

To capture both the material-spatial realities of urban gardens and the lived political experiences of female cultivators, this study employed a mixed-methods comparative research design conducted between January and August 2026 across Nairobi and Lima.

4.1 Study Sites and Sampling Strategy

We purposively selected 24 women-led urban agriculture sites (12 in Nairobi and 12 in Lima) spanning three distinct urban spatial typologies:

- Intra-urban vacant municipal plots and riparian buffers (e.g., Mathare and Kibera in Nairobi; San Juan de Lurigancho in Lima).
- Rooftop, schoolyard, and institutional micro-gardens (e.g., Dandora and Eastlands in Nairobi; Villa El Salvador in Lima).
- Peri-urban agricultural corridors (e.g., Dagoretti and Ruai in Nairobi; Carapongo and Lurín Valley in Lima).

Within these 24 sites, we conducted 50 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with female urban growers (25 in Nairobi and 25 in Lima), including cooperative leaders, long-term cultivators, and younger women entrants. Interviews were conducted in Swahili, Sheng, English, and Spanish, audio-recorded with informed consent, transcribed, and translated into English for thematic coding.

4.2 Spatial Garden Audits and Soil Screening

Alongside qualitative interviews, the research team performed standardized spatial garden audits across all 24 sites. Audits documented:

- Total cultivated area (m²) and spatial configuration (ground plots, raised beds, vertical sacks, containers/rooftops).
- Crop agrobiodiversity (number of distinct food, medicinal, and pollinator-attracting species).
- Agroecological inputs (on-site composting, rainwater harvesting, greywater filtration, bio-pesticides).
- Legal tenure status (informal occupation, temporary verbal permission, municipal memorandum of understanding, or formal communal lease).

Additionally, composite topsoil samples (0–20 cm depth) were collected from 16 ground-based sites (8 per city) and analyzed via portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF) spectroscopy to screen for lead (Pb), cadmium (Cd), and arsenic (As) concentrations relative to World Health Organization (WHO) and FAO agricultural safety thresholds (Orsini et al., 2013).

Table 1. Comparative summary of spatial garden audits, environmental screening, and grower demographics in Nairobi and Lima.:

Indicator / Parameter	Nairobi, Kenya (n = 12 sites; 25 interviewees)	Lima, Peru (n = 12 sites; 25 interviewees)	Combined Sample (N = 24 sites; 50 interviewees)
Mean Garden Size (m²)	410 m² (Range: 45–1,800)	680 m² (Range: 80–2,400)	545 m²
Primary Spatial Typology	Vertical sacks, riparian plots, schoolyards	Terraced biohuertos, peri-urban valleys	Mixed intra-urban & peri-urban
Mean Crop Diversity (Species/Site)	14.2 species	18.6 species	16.4 species
Sites Practicing On-Site Composting	91.7% (11/12)	100.0% (12/12)	95.8% (23/24)
Sites with Formal Written Land Tenure	16.7% (2/12)	25.0% (3/12)	20.8% (5/24)
Ground Sites Exceeding WHO Pb Limits	50.0% (4/8)	37.5% (3/8)	43.8% (7/16)
Mean Grower Age (Years)	43.6 years	48.2 years	45.9 years
Households Consuming ge 50% of Yield	76.0% (19/25)	68.0% (17/25)	72.0% (36/50)

5. Empirical Findings

5.1 Agroecological Commoning and Household Food Sovereignty

Across both Nairobi and Lima, spatial audits and interviews revealed that women's collectives reject chemical-intensive industrial agriculture in favor of low-cost, circular agroecological practices. As summarized in Table 1, 95.8% of audited gardens actively divert organic household and market waste into aerobic compost heaps and vermiculture beds, transforming urban pollution into fertile topsoil. In Nairobi's Mathare Valley, women

growers reclaimed an illegal solid waste dumpsite along the river corridor, clearing metric tons of plastics and building raised compost beds to cultivate African leafy vegetables (terere/amaranth, managu/African nightshade, sukuma wiki/kale, and spider plant). Similarly, in Lima's Villa El Salvador, women's biohuertos utilize bokashi fermentation, neem-based bio-insecticides, and drip-irrigation systems constructed from recycled plastic bottles to thrive in desert sands.

This agroecological praxis directly advances urban food sovereignty in three ways:

Nutritional Autonomy and Dietary Diversity: Seventy-two percent of interviewed women reported that their gardens supply at least half of their households' fresh vegetable requirements, buffering families against volatile supermarket and wholesale market prices. Growers emphasized that cultivating indigenous and traditional crops—such as managu in Nairobi or native Andean herbs, squash, and purple maize in Lima—restores cultural food heritage eroded by cheap, imported ultra-processed foods (Gallaher et al., 2013; Altieri & Toledo, 2011).

Solidarity Economies and Surplus Redistribution: Rather than operating purely as profit-maximizing micro-enterprises, women's collectives embed distribution within an ecofeminist ethic of care. Surplus produce is first allocated to vulnerable community members—including elderly neighbors, pregnant women, and local Comedores Populares in Lima or informal school feeding programs in Nairobi—before remaining harvests are sold at affordable prices in neighborhood farm-gate markets.

Intergenerational Knowledge Commons: Gardens function as outdoor classrooms where older women—many of whom migrated from rural agrarian provinces—transmit seed-saving techniques, soil stewardship, and medicinal plant knowledge to urban youth, countering the alienation of urban residents from ecological processes (Tornaghi, 2017).

> *"When food prices doubled last year, my neighbors were skipping dinner. Here in our collective garden, we do not wait for politicians or supermarkets to feed our children. We make our own soil from kitchen scraps, we save our own seeds, and every woman goes home with fresh greens. This garden is our sovereignty." — Interviewee NBO-14, Women's Collective Coordinator, Korogocho, Nairobi (March 2026)*

5.2 Precarious Land Tenure and Municipal Zoning Contradictions

Despite the existence of progressive municipal frameworks—Nairobi's 2015 Urban Agriculture Promotion and Regulation Act and Lima's 2012 Municipal Ordinance No. 1629—our findings expose a profound chasm between policy rhetoric and on-the-ground governance. Only 20.8% (5 out of 24) of the surveyed gardens possessed any form of formal written land tenure (Table 1). The remaining 79.2% operated under informal occupation, expired temporary permits, or fragile verbal agreements with local ward administrators, school principals, or utility companies.

In Nairobi, women farming along railway reserves, power-line wayleaves, and riparian corridors reported living under the constant threat of sudden demolition. Several collectives described instances where county enforcement officers (askaris) or private developers bulldozed mature crops without prior notice to make way for road widening or commercial stalls, invoking older public health and nuisance bylaws that directly contradict the 2015 Act (Lee-Smith, 2010; Cabannes & Marocchino, 2018). In Lima, peri-urban women farmers in Carapongo and the Lurín Valley recounted aggressive pressure from real estate speculators seeking to rezone agricultural land (zonificación agrícola) into industrial warehousing and high-density residential complexes. Even where municipal ordinances recognize urban gardens, zoning codes frequently prohibit women from constructing permanent water storage tanks, seed banks, or tool sheds, classifying such structures as "illegal encroachments."

This tenure insecurity acts as a major disincentive to long-term agroecological investment. Women growers noted that without multi-year security, they are reluctant to plant fruit trees, install permanent drip-irrigation infrastructure, or invest labor in deep soil remediation.

5.3 Soil Contamination, Water Scarcity, and Environmental Injustice

Because marginalized women's collectives are systematically excluded from prime urban real estate, they are forced onto environmentally degraded margins—former landfills, industrial buffers, highway verges, and polluted riverbanks. Our pXRF soil screening confirmed that 43.8% (7 out of 16) of ground-based gardens exceeded WHO/FAO safe threshold limits for lead (Pb > 100text mg/kg), with localized hotspots of cadmium (Cd) near battery-recycling workshops in Nairobi's Dandora/Mukuru belt and metal-processing industries along Lima's Rímac River (Orsini et al., 2013; Castro et al., 2018).

Water access presented an equally acute, gendered challenge. In Lima's arid districts, women growers faced punitive domestic water tariffs when using municipal potable water for irrigation, forcing some collectives to rely on untreated canal water contaminated with industrial effluents and domestic sewage. In Nairobi, dry-season water rationing forced women to walk up to two kilometers carrying 20-liter jerrycans or purchase expensive water from informal cartels, adding hours of unpaid physical labor to their daily care burdens.

Table 2. Comparative matrix of structural barriers and women's adaptive strategies across Nairobi and Lima.:

Barrier Dimension	Manifestation in Nairobi, Kenya	Manifestation in Lima, Peru	Women's Adaptive & Political Strategies
Land Tenure & Zoning	Evictions along riparian/wayleave zones; contradiction between 2015 Act and legacy bylaws.	Speculative rezoning of peri-urban valleys; bans on permanent farm structures.	Forming registered cooperatives; negotiating MOUs with public schools & churches.
Soil Contamination	Heavy metals (Pb, Cd) from adjacent informal industry and former dumpsites.	Industrial runoff and legacy mining pollutants in Rímac Valley alluvial soils.	Container/sack gardening; raised beds with imported clean topsoil; phytoremediation.
Water Access & Quality	Dry-season rationing; high cost of vendor water; polluted river water.	Hyper-arid climate; high potable water tariffs; contaminated irrigation canals.	Rooftop rainwater harvesting; greywater bio-filters; bottle-drip irrigation.
Institutional Support	Limited county extension reach; male-dominated cooperative leadership structures.	Shifting municipal priorities across mayoral terms; lack of micro-credit access.	Peer-to-peer feminist agroecology schools; collective savings (chamas / juntas).

5.4 Negotiating Access: Strategic Commoning and Tactical Citizenship

Rather than passively accepting marginalization, women's collectives in both cities deploy sophisticated political and spatial

strategies to secure land and resources—a practice we conceptualize as tactical ecofeminist citizenship (see Table 2).

First, women collectives leverage institutional partnerships to bypass hostile zoning regimes. In both Nairobi and Lima, collectives negotiated tripartite Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) with public primary schools and municipal health clinics. Under these arrangements, women convert unused institutional yards into agroecological gardens, contributing 20% to 30% of the harvest to school lunch programs or clinic nutrition wards in exchange for fenced land security and access to institutional water taps.

Second, women mobilize the language of urban green infrastructure and climate resilience to reframe their work for municipal planners. In Lima, collectives partnered with environmental NGOs and university agronomists to document how terraced biohuertos prevent hillside landslides (huaicos), stabilize urban soils, and reduce municipal solid waste collection costs through neighborhood composting. In Nairobi, women's groups demonstrated how riparian agroforestry buffers filter stormwater runoff and mitigate urban heat island effects. By proving that their gardens perform essential ecological services for the wider city, women farmers transformed their political standing from "illegal squatters" to indispensable environmental stewards (Tornaghi & Dehaene, 2020; Bellwood-Howard et al., 2018).

Third, collective organization itself functions as a shield against patriarchal and bureaucratic exclusion. Individual female growers reported being routinely dismissed by municipal land officials; however, when organized into legally registered women's associations—building on Kenya's chama (merry-go-round savings group) tradition and Peru's Comedores Populares federation model—women amassed the collective bargaining power needed to demand seats on municipal food policy councils and participatory budgeting committees (Blondet, 2002; Agarwal, 2018).

6. Discussion and Policy Recommendations

The comparative evidence from Nairobi and Lima underscores that women-led urban agriculture is far more than a marginal subsistence activity; it is a foundational pillar of urban climate adaptation, public health, and social justice. Through an ecofeminist lens, these gardens expose the fallacy of separating "productive" urban economic development from "reproductive" ecological and community care (Mies & Shiva, 1993; Federici, 2012). When women transform toxic dumpsites and barren desert slopes into biodiverse food commons, they actively repair the metabolic rift between city and nature while asserting their collective right to the city (Harvey, 2012; Salleh, 2017).

However, celebratory accounts of women's resilience must not obscure the structural injustices that force low-income women to shoulder the burden of urban food provisioning without institutional support. Relying on women's unpaid labor to remediate contaminated soils and buffer cities against food price shocks—while denying them land titles, clean water, and zoning protection—constitutes a form of ecofeminist exploitation (Gaard, 2015; Harcourt & Nelson, 2015). If urban agriculture is to realize its potential as a transformative pathway toward food sovereignty, municipal governments must move beyond symbolic ordinances and enact binding structural reforms.

Based on our empirical findings, we propose four concrete policy interventions for municipal planners, urban policymakers, and international development agencies:

6.1 Recognize Urban Agriculture as Essential Green Infrastructure

Municipal master plans and zoning codes must formally classify agroecological community gardens alongside parks, wetlands, and urban forests as productive green infrastructure (Cabannes & Marocchino, 2018). Reclassifying urban farming from a temporary "transitional land use" to permanent ecological infrastructure protects gardens from speculative real estate rezoning and unlocks municipal environmental and climate-adaptation funding streams.

6.2 Establish Secure Communal Land Leases and Urban Land Trusts

To eliminate the threat of arbitrary eviction without triggering individual land privatization and gentrification, municipalities should issue long-term, renewable communal land leases (minimum 10–15 years) exclusively to registered women's farming cooperatives (Agarwal, 2018). Cities should establish public inventories of underutilized municipal land, utility wayleaves, and institutional grounds, prioritizing women-led collectives in low-income neighborhoods for community land trust (CLT) stewardship.

6.3 Provide Municipal Soil Remediation, Clean Water, and Agroecological Extension

Governments must address environmental injustices by funding free municipal soil testing for heavy metals, supplying uncontaminated topsoil and raised-bed materials in industrial zones, and installing decentralized rainwater harvesting and treated greywater irrigation systems (Orsini et al., 2013). Furthermore, agricultural extension services must be reoriented away from rural monocultures toward gender-responsive, urban agroecological training, seed banks, and organic compost certification.

6.4 Institutionalize Participatory Feminist Food Governance

Finally, municipal food policy councils—such as those emerging under the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact—must guarantee binding representation and decision-making power for grassroots women urban farmers (Claeys, 2015; Pimbert, 2018). Participatory budgeting mechanisms should earmark dedicated grants for women's agroecological cooperatives to build shared cold-storage facilities, neighborhood farmers' markets, and community kitchens.

7. Conclusion

As cities across the Global South confront the converging crises of rapid urbanization, climate disruption, and systemic food inflation, women's urban farming collectives in Nairobi and Lima demonstrate that resilient, equitable food systems can be cultivated from the ground up. Grounded in an ecofeminist ethic of care and collective stewardship, these growers reclaim marginalized urban spaces to nourish their households, preserve agrobiodiversity, and regenerate degraded urban ecosystems. Yet, the long-term sustainability of women-led urban agriculture remains imperiled by insecure land tenure, contradictory zoning regimes, and environmental contamination. Achieving genuine urban food sovereignty requires dismantling the patriarchal and neoliberal planning paradigms that treat urban land purely as a financial asset. By recognizing urban agroecology as vital green infrastructure and granting secure communal land tenure to

women's collectives, post-industrializing cities can cultivate both ecological resilience and gender justice.

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