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Women's roles and the gender division of labor within the local food system of the Central New Mexico regional foodshed

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Candidate: Tiffany Terry

Department: Community & Regional Planning

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Thesis Committee:

Claudia Isaac, Chairperson

Ric Richardson

David Henkel

**WOMEN'S ROLES AND THE GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN THE LOCAL FOOD SYSTEM OF
THE CENTRAL NEW MEXICO REGIONAL FOODSHED**

BY

TIFFANY TERRY

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE, PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS, AUGUST 2001

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

Within the Central New Mexico regional foodshed (i.e. within a 300 mile radius of Albuquerque), many women are working within the local food system to help locally grown food go from farm to fork. In certain roles, women predominate. In others, women are less represented. Women participating in the local food system provided their insights and expertise on how gender affects their own participation, as well as their perceptions of the gender division of labor within the local food system. Through this exploration, eleven women co-participants of this study found that regardless of the role, there are challenges based on gender. However, for certain roles, especially the ones that require access to resources like capital and land, women are particularly challenged to succeed. These co-participants observe that women tend to cooperate to succeed within their roles, and believe that increasing opportunities and space available for women to deliberately share knowledge will increase women's capacity to participate in local food system roles. Future inquiry efforts should address the identified obstacles, and also include co-participants with subject positions more representative of the general population in New Mexico.

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I. INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

In this thesis, I explore the gender division of labor and how women participate in the local food system within the Central New Mexico regional foodshed, as well as how gender affects their participation. Though small scale production for sustenance has long been within the domain of “women’s work,” today small scale production may go beyond the home or the neighborhood and into the marketplace (Jensen, 1981; S. Wentzel-Fisher, Personal Communication, 2013; D. Wegrzyn, Personal Communication, 2013). The local food system entails all the people, organizations, processes and materials it takes for food to go from the ground to the fork. In the *Background* section, I will discuss literature about women’s roles in food production, as well as statistics about women’s status in New Mexico and criticism of local food as a new social movement.

Eleven women within the regional foodshed gave their oral testimonies on their roles within this system, as well as their perceptions of the gender division of labor within the local food system and how their gender affects how they participate within the local food system. In the *Methodology* section, I will discuss why I chose the oral testimony methodology, as well as how the data were analyzed and presented in this thesis.

In analyzing these testimonies, I found that women predominate in capacity-building roles like technical assistance or advocacy and, though they are represented in the production related roles, many adopt what they term “masculine” behaviors to navigate the business and leadership aspects of agricultural production. Like their male counterparts, these women report difficulty accessing land and capital. However, as

women, there are additional barriers related to their gender. The women co-participants who shared their testimonies identified potential solutions to some of the identified barriers, as well as other recommendations for women's success in the local food system. In the Analysis, Findings & Recommendations section, I discuss these and other findings and the recommendations of the study co-participants, as well as my own.

Upon completion of this thesis, I will work with the co-participants to preserve and share their oral testimony materials and determine other next steps to further future inquiry and work to increase women's capacity to fully participate across the local food system.

Problem Statement

In this study, we—the women authors and co-participants and I, the researcher and co-participant—set out to better understand, “What is the gender division of labor (GDOL) within the local food system (LFS) in the Central New Mexico regional foodshed?” To get at this, co-participants shared their thoughts regarding:

- How women are currently participating within the local food system
- How gender affects women's participation
- What helps women participate and what hinders women's participation

Through the course of this exploration, co-participants identified aspects of the GDOL within the local food system, as well as some resources available to women, barriers women face, and possible solutions to those barriers.

Impetus: my own experience

I had been working at the Mid-Region Council of Governments in programming that promotes and bolsters local food production as a means of local economic development. Through the course of convening our regular monthly meetings, attending annual conferences, or just in reading related publications like monthly newsletters from partnering organizations, I found that women predominated in ongoing discussions about the importance of local food. These women were largely functioning as organizers, educators, and planners. In noting this phenomenon, I began to wonder how women participate in other parts of the local food system. How many women farmers are there in New Mexico? Is it more or less than men farmers? How about other roles like retail, distribution and so on? This line of inquiry felt like an authentic path and is what I ultimately pursued alongside the co-participants of this study.

Purpose

This thesis is a snapshot in time. A number of people, institutions, organizations and both formal and informal networks were directly and indirectly involved in this study, and some may continue to be involved in future inquiry. This thesis is a compilation of oral testimonies crafted through women co-participants sharing their stories and through me using my own analytical filter to edit the raw transcripts from their individual interviews and make my own recommendations and conclusions. In an ideal vision, the co-participants in this particular study, and possibly other future co-participants, would utilize the products of this study to inform a new line of inquiry.

The oral testimonies of the women authors contained herein may serve to increase understanding—among a variety of audiences—of how women participate in the local food system (LFS) in the Central New Mexico regional foodshed, as well as the self-identified resources, barriers and possible solutions to the barriers that women may encounter in their participation. This study may help other participants in the local food system become aware of perspectives that may have been marginalized and less visible. Other women who are interested in becoming more engaged in the local food system may benefit from the shared insights of their experienced peers. Foundations and other funders interested in supporting local food production may benefit from increased understanding of this aspect of the local food system to maximize their investments. Policy and regulatory professionals may benefit from the insights offered by the women co-participants to help improve opportunities for women to participate in the LFS. Planners interested in engaging with stakeholders in the LFS may increase their understanding of certain local food system dynamics to inform their approach. Natural resource managers may consider protocol changes to improve women's access to natural resources such as land and water. For educators and researchers, these oral testimonies provide a variety of perspectives on the state of the local food system in New Mexico--and as part of a larger social movement in the U.S. and beyond.

The publication of these women authors' stories will increase access to women's accounts of their experiences within the local food system, in their own voices. Though this thesis is the initial publication, the formal format and style of this product limits its accessibility to an audience beyond the academic community. All co-participants of this study expressed interest in preserving their contributions. After the study, I will work with them

to determine the best repositories for this purpose. Additionally, the Rio Grande Farmers Coalition (RGFC) co-founder and coordinator (as well as study co-participant), Sarah Wentzel-Fisher, expressed interest in publishing these women's stories on the RGFC website (Personal Communication, March 2013). Also, Amanda Rich of Erda Gardens and Robin Seydel of La Montañita Co-op independently talked about how these stories would make for a great book (Personal Communications, March 2013). Additionally, a number of the co-participants expressed interest in developing some form of women's space for knowledge exchange, networking, sharing labor and more, and I am interested in working with them to create such a space. Whatever comes to fruition, it will be through a collaborative process with the co-participants.

An Overview of the Local Food System in the Central New Mexico Regional Foodshed

From my own observations, as of the time of data collection (March 2013), the LFS was relatively unexamined as a system in which certain groups may be privileged over others, and seems, by default, to be considered a relatively neutral system in terms of access and opportunity to participate with the exception of the consumer side. In that case, food insecurity and hunger is a prominent and recognized issue in New Mexico with our state ranking highest in childhood hunger (Feeding America, 2013). This study takes a critical look at the current state of the local food system (LFS) within the Central New Mexico regional foodshed with regard for how women participate and how gender affects their participation.

A local food system includes the people, organizations, processes, and inputs that are required to feed people within a limited geographic region (Farm to Table New Mexico, n.d.; Cornell, n.d.; Environmental Commons, n.d.). For example, toward the front end of the system, there is everything that goes into the production of food like the farmers, inputs (like seeds, fertilizer, etc.), and natural resources (e.g. land and water). Toward the middle, there is everything that is needed to prepare food to be distributed such as processors, packaging, and warehouses or a grower's own cold storage facility. Toward the end, the primary focus is on getting the food to someone's fork which may involve farmers' markets or distributors, retail stores (e.g. supermarkets), restaurants and the eaters, themselves (Farm to Table New Mexico, n.d.; Cornell, n.d.).

What makes a food system "local" is debatable and definitions vary, but for the purpose of this study, I used New Mexico's most prominent food cooperative, La Montañita Co-op's, definition of the regional foodshed—i.e. food grown within a 300 mile radius of Albuquerque—to create the geographic boundaries of this study and to determine who and what would qualify to be considered part of the local food system (Seydel, 2008).

The co-participants are almost all residents of Albuquerque and nearby communities such as the South Valley and Los Ranchos de Albuquerque, though one co-participant lives on the Navajo reservation just beyond the New Mexico border in Arizona.

Local food systems across the U.S. tend to be characterized by certain attributes besides the fact that the food is grown within an area considered to be local (USDA, n.d. b).

Often there is a closer connection between the grower and the eater, whether the eater is purchasing the produce directly from the grower at a farmers' market, subscribing to a

particular farmer's Community Supported Agriculture (CSA)¹ harvest box, shopping for local ingredients at a grocery cooperative like La Montañita or having a meal at a restaurant specializing in locally sourced food (Cornell, n.d.). Farmers' markets have sprung up in great numbers around the U.S. especially within the past decade (Johnson, Aussenberg & Cowan, 2012). As of 2011, New Mexico boasts about 60 markets statewide (New Mexico Farmers' Marketing Association, n.d.).

Local Food Movement as a New Social Movement

A 'new social movement' can be defined as a multi-fronted, multi-stakeholder effort to address inequalities and enact systemic change through a variety of means and technologies (Hassanein, 2003; Starr, 2010). Myriad interests and stakeholders have found purchase in what is often referred to as the "local food movement" (Starr, 2010). Some parties utilize local food as a platform to advocate for certain production standards like organic (Cummins, 2011). Others are most interested in addressing hunger issues and food access (WhyHunger, n.d.; Food First, n.d.; Lapping, 2004). Still more see local food as a way to subvert other dominant paradigms like multi-national corporations, patriarchy, colonization, or compulsory heterosexuality; for example, there are queer farmer groups, young farmer groups, women farmer groups, increasing numbers of stay-at-home parents and do-it-yourself subscribers (Barrington, 2011; National Young

¹ Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) allows community members to directly support a grower's farm operation by paying for production up front and receiving regular harvest shares in return. It is a direct relationship between the farmer and the community members that minimizes the farmer's individual risk through community support that often goes beyond just the financial investment to include contributions such as volunteer time by members (USDA National Agricultural Library, n.d. b).

Farmers Coalition, n.d.; Women, Food & Agriculture Network, n.d.; Burns, 2013). As a movement, however, there are some notable criticisms.

Criticisms of the Local Food Movement

Even as some groups are utilizing local food as a platform for a given cause, other groups may criticize the local food movement as problematic for the very same causes. For example, though some believe local food production is key to food sovereignty, increased access to healthy food and a means to address hunger, others posit that local food is readily available only to privileged groups and less available to marginalized groups (Oberholtzer, Dimitri & Greene, 2005; Starr, 2010).

Additionally, while some see the local food system as empowering for women, others see aspects of it (i.e. time intensive cooking “from scratch” and gourmet cooking popular with some local food advocates) as an additional burden to women who already bear the brunt of domestic work (Burns, 2013). Popular local food advocate, Michael Pollan has romanticized ‘the good old days’ of home cooked meals—that may or may not have been—and placed the blame on feminists for the demise of such domesticity. In a 2009 article, Pollan stated that Betty Friedan’s book, *The Feminine Mystique*, “...taught millions of American women to regard housework, cooking included, as drudgery, indeed as a form of oppression.” He also said “...American feminists thoughtlessly trampled” the “wisdom” of cooking to “...get women out of the kitchen” (Pollan, 2009). Emily Matchar, author of *Homeward bound: Why women are embracing the new domesticity*, argues:

The historically inaccurate blaming of feminism for today's food failings implies that women were, are, and should be responsible for cooking and family health. And, unsurprisingly, women are the ones who feel responsible (Burns, 2013).

Matchar advocates for an institutional response and argues that the very individualized opting out (e.g. from conventional food production and consumption or participation in corporate culture, etc.) that is happening among women in this “new domesticity” is may be a start to addressing these greater societal concerns, but is insufficient on its own (Burns, 2013).

Roles of Socialization in Resource Allocation and Gender Division of Labor

According to Hanna Papanek (1987), gender inequalities are learned in and out of the home, and are taught—most importantly—by women to girls. These socialized gender inequalities affect resource allocations inside and outside households. The United Nations “estimated that women do two-thirds of the world’s work, receive 10 percent of the world’s income, and own one percent of the world’s property” (Frisby, et al., 2009, p. 14). This has tangible, measurable consequences in terms of quality of life, mortality and more, and is an integral part of the learning and teaching cycle of gender inequality (Papanek, 1987). Papanek's position appears to be in opposition to the indigenous "gender complementarity" systems described by Safa (2003) in which indigenous women's work is different from men's work, but—at least for a time—was valued similarly; however, the intrusion of market forces put a price on the men's market labor, but not the women's domestic labor, and indigenous women subsumed gender concerns

in deference to collective concerns for their communities. Papanek (1987) argues that the socialized self-sacrifice of women in indigenous communities is another layer of complexity in the learning and teaching of gender inequality.

Gender Complementarity

Safa juxtaposes the "whited *mestiza*" feminist movement's fight for gender equality with indigenous communities' systems of gender complementarity (2003, p.96). In the struggle for gender equality, the goal was to get rid of patriarchy and this, Safa states, positioned men as the enemy. Within mestiza society, which was rooted in Eurocentric ideology, men were supposed to be the primary income earners and heads of household. The "blanqueamiento" of *mestizaje* and the myth of male breadwinner are strong divides between the *mestizas* and both indigenous and Afro-descendent women who neither see men as the enemy nor as the sole heads of household.

Instead, Safa finds that indigenous culture is maintained, in part, through a system of gender complementarity in which women's domestic work and men's public work are equally valued. However, Safa notes the limits of this system as indigenous communities are increasingly impacted by the market economy that places high value on men's work and privileges men in the public sphere and devalues the domestic sphere (2003).

The differences and similarities among the indigenous and Afro-descendent women's struggles as discussed by Safa are notable (2003). For example, even if gender complementarity were unaffected by outside forces, the traditional constraints on

indigenous women limit their autonomy both sexually and economically. Safa's examples of indigenous *mestizas* in the marketplace shows that these women experience greater economic autonomy and have been "decolonized" in the sense that they have found their form of *mestiza* identity instead of conforming to a homogenous identity. Indigenous women, loyal to their cultural traditions, subsume gender concerns for the collective concerns of their communities and these ethnic movements are largely controlled by men. In Chiapas, indigenous women have exerted their codified rights and challenged the gender hierarchy, and these efforts have been met with increased violence toward women. In the prioritization of ethnic concerns over women's concerns, indigenous men benefit the most.

Afro-Brazilian women, however, have prioritized women's issues and been very successful. They enjoy higher levels of education and better jobs. However, racial gaps persist, and white women have benefited far more than they have, and both Afro-Brazilian women and men typically earn less than white women. In exercising either ethnicity/race or gender as a higher priority than the other, it appears that women of color—whether indigenous or Afro-descendent—are the ones who have the least to gain. Safa recommends increasing affirmative action policy.

Across the world, these socialized gender roles and inequalities play out. Women often have multiple roles that can contribute to their level of human poverty. In both developing and developed nations, women are disproportionately represented in the private sphere. Ninety percent of domestic work around the world is done by women (Deere, 1997). Women who work outside the home and are responsible for domestic

work in the home, as well, are considered to have a double day. Women who work outside the home, are responsible for domestic work within the home, and also have civic/community/public responsibilities are considered to have a triple day (Deere, 1997). In instances where women work outside the home, in the public sphere, they typically work for less than their male counterparts and then return home to perform the domestic work and resume childcare. Women's multiple roles may include taking care of the labor force in the form of childcare and care for husbands, production in the form of work outside the home as a secondary income source, as well as community management in informal ways such as providing certain things for "collective consumption" (Moser, 1993, p. 27). Given this gender division of labor, much of women's work (i.e. domestic, unpaid work) is often invisible.

Deutsch (1994) found that among a group of Chicanos and Chicanas, Chicana women's experiences as workers was gendered and their identities did not flow through the identities and status of Chicano men, but through variables in their own lives. Also, some scholars have assumed that women became aware of their class and status through men, but women's sense of their own work—in or outside the home, unpaid or wage labor—as well as the employment dynamics specific to the industry, region and era are key to their class and status awareness (Deutsch, 1994, pp.4-5). Deutsch states that this pattern is easily obscured, especially when women's experience is ignored. Additionally, Deutsch found that women's unpaid work for the collective good (e.g. food production for villages in Southern Colorado and Northern New Mexico) allowed men to choose when they participate in wage labor.

Gendered Resource Allocation in the U.S. & New Mexico

According to the U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee report, “Women and the economy 2010: 25 years of progress but challenges remaining”:

Despite a quarter-century of progress, however, challenges remain. While the pay gap has narrowed over the last 25 years, the average full-time working woman earns only 80 cents for every dollar earned by the average full-time working man. Certain industries remain heavily gender-segregated. In addition, millions of women are struggling to juggle work outside the home with family care-giving responsibilities.

Women and children are disproportionately affected by poverty. In the National Women’s Law Center Report, “Insecure & Unequal: Poverty and Income among Women and Families 2000-2012”, the U.S. rate for women in poverty during 2012 was 14.5% as compared to men at 11%. Women of color are the most affected, though, with Hispanic and Native American women experiencing poverty at a rate three times higher than white, non-Hispanic men, or roughly one in four Hispanic women and more than one in three Native American women living in poverty. Additionally, women working full-time were paid 77 cents for every dollar earned by their male counterparts, resulting in annual median income difference of \$11,608. For Hispanic women, the disparity is even starker at 54 cents per dollar. For female-headed households with children, poverty is high with four out of ten female-headed households with children in poverty versus two out of ten for male-headed households with children. Half of all poor U.S. children

resided in female-headed households, and 13.2% of single moms who worked full-time in 2012 lived in poverty (National Women's Law Center, 2012).

In New Mexico, a state that has ten times more Native Americans residents than the national average, and about half of the state's population identifying as Hispanic or Latino, as well as one in ten residents being foreign born, the gender disparities in poverty and income experienced by women of color nationally are especially prevalent in New Mexico (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). When it comes to children, the "2013 Kids Count Profile" from the Annie E. Casey Foundation shows that New Mexico is dead last in terms of overall quality of life for children, with 31% of children in poverty as of 2011, and 43% of children in single parent families—both rates of which are substantially higher in New Mexico than the national average.

Additionally, a 2014 New Mexico economic outlook report shows that by marital status, "women who maintain families" has continually registered the highest unemployment rates between 2003 and 2011 as compared to married women with a spouse present and married men with a spouse present (Reynis, 2014). As of 2007, there were, however, more New Mexico women owned businesses than the national average: 31.7% versus 28.8% (US Census Bureau, n.d.).

New Mexico Women's Roles in Agriculture & Local Food (Literature Review)

Farming in the U.S. remains a male-dominated field, but women's participation is on the rise, though it may look a bit different from their male counterparts' (Census of

Agriculture, 2007). More than 30% of farm operators² in the U.S. are women, a 29% increase since 2002, though there was only a 3% increase in women as a total percent of farm operations (USDA, 2007a). In the U.S., women's farm operations are smaller and generate a fraction of the sales of men's farm operations. As of 2007, women-operated farms, sized at an average of 210 acres, were typically less than half the size of men's farms (USDA, 2007a). However, those same operations run by women were also owned by those women 85% of the time—which is a 20% greater rate of ownership than men. Also, as with overall U.S. farm operations, the majority of U.S. female farm operators are white.

In New Mexico, 2007 Census of Agriculture data for “Women Principal Operators - Selected Farm Characteristics” indicate that almost half of the 4,646 farms principally operated by women are family or individually-owned³. They generate modest revenue (i.e. in an economic class of less than \$1,000) and are small-scale—between one to nine acres. Farming operations make up less than a quarter of the household income for most of these New Mexico women, and about a third of the almost 11,000 women operators work off the farm 200 or more days of the year. Much like the higher than average age of most New Mexico farmers, as of the 2007 Census of Agriculture, the average age of the New Mexico women farm operators is over 57. Almost 73% of the women farm operators identify as white, almost 27% as American Indian or Alaska Native, and over 18% as Spanish, Hispanic or Latino origin (USDA, 2007b). It is important to note, that

² The principal operator is the “person in charge of day-to-day decisions for a farm or ranch” (USDA, 2007a).

³ The Census of Agriculture did not distinguish between family-owned or individually owned farms. This conflation makes it difficult to understand the true nature of women's farm ownership.

the Census of Agriculture reports an 85.2% participation rate for the 2007 Census of Agriculture. However, small farms may not be included on the Census of Agriculture mailing list: “In general, farms not on the census mail list tended to be small in acreage, production, and sales of farm products” (US Census Bureau, 2012, p. 533). If women farmers—especially in New Mexico—are operating at a small scale in acreage, production and sales, then they may be overlooked by the Census of Agriculture. According to the USDA Census of Agriculture (n.d.):

Census data is used to make decisions about many things that directly impact farmers, including:

- *community planning*
- *store/company locations*
- *availability of operational loans and other funding*
- *location and staffing of service centers*
- *farm programs and policies*

If women are, by default, excluded from the Census of Agriculture, and the resulting data from the Census influences important factors for farmers such as funding availability, regulation and more, then it is likely that the resulting programming and actions based on Census related data do not support many women in agriculture.

Other authors have considered gender issues and women’s participation in agriculture and other food production related work (e.g. Costa, 2010; Jensen, 1981; Osterud, 1988;

Schackel, 2011; Weigle, 1993). This particular study may add to the existing body of literature by showing a contemporary snapshot of women's experience with regard to the gender division of labor within the local food system in the Central New Mexico regional foodshed.

Women's roles in food systems have shifted over time. Osterud (1988) examined how 19th century men and women in farm families perceived the value of women's work and concluded that the increasing influence of capitalism overtook what had been a balance between men and women working together across and within genders. There were definite differences between men's and women's work in some regards, but the disparity grew substantially over the latter half of the century as capitalism established a firm hold throughout America's industries. In New Mexico, a number of oral histories in the New Mexico Farm & Ranch Heritage Museum collection, as well as other sources such as Weigle's *Women of New Mexico* (1993), support Osterud's finding of the increasing division of labor along gender lines in recent past.

Sandra Schackel (2011) studied women's roles in farming and ranching in a number of U.S. states, including New Mexico, and how they have shifted over the second half of the twentieth century. The author's research was conducted in rural areas with mostly middle-aged to elderly women, only some of whom are in New Mexico. Schackel's work further reveals the important role women played in creating the American West. She noted the creativity women employed in making their rural lifestyles work. Of all the sources, this author's methodology is probably most closely aligned with this study's methodology. However, Schackel's focus differs from this study's in that this study

includes women in a variety of roles all along the local food system (e.g. educator, retail, marketing, etc.). Additionally, the co-participants participants of this study are restricted to the Central New Mexico local food system (i.e. within the regional foodshed or 300-mile radius of Albuquerque.) Additionally, there is more age variation within this study's co-participant sample compared to the majority of Schackel's participants who are middle-aged to elderly.

Jensen (1981) took a more comprehensive approach to analyzing and portraying women's work in *With These Hands: Women Working on the Land*. Jensen also uses a gender lens to examine women's involvement in food production and their relationship with the land. This source offers a historical perspective, but it extends into contemporary times, as well. It is mostly a collection of writings (i.e. secondary sources), as opposed to direct, oral accounts (which is what I collected from women across various nodes of the Central New Mexico local food system). The subjects of Jensen's analysis were mostly rural women or women working on the growers' end of the food system continuum, whereas, this study sample represents a variety of women's roles within the local food system including food advocates, distributors and more. Though Jensen takes us into the 1980s, the local food system has changed substantially since then, changing women's work within it, as well.

Jensen's anthology is a testament to the strengths, resilience, and persistence of women in cultivating and maintaining connections with the land, each other, and community. It reveals the multiplex identities of farm women in the United States across race, ethnicity,

and class, as well as the converging and diverging experiences of the experiences of women in farm work within different cultures and in different historical periods.

This legacy, this history, helps women see this deep strength and desire for connection that drives us now in our latest iteration of a "local food movement" and a return to the land. The words of these women reverberate in the words of women today in our local food system. This important work pieces together hard-to-find accounts of women's roles and work on farms and homesteads dating back to pre-colonial America. Jensen's anthology also sheds light on division of labor by sex both pre- and post-World War II.

For example, within their cultures, Native American women "held spiritual power, which they expressed in terms of their links to the land; controlled the land; took responsibility for its cultivation; developed an attitude toward the land which emphasized self-sufficiency and independence; and resisted being alienated from it" (Jensen, 1981, p. xxi).

Native Americans traditionally had a sexual division of labor. It is believed that Native American women domesticated corn, adding it to the variety of staples stored for winter. Women and men had "separate sources of power" with men in hunting groups while women worked the land. Clans were matrilineal, and the women were the landholders. Native American women used oral traditions in the form of stories and songs to transmit their knowledge about their work and culture (Jensen, 1981, pp. 4-5). "From its formation in the late eighteenth century, the American government also attempted to replace communal ownership of land, controlled by Native American women, with individual

family farms owned by men" (Jensen, 1981, p. 6). Though Native American men and Euro-American men were the ones negotiating land settlements, Native American women remained involved and opposed tribal displacement.

In the early nineteenth century, Euro-American women worked on farms in a variety of tasks: "domestic production of yarn and cloth, care of animals and dairies, and processing of all types of food." Euro-American women, like Native American women, also strove for self-sufficiency on the farm, but unlike Native American women, the sexual division of labor did not lead to matrilineal ownership of the land or much influence over land decisions (Jensen, 1981, p. xxi-xxii).

In the early nineteenth century, the American frontier rapidly expanded. With the industrialization of the East, many farmers moved West and it was challenging for those who stayed to remain on the farm. There was an increase in farm mortgages, as well as foreclosures as banks so financing farms as less attractive than other enterprises. Some farm families sent their daughters away to work in mill towns. Farming practices changed dramatically, too. With the shift away from hand tools and the introduction of heavy machinery on the farm, farm work became man's domain and women's work largely moved indoors. With the plow, large-scale grain production for market became the focus and self-sufficiency less of a priority (Jensen, 1981, pp. 30-33).

Some alternative forms of farming were attempted, but the communal forms of farming that succeeded were the ones that somehow integrated into the market economy (Jensen, 1981, p. 36).

According to Jensen, between 1865 and 1910, Native Americans faced the final loss of control over their lands and maintenance of their way of life (1981). In 1871, controlling reservation plans replaced the treaty system, and the western lands that the Native Americans had once been removed to become "public domain" available for individual farm families (Jensen, 1981, p. 100-102).

The Homestead Act of 1862 allowed women to file for homesteads, too, if they met certain criteria. "The Homestead Act gave Euro-American women an important stake in the land for the first time in history" (Jensen, 1981, p. 102).

The nuclear family "family farm" model was heavily promoted by the U.S. government (Jensen, 1981, p. 103). People of color were not part of the model, either. There were challenges to Blacks to have their own farms. Hispanics lost land to newly imposed tax manipulation and fraud in California and New Mexico, though New Mexico was not hit as hard with the influx of non-Hispanic immigrants as was California (Jensen, 1981, p. 105). The cultural traditions of equal property division common among Hispanic families diminished as U.S. social institutions became more dominant (Jensen, 1981).

Pre-Civil War agrarian reformers seeking greater independence from Europe worked to increase markets for American goods and surplus produce for export organized "all male agricultural societies" to share knowledge and discuss "the needed changes". The men of these societies were wealthy, politically influential farmers seeking "to improve the quality and quantity of farm products" (Jensen, 1981, p. 143).

Between 1870 to 1940, agricultural reform continued with middle class farmers, including women, wanting better social conditions for farm families, affordable transportation and distribution options to bring products to markets, and fair prices. More women joined the protests, working alongside men in organizations like the Grange, the Farmer's Alliances, the Populist Party, the Farm Union, and the Socialist Party. By the late 19th century, around the time of the suffrage movement, separate organizations for women emerged (Jensen, 1981, p. 144).

"The Depression of the 1930s accelerated a long term trend, the movement of people off the land" (Jensen, 1981, pp. 188-189).

"Taken together, the documents in [Jensen's] anthology reveal women as active participants in every stage of agricultural production and in every period of agricultural history" (Jensen, 1981, p. xxiii).

Just as Osterud (1988) sought to understand the gender division of labor in agriculture in the 19th century, I seek to understand the gender division of labor in today's local food systems. Additionally, as Jensen (1981) examined women's roles across the continuum of women devoted to staying connected to the land, from field to picket lines, I seek to understand women's various roles within the local food system of Central New Mexico. Much like Schackel sought the authentic testimonies of farm and ranch women's lives in the Southwest, I seek to highlight women's testimonies regarding how they participate in the local food system and the gender division of labor. Each of these works contributes to an understanding of women's roles in the Central New Mexico local food system.

Gender Planning & This Study

As planners, we can look to gender planning as a viable tradition offering critical theories and methodologies to become more aware of and better able to identify and address the underlying dynamics that create chronic disparities such as disproportionately high rates of poverty for women, and gendered income gaps and rates of participation in the workforce or even particular industry sectors.

Caroline Moser's (1993) *Towards gender planning: A new planning tradition and planning methodology* provides a framework for a gender planning tradition that is critical, transformative and inclusive—perhaps--than more conventional planning traditions. Moser asserts that current planning practice grafts women or gender onto existing planning traditions. The assumption is that gender is another neutral component that can be integrated into existing planning traditions. Moser claims this is problematic in that there is not room for gender as a planning focus in existing traditions. Moser proposes a solution in the form of transformative planning tradition (e.g. development, cultural, environmental, and gender). These traditions are ascribed as such because of their potential to change how people perceive and experience life.

The goal of gender planning is "...the emancipation of women and their release from subordination, with the aim of achieving gender equity, equality and empowerment through meeting practical and strategic needs" (Moser, 1993). It is in response to grassroots efforts by women to empower themselves socially and politically, and it serves to institutionalize and operationalize the politics of these efforts (Moser, 1993).

The impetus and design of this study is informed by a number of variables, including how I identify as a planner, as well as other self-identified subject positions, and the zeitgeist of local food in New Mexico. Through my course of study, I strongly identified with gender planning theory and knew I wanted to take my thesis as an opportunity to examine a planning issue by applying gender planning theory and methodology.

There is a growing body of literature exploring the logistics of the New Mexico regional foodshed and increased interest in understanding the local food system surrounding it (Bioneers, n.d.; Roberts, 2011). Though there is increasing recognition of women's involvement in the proliferation of local food in New Mexico, information on the present day gender division of labor across the local food system is limited. This study, however, is specifically concerned with the gender division of labor within the local food system in the Central New Mexico regional foodshed.

II. METHODOLOGY

Gender division of labor is a complex concept, and an oral-based methodology provided a useful way to gather the insights and analyses of co-participants whose voices otherwise might not be considered. The oral testimony methodology I used also allows flexibility for the iterative nature of qualitative research. I sought to answer a few fundamental questions, and the research was shaped and nuanced by the study co-participants' responses and own questions throughout data collection.

The qualitative method of oral testimony was used for this study to increase the reach of women's voices within a system largely dominated by men. Though many women participate in the local food system, agriculture is a male-dominated industry. Many women are passionate advocates of local food through both their professional work and personal choices (e.g. food purchases). Their experiences and voices within a system that includes such a male-dominated industry deserve to be represented.

This study provides an opportunity for local food advocates to further communicate about local food, and to help people understand just how deeply food issues affect everyone's lives, as well as the importance of women's roles in getting healthy, local food to local tables. A gender lens for the examination of our local food system potentially offers a more critical and nuanced analysis than a conventional approach.

The mechanics of gender planning are a lot of what sets it apart from conventional planning. Gender planning operates from the idea that planning is inherently political

since the role of planners is to advise on particular systems which may perpetuate or change the status quo. Gender planning uses participatory methodologies like Participatory Action Research. Such methodology is inherently transformative, prone to conflict and negotiation, and does not seek consensus as a necessary end (Moser, 1993).

Participatory research and qualitative research methods are ideally suited to uncover the subtle yet important nuances of real, non-homogeneous life (i.e. outside the marketplace or government, and—often--inside the home) that conventional planning theory and methods may overlook and, therefore, make invisible. This subtle, nuanced stuff of life is often women's domain, and should be identified and counted. Who better to do that than women themselves?

Gender Planning Methodology

One of Moser's two proposed gender planning methodologies is "planning as debate". Instead of ignoring tensions among numerous and often conflicting interests, debate provides a democratic means of confrontation with those in power. Given this approach's iterative nature, the focus is on the process, often resulting in identified needs addressed through multiple fronts such as strategies, policies, programs and projects (Moser, 1993). There is no set plan with pre-determined deliverables.

This study serves as a performance indicator of gender roles identification (via the study of the division of labor), gender needs assessment and the incorporation of women, gender-aware organizations and planners into planning. The research question and scope

of the research was based on the gender division of labor within the local food system (Moser, 1993). The gender needs assessment happened incidentally through the course of some of the interviews, and this discovery informed the remainder of my data collection (i.e. I took it into consideration when I outlined upcoming interviews and I added it to the trigger questions). Implications for implementation of more gender planning processes are discussed in my findings and recommendations.

To ensure I was representing as many different multi-plex identities as I could given the boundaries and constraints, I sought out women co-participants who met the criteria (i.e. fell within the boundaries and constraints) for participation in the study who are—optically--historically more marginalized than my obvious peer group of thirty-something white women. For example, at an “Empowering Women in Agriculture” workshop I attended, I spoke with women who appeared to be women of color, as well as women who appeared to be older or younger than my peer group. Additionally, I used snowball sampling as a means to reach others outside of my peer group. Only two women who I did not already know agreed to participate. The majority who agreed to participate were at least acquaintances with me.

For the design of my study, I relied on my existing understanding of difference based on coursework within my program. I aspired to recognize difference within my study, as I understood that our multiplex identities are at play whether or not we recognize that fact. However, given the purpose of this study, the constraints of time to complete my degree, as well as the limitation that I would be the only person collecting interviews, analyzing them and presenting them, I knew that it would be incredibly difficult to make difference

a primary focus. However, I expected even before I began data collection, that I would recommend for expanded research that participatory action research methodology be incorporated in the design to ensure that difference within the local food system is studied by women across a variety of self-identified subject positions. Through my research design, I have attempted to make difference transparent, but given the aforementioned constraints, I believe this study is insufficient for an adequate examination of difference. This is further discussed as recommendations in the final chapter of this thesis.

Before I began research, I understood that my subject positions as a white woman whose first language is English and who has limited fluency in a second language could possibly mean that I would have fewer participants who identify as women of color, and would definitely mean that I would not have participants who are not fluent in English. To mitigate the effects of the former, in addition to snowball sampling, I sought out women of color participants who perceptibly spoke English with fluency. For the purpose of this study, and to avoid the inherent problems of having another filter between me and the co-participant (i.e. a translator), I did not include participants who are not fluent in English. Future research should include co-participants of varying subject positions that will at least mitigate, if not eliminate, these barriers.

A priori Assumptions, the Research Question & the Selected Methodology

I believed that, based on my observations and co-participant experiential knowledge, women had sufficient to exceptional access to opportunities in capacity building nodes of the local food system, as well as some level of desire to participate in capacity-building

roles—and that these elements probably accounted for the observed high representation of women in capacity building roles in the local food system.

I wondered how women participate in other nodes of the local food system that are not directly or primarily related to capacity building, and if there were differences in women's access to and opportunities to participate in these other nodes. I had less direct knowledge through observation and experience to base this on, and decided to pursue an inquiry into the gender division of labor across the local food system nodes that serve the Albuquerque area (which determined this study's boundaries of the regional foodshed with emphasis on the Central New Mexico portion).

Since Participatory Action Research, one methodology utilized in gender planning, was too time intensive to be a feasible research methodology for this thesis, I chose a less time-constrained methodology that is still activist in nature: oral testimony. Oral testimony as a qualitative methodology is effective at valuing and respecting voices of people who are marginalized. Though participants in this study may choose to remain anonymous, this methodology encourages ownership and authorship of each person's voice and story. According to Slim and Thompson (1995):

The role of listener comes with certain obligations. A reciprocal exchange is required in which what is heard is both given back and carried forward. People's testimony must be treated with respect. The origins and ownership of the spoken word should always be honoured, either by recognising authorship or by guaranteeing anonymity.

The “Principles and Best Practices” adopted by the Oral History Association (2009) state:

Because of the importance of context and identity in shaping the content of an oral history narrative, it is the practice in oral history for narrators to be identified by name. There may be some exceptional circumstances when anonymity is appropriate, and this should be negotiated in advance with the narrator as part of the informed consent process.

Oral history as a qualitative methodology is comparable to oral testimony. However, an oral history approach seeks a historical narrative as its product, and the narratives are valued as such. Oral testimonies have similar value—they capture a particular voice on particular issues at a given time—but can be focused on contemporary concerns and be “applied” in nature (e.g. used to inform current policy development, etc.). With oral histories and testimonies, there is no overarching positivist hypothesis. The accounts are valuable in themselves. The most valuable analysis emerges from women’s own voices, and the researcher’s task is to bring that analysis to surface and make it available to a broad audience.

The Participants

During the course of this study, individuals approached for this quantitative study were women who were already making the choice to support local food, from growers to consumers. I posted the research opportunity description to the Agriculture Collaborative’s Facebook page and mentioned the opportunity at an Agriculture

Collaborative monthly meeting. Additionally, I directly approached many participants in a farm business training held by Holistic Management International (HMI) at the Mid-Region Council of Governments. One study participant was part of an organization that was interested in connecting regarding one of Ag Collaborative programs. One woman was a friend of a mutual friend who thought the study sounded like a good cause to which she wanted to contribute. The two women I did not know at all before this study were both engaged in community educator and ambassador type roles and previously had been asked to talk about their experiences working in the local food system. Of all of the women who knew about my study through all of the previously mentioned outreach attempts, most of those who committed to the study were women who knew me, cared about me and wanted me to succeed. A number of those were also my peers which made this a study with a majority of co-participants who resembled me in a number of subject positions (i.e. most were white and several were around thirty).

All of these co-participants were positive and passionate about local food and enjoyed finding ways to collaborate with others to support local food. They viewed this study as an opportunity to further communicate about local food, and to help people understand local food and just how deeply food issues affect everyone's lives. A gender lens for the examination of our local food system offers an authentic, nuanced way to look at the local food system.

Interviews were conducted to obtain oral testimonies. Participants were women over the age of 18 who were actively engaged in the local food system, across the various nodes. Most have had public roles, whether as business owners who grow food or make value-

added products, or educators who work to increase awareness and understanding of the local food system and foodshed. However, to be inclusive of women's domestic work and eaters within the local food system, one co-participant who was engaged in the food system primarily as a caretaker, eater and gardener is represented in this study.

Participants were chosen from a one-time interview session totaling about two and a half hours, or two interview sessions for about one and a quarter hours each. The interviews were scheduled based on participant availability and conducted in locations of their choice, so long as the environment was amenable to interviewing. Eleven oral testimonies were collected over about six weeks, from late March through the first weekend of May 2013.

Given the oral testimony methodology, a bank of questions was not used to guide the interview. Instead, a few trigger questions were available to access the participants' memories and their analytical processes. Unexpectedly, many participants asked for more questions and seemed uncomfortable sitting in silence. I attempted to explain the nature of the methodology, but I believe that the concept of a conventional interview prevailed in the minds of most of the women. I found myself asking more questions than I was comfortable with given the nature of oral testimony. However, I did my best to make the questions expand on points they were already making instead of guiding them in different direction. I used iterations of the following three example trigger questions for the interviews:

- How are women currently participating within the local food system?

- How does gender affects women's participation?
- What helps women's participation and what hinders women's participation?

Methodological Challenges & Issues

As is common with oral testimonies and histories, most participants' names and places of work for this study are included. No one chose to remain anonymous or have their data aggregated or identifying information not included.

In keeping with the oral testimony methodology, a few trigger questions were available to access the participants' memories and their analytical processes (see Appendix 1).

Unexpectedly, many participants asked for more questions and seemed uncomfortable sitting in silence. I attempted to explain the nature of the methodology, but I believe that the concept of a conventional interview prevailed in the minds of most of the women. I found myself asking more questions than I was comfortable with given the nature of oral testimony. However, I did my best to make the questions expand on points they were already making instead of guiding them in different direction.

Researcher Subject Position

I have personal, academic and professional interest in local food and women's issues. In this sense, I am a co-participant with the study participants. My personal involvement in the local food system includes being a long-time member of the La Montañita Coop, patronizing farmers' markets and local CSAs, gardening to grow food, and working

toward my long-term vision of a homestead. Both of my parents were raised in families that relied on small scale food production for sustenance, and their generation was the first of their families' to permanently leave this kind of growing behind and have children, like me, who would see food production more as a hobby or personal choice than a means for survival.

I have fortified my personal interest in the local food system through advanced studies including food-based research. As part of my coursework to learn qualitative methodology, I conducted an informal, 'food choice' study focused on 'how Albuquerque residents choose their food and where to purchase it'. Additionally, I became even more familiar with the local food system and its stakeholders through a "Sustainable Foodsheds" course. Soon after I completed that class, I spent a summer in Nicaragua, learning about sustainable economic development, which included visiting a small women-owned coffee cooperative. In the mid to distant future, I endeavor to continue my academic path through PhD studies and eventually become a professor conducting applied research and teaching. I see locally-based economic development initiatives, such as local food production and distribution, as key to strengthening and sustaining healthy communities.

In the professional realm, I served as an intern, and now am working for the Agriculture Collaborative of the Mid-Region Council of Governments (MRCOG). The Agriculture Collaborative's mission is to increase the capacity for local food production and distribution within the Central New Mexico regional foodshed. Since we are housed within the MRCOG, which serves the four county area (i.e. Bernalillo, Sandoval,

Torrance and Valencia), the focus is on the greater Albuquerque area, but we do include entities outside the area if they are part of the regional foodshed and ask to be included. My role with the collaborative is primarily to connect potential partners, convene monthly meetings of various local food stakeholders, and promote local food culture and awareness through social media marketing and a distributed electronic newsletter. We are a very small program within a larger organization rooted in transportation planning. The Agriculture Collaborative has limited funds and a tiny staff (i.e. me and however much time my boss can contribute), largely relying on community-based partnerships to successfully execute trainings and host an annual Local Food Festival and Field Day. Through this work, I have developed relationships with numerous passionately engaged women working to increase our region's capacity to produce local food. In fact, my boss, the woman who trained me and I have recently replaced, as well as my co-worker are all women. That does not seem to be a coincidence. There are a number of organizations with women either as the founders and leaders or, at the very least, in key managerial roles within this regional foodshed.

While in all these ways, I am a participant within the local food system, I also was a co-researcher and observer within this study. My close knowledge of the population was not a substantial concern because participants used their own voices and, therefore, are not subject to my interpretation, though I have analyzed and edited the raw transcripts to make them available to a broad audience. My in-depth knowledge enhances more than inhibits my ability to understand how women participate in the local food system. My insight into the unique relationships women have with how food goes from the field to our forks, as well as my existing and growing relationships with women in the Central

New Mexico foodshed and local food system in many ways allowed me greater and more immediate rapport with most of the participants. Participants seemed more willing to discuss their work and their perspectives on it in greater depth than they may have if I did not work alongside and/or otherwise have an existing relationship with them around local food. For example, in our experience at the Agriculture Collaborative working with local growers and value-added producers, they are more inclined to talk and listen to their peers than others. Given my position as more of a peer, and since I do not have a position of authority over anyone else within the local food system, there was little risk, if any, that the participants would be inhibited by my familiarity with them (if applicable) or their work. Also, since oral testimonies stand on their own, the question of statistical bias does not really apply (Beverley, 2005).

Data Analysis

The original transcripts from the recorded interviews averaged between 20 to 30 single spaced pages per interview for 11 interviews. My analysis and editing goal was to make each co-participating author's story accessible by making it cogent and concise. To achieve that objective, I analyzed and coded the transcripts to create groups of quotations along emergent themes. Then I culled what I perceived to be the most poignant quotations from each set of quotations. Finally, I integrated my analysis and the most relevant quotations into an approximation of a cohesive narrative.

Upon preliminary analysis of the raw data, it became clear that the length of the stories in their raw form would be an obstacle to sharing knowledge, and to make these co-

participants' stories accessible as produced knowledge. To make them concise without sacrificing the authenticity of each co-participant's voice and story, I have analyzed and edited the original interview transcripts to distill my interpretation of the essential stories of each narrator's experience of the local food system as a woman. Though it was primarily my analytical filter utilized, the co-participants of the study had a brief opportunity to provide feedback on the raw interview transcripts.

Finally, it is worth noting that this study and my requisite analysis, editing and presentation of the data for the purpose of this thesis are only the initial steps toward the broader goal of working with existing and future co-participants on women's participation in the local food system. Please see the "Conclusion" chapter for my own ideas and recommendations on how we, the co-participants and co-researchers, might proceed.

III. FINDINGS & RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study can provide useful insights for future lines of inquiry and next steps. However, given its geographic boundaries, small sample size, and analytical limitations (i.e. one co-participant/researcher's analysis as opposed to collective analysis through a participatory action research approach), I would caution against overgeneralization, and highly recommend continued work alongside the co-participants of this study, as well as extending the invitation to participate in future inquiry to other women, and possibly men, participating in the local food system within the same geographic boundaries.

The following interview excerpts are in response to questions similar to the following example trigger questions:

- How are women currently participating within the local food system?
- How does gender affects women's participation?
- What helps women's participation and what hinders women's participation?

The findings I will discuss fall within these two major themes:

- Theme 1: Gender & Women's Participation in the Local Food System
- Theme 2: Women's access to resources

Theme 1: Gender & Women's Participation in the Local Food System

This section focuses on gender roles, as well as how gender affects women's participation in the local food system (LFS). Additionally, co-participants' stories that include insights about gender role subversion will be discussed.

The co-participants in this study indicated that women do predominate in the capacity-building nodes of the local food system (e.g. advocacy, education and technical assistance), and may be less represented in other nodes, but the understanding of how and why that plays out and why will require further study, though some co-participants propose possible explanations. There is limited convergence, or agreement, about the ratio of women and men within other nodes, as well as why women's participation varies across other nodes. For example, some co-participants believe that women's participation as growers is close to equal that of their male counterparts, at least among young producers. Others say there is still a substantial gap in women's participation.

Gender Roles, Subversion & the Gender Division of Labor

As discussed previously, gender division of labor, socialization of gender roles, resource allocation and more are interrelated. This is evidenced within women's experiences in the local food system. For producers like ranchers, this can mean that women who are not perceived as strong and capable of hard labor may not be considered as serious job candidates. Avery Anderson, Executive Director of the Quivira Coalition, noted this with

regard to one of the Coalition's second year apprentices, a young woman who will be looking for work on a ranch upon completion of her training.

Avery: Some of the most competent female apprentices we've had, have had to just struggle to find opportunities in leaving our apprenticeship program. That leads me and Virginie to have some really good conversations about are there specific things that our program needs to do, to do some leveling of the playing field once they're out of the program.

Amy Wright is an apprentice who's finishing up her second year level 2 ranch management apprenticeship in 2013. She's going to find a great position. But having left her first year of the program, I don't know if she would have. She's 100 lbs soaking wet and wiry and just is overlooked by a ranching community that values big broad shouldered men.

Amanda Rich has experienced a recent increase in the number of speaking engagements she is asked to fulfill on behalf of New Mexico farmers. She wonders if she is considered to be more approachable because she is a woman or there are other factors involved.

Amanda: I think part of it might be the accessibility piece. I feel like there's a lot of surly farmers out there and that's part of the approachability, right? I think also, when I consider who has asked me to speak at what, a lot of times it's women.

I wonder if being a woman is part of what makes me more approachable for other women who are organizing an event.

They might feel less likely, or less able to invite a man to speak for whatever reason or they might just not have that personal connection. I think a lot of times it's our personal relationships that build and foster these larger partnerships and so I just wonder?

I don't know everybody's circle of friends or contacts, but yes, I wonder if part of that, being a woman is what makes me more accessible to other women who are organizing these events. I hadn't ever thought about that. Yes, I don't know.

Like, are men less likely to speak at a public event? I don't know the answer to that question, it's an interesting question. Are men less likely to volunteer to be part of a coalition that might have to do with the scope of their work or be slightly

outside of it? I don't know the answer to that question, but it's an interesting question.

Are men less likely to, like, write a letter to the editor or be a media spokesperson? I don't know, it's an interesting question, so I guess I feel like it's hard for me to answer and say, like, "Well, yes, it's because I'm a woman!" I don't really know, you know? I don't really know if that's true or not and I don't know.

Amanda, who is in her early 30s, notes that she feels she is not fully heard or respected in a room full of men who are substantially older than she is. Not only is her apparent gender a factor, but her optics as young woman seems to be a barrier to her participation in leadership positions within agriculture related groups.

Amanda: I was recently asked to be on a board of directors that is agrarian in nature and all men, and, you know, my initial hesitancy was to be the only woman at the table. I was very hesitant about that and I feel like I'm fortunate enough to dialogue honestly and openly with many of the people on that board about just that. To say, "I'm hesitant to join this board because not only am I a woman, I'm a young woman.

If I'm at a table of all men, especially if they're, like, 10 or 20, sometimes more, years older than I am, I feel like, my voice is devalued and I feel like most people would want this, just want the same respect that I give out."

Jessica Rowland, also in her thirties, is a lecturer in the University of New Mexico Sustainability Studies Program. She enjoys building her students' awareness of opportunities to engage with the local food system whether it is through more educated choices about the food they eat or the career path they choose. Much like Amanda, Jessica has experienced barriers as a result of her optics as a young woman.

Jessica: There have been some interesting interactions between male students or male guest speakers, especially when they see me, who might be a person who

doesn't look like she should be in any sort of position to be teaching in front of the room. As looking sort of young and all of that. I don't know.

I feel like sometimes people look at me and make a judgment about what kind of person I am or what they can expect to hear from me or learn from me or what kind of work they would expect I would do or the things that I know. I feel more times than not with older men especially, like male guest speakers or older male students, that they don't quite know what to make of me.

I've had a couple of interactions where I've either been completely blown off and ignored, where I interpreted it that these folks felt there was no way I would bring something of value to the conversation. Then on the other end of the spectrum, sometimes you get a little too much attention and there are comments about appearance or age which can be uncomfortable and throw you off your game in terms of being focused on what you should be doing which is being an educator and facilitating a class.

Jessica has observed that women seem to be most concentrated in the local food system in capacity building roles including advocacy, policy, educating, outreach and more.

Jessica: You know, something that is so interesting is after this event that I went to today, this group, the Con Alma Health Foundation, put together this convening that is part of their initiative called Healthy People, Healthy Places. It's all about health equities and disparities and how you can start to address those through the built environment as well as food access. What was really flooring to me being in that meeting room all day is that there were probably about 50 - 60 women and 2 men. It was wild. It was really wild. Among the women, it was relatively diverse. All skin colors, all ages, various backgrounds in terms of peoples' job experience or education and what their field of study or passion was, but I was just really amazed that there weren't more men. That's what I wonder, if that has something to do with it, if women have some sort of connection or drive or passion to engage in work that's meaningful and helpful and builds community or changes community. Changes policy or practices, things like that. It really seemed like this was a group of high powered women from the community. From maybe the administrative or policy level, those kinds of folks, as well as community activists and advocates and everyone else in between. They all had similar goals and missions in terms of improving life for everybody and doing that through healthy food and safer environments. That was really interesting. Most of those people tend to be women, it seems in that educational realm.

Also, in terms of the collaborating and networking, it does seem like a lot of those key players are also women so I wonder if that plays into it. It's hard to

pigeonhole people or say that women do things for some reason and men do things for another reason. It seems like a lot of these people really do want to do meaningful work that is good for the community and changes some existing situation for the better. I don't know if that is intrinsically related to being a woman. I'm not sure. Maybe it is. I don't know.

Many women in our local food system serve in multiple roles. Sarah Wentzel-Fisher epitomizes this as she is editor of *Edible Santa Fe* Magazine, works on member outreach for La Montañita Co-op and is the founding coordinator of the Rio Grande Farmers Coalition, as well as former manager of the Downtown Growers Market. In her experience and through her own observations, she sees that this latest iteration of the local food system—with its growing numbers of small and mid scale farms—is rooted in what has been women's work to feed their families and support their communities. However, when it comes to the business side of local food, like getting an enterprise off the ground, she notes that women can find themselves straddling the gender role divide.

Sarah: There are cultural practices and pressures that become challenging to navigate. It often requires women to, in some ways, step into more deeply traditional roles, and in other ways step out of those traditional roles. In doing that, in spreading their feet wider across the divide, sort of explode what the definition of what a woman's role is, at least from my perspective. As I've said, I think that women have historically been very engaged in food production practices and that small scale agriculture really draws its roots from what I see as traditionally, and in a lot of cultures across the board, as food production for family and immediate community. At the same time, women today who are interested in becoming growers or ranchers, operating small businesses in those realms, really have to break out of traditional women's roles because they have to own property and be in charge of a business, and access markets, and do these things that have historically not been women's roles.

Carrie House raises churro sheep on ancestral land in the Navajo Nation in Arizona. She also creates GIS maps for the Water Management Department for the Navajo Nation.

Carrie identifies as two spirit⁴—born a woman, and identifying as a man. In the discussion that follows, Carrie describes how Navajo gender roles and GDOL have changed with the shift to an increasingly capitalist economy, and from matriarchy to patriarchy.

Carrie: Native people have gone through historical trauma, and like forced to go to boarding school--a lot of assimilation, a lot of genocide. Removed and Christianity imposed and so a part of that Christianity comes the male and female, the patriarchal, the matriarchal. A long time ago, Pueblo people, Navajo people, a lot of native people, it was, Navajo people are matriarchal, and I think it's cool, because the women have more of a say. The women have more of a voice of the economy. They're the ones who manage the land. They're the ones who monitor the livestock, who monitor the agriculture. So Navajo women are very outspoken. They're the holders of the land.

So in these days, Navajo culture has switched, not switched, but has moved in the direction of Christianity and the patriarchal, so, you know, it's almost like the women are being pushed aside and the men are becoming more prominent in agriculture and livestock and leadership and how things are said or done or ruled or governed. But in my community, even though men are doing things, the women usually govern them to do and behave a certain way. So, and there's other communities where it is patriarchal and they do literally shut the women out. So anyway, it depends on the assimilation, the acculturation [sic], and Christianity, and the patriarch. So, but in my culture I'm very proud to be female and we have many stories like changing women. We have girls, puberty ceremony. Based on changing women. And there's other deities, like Spider Woman, Abalone Woman, Salt Woman. So anyway, all of these women are very powerful.

Robin Seydel has been involved with the New Mexico local food system throughout the state with La Montañita Co-op for over 25 years. When her daughter was a child, Robin

⁴ Carrie loosely defines two spirit people as transgendered Native Americans. In our interview, Carries said that two spirit in Navajo tradition have held special and sometimes revered roles within their communities.

grew food for their family. She cooperated with women and men to help build the capacity of the local food system to what it is today. In the following discussion, Robin describes how she perceives women's nature and how women's nature influences their local food system work.

Robin: In '95, because of the work I was doing, I got to be part of Bella Abzug's team of women attending the Beijing Women's Conference. Bella Abzug was one of the first women in Congress, a congresswoman from New York for many, many years. She used to wear a purple hat to Congress, and she was just this wild, radical, wonderful woman who really was very inspirational during the 70s and the Women's Movement.

Attending the '95 Beijing Women's Conference was a real highlight of that portion of my work. To hear women's stories from all over the world and what they were facing. How women all over the world were responsible for feeding their families and how that naturally made them grow food and relate to the earth in a sort of small, family-oriented way--which I think is the key to this new movement. And so different from the conventional agriculture that we've known since the 40s and 50s, The so-called Green Revolution.

I just do little pieces. And everybody does some of it all together. We do it all together. I just do my little piece, and then I try to make it fit in with all the little pieces that you as part of Land Link and Ann and MRCOG and Sarah with all the stuff that she does, we all just . . . and the key, I think, and maybe this is a women's gender thing too, is finding out the way to make all those little pieces fit into this larger whole that is greater than the sum of any one of the parts. Another sort of like mathematical homily or whatever that is, right? And that's one of the ways that women work and work well. We work well with one another. And so we just each do our little piece and then we create this movement that's bigger than all of us, any of us. And then we pass it on to our daughters and say okay, here you go. Now take it from here. Take it to the next step. So that's it. That's how we work as women isn't it? Is figuring out those ways to sort of make the most of whatever it is that we have. But the reality is that women always ran their kitchen gardens and always fed their families from their kitchen gardens. And now our gardens are expanding and we're seeing it not just as a way of feeding our family, but also as income and freedom and political strength and will in the system. So I see that changing on a national level certainly. I can't really speak specifically to the community, how it's changing on a community level. I certainly have a lot of women friends who grow, garden, farm, sell at the markets, sell and trade with one another. I have eggs; you have milk. Oh, you have good zucchini and my zucchini didn't happen because of the squash bugs but I have

great such-and-such. I'll trade you this for that and sort of all that going on. Communities of women, pretty much how I think it's been for millennia I bet.

I mean sort of . . . that's kind of my sense of women's community. Women seem to gravitate more toward that kind of sharing within community and cooperation within community and the whole African phrase it takes a village to raise a child? Well that's because all those village women knew those children and who belonged to who and if their mom wasn't around they took care of one another. It's the same way with feeding those children. It's the way of women I would think that we do that. We do that for the kids; we do that for one another; for our sisters and friends who become like sisters to us.

And that sort of cooperation . . . and I think it's also that cooperation and that nurturing sense that women have serves us really well in terms of our gardening and our farming. We're sort of tuned in to nurture. Maybe not all women. I think maybe not Margaret Thatcher, not to badmouth Margaret Thatcher. I know she just passed. Rest in peace, bless her. But I think women tend to be nurturers and we nurture the garden and we nurture the earth and the earth nurtures us back and there's always that sort of give-and-take in that awareness that we have.

At the time of the interview, Emily Strabbing, who is in her early 30s, was working part time as an ESL instructor and teacher trainer. She had recently been the primary caretaker of her and her husband's two children until her husband was laid off and returned to school, at which point they began sharing in caretaking tasks more equally. In the discussion that follows, Emily talks about why she prefers to be the one to prepare meals for their family.

Emily: Cooking is something that I really enjoy doing. Since I've become a mother in particular, it still is occasionally an expression of my creativity, but more than that, it's also a way for me to maintain a sense of control over taking care of my children. I know what they have and haven't eaten during the day. I want to be the one to make the decision of what they have at the family meal in the evening.

And the gender thing of food—I've been breastfeeding or pregnant since summer of 2009, which inevitably has made food really important to me in particular in

terms of quantities and just types of food I need at certain times and quality of food and the frequency with which I need to eat and my nutritional needs have been of a particular importance I guess, which is further inevitably gender wise, that responsibility.

It also drives me nuts. I'm not always very patient when he [her husband, Stephen] cooks, because he doesn't do things the way I would do things and because it's something I do very often. I can often do whatever it is he's doing in half the time, because it's just a skill that I've developed. He's more likely to change the light bulb than I am. Sometimes it's kind of embarrassing somehow because I am a feminist just because I decide to do some domestic things at this point in my life, because that's where my calling is right now.

My children are my priority, my greatest accomplishment and my greatest responsibility. I still don't ever want to be expected—and this actually turns into a problem sometimes—but I don't want to be expected to prepare food just because I'm the woman or the mother. It kind of takes the joy out of it.

In terms of gender roles, Stephen and I have really tried to make sure that she [their daughter] sees both of us in the kitchen and she sees both of us cleaning up and it's important to us that both of our kids [daughter and infant son] internalize a sense of shared responsibility, and joy in eating and I guess just the regular maintenance of a household. I don't want either of my children to feel that because of their gender they're expected to do something or excluded from doing something.

The gender dynamics of food are interesting to me because mothers are designed, we're capable of, at least I will say just by our biology, of nourishing our offspring for several years. We have that power and ability and in any culture it becomes socially defined as to what that means and what's expected and where and when and how it's appropriate. Sometimes I think that that's partly why, at least maybe for me there's this desire to continue to feed my kids.

Raising children, I also now realize that I'm limited in my ability to do certain things. I've tried how many times recently to go out and plant? It just doesn't really work out and sometimes we go outside and get set up and then somebody needs to nurse and then somebody else has to go to the bathroom and then somebody has a meltdown. So it's interesting how our gender roles evolve through different times in our life also. Certainly there was a point when I could put Deva on my back when she was a little bit older and I was home with her and I recall double digging a small garden where I planted vegetables with her on my back, but just the ebb and flow, particularly if you have children, but even as, if you're in a partnership, even as career goals and educational goals and just different whatever cycles of health and other things, how it really affects your participation. Particularly in growing and producing food.

Like Emily, Amanda has observed that with women's multiple responsibilities, they have very limited resources and very high stakes to consider when it comes to the risky proposition of farming. Amanda sees this as a barrier to more women becoming growers.

Amanda: I feel like some of the things that come to mind right away are barriers for women working. I feel like, traditionally, we are the caregivers for children and sometimes our parents or grandparents or both, and I see this sometimes. I know a lot of single mothers and farming as a career is not extremely lucrative right now.

So to take a risk, to be a farmer, if you were a single mother, or you were trying to support a family, I think it would be very difficult, if not impossible. I feel a lot of times men have more privilege to be flexible with their work and their income, because they may not have to support those other entities, children or parents or grandparents.

Yasmeen Najmi is a planner at the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District (MRGCD), which is primarily responsible for managing the distribution of a precious natural resource—water—via culturally significant irrigation infrastructure: acequias. As a planner, Yasmeen is infrequently in the field, but engages with the ditch riders as part of her work. In the following discussion, Yasmeen shares her insights and thoughts on why there are no women ditch riders and why women might make good ditch riders.

[Tiffany: Are there any women ditch riders?]

Yasmeen: Not in my experience. That doesn't mean never. But it's an interesting question because there are women who are *mayordomo* of acequia associations outside the district like in Northern New Mexico.

[Outside the district?] Yeah. But, it may be that that job of being a *mayordomo* ditch rider was traditionally considered a man's job. In fact, I believe that to be so. I could be wrong, but the majority of our ditch riders are Chicano; some are Anglo, some are Native American. The ones who are working on the pueblos are Native American from that particular tribe. It's an interesting question why and

how that evolved. Whether it is that women just aren't interested in those kinds of positions because they're not easy at all.

That doesn't mean that women can't do them, but in a lot of ways, I think women would be good ditch riders because being a ditch rider is a very people-oriented job. You really have to understand and work with peoples' personalities quite a bit. And conflicts. And I think it's something that women could be very well suited for.

But anybody who is a ditch rider has to both have the combination of listening, trying to be accommodating to people, and also taking a stand when they need to. Sometimes, being firm, sometimes saying no. And sometimes, being a field position, there may be an aspect of public safety that may make people reticent to hire women because you're so much in the field in rural and remote areas sometimes.

Dory Wegrzyn is a full time housing planner and a farmer. She and her partner operate Red Tractor Farms in the South Valley. Dory is an outspoken advocate for local food producers. In the discussion that follows, Dory describes how adopting different gender roles at times helps her succeed as a grower. Additionally, Dory believes that women would benefit from cultivating dedicated space for knowledge exchange.

Dory: I walked down to the farmer's market downtown, and—I didn't know what else to do—I went to the market manager at the time and I said you've got to let me in. And she said absolutely not, that they were full. There were spaces, though. I had to be very adamant and very persistent, but listen about the rules, and I said how I would contribute to the market if she would let me participate and try it out. It worked, but I think you have to have a lot of balls to be a farmer, even as a woman. You have to put up with some people not believing that you can do it.

And I do think that women . . . I mean, I have a very strong personality. I'm opinionated. But I think that in a group of women we have a tendency to try to be more cooperative, and try to find a way to make something happen when and if we have that time to really sit back and do it. And that's why having some formal process for when women farmers have time, not ignoring men at all, but I think that all of us, and I think the Rio Grande Farmers Coalition that has been started is to be the for that, but we need to sit around and talk about how we can cooperate in a bigger picture way.

And I think the women picked the leadership roles in that. I see that. I see that even with Sarah and you and some of the other women that are doing that. It seems like they have that organizing skill that pulls all the tentacles together. That's what I'm talking about, multitasking.

Stephanie Oberman was an intern with the previously named Los Poblanos Organics, which is currently known as Skarsgard Farms. She now works seasonally at Plants of the Southwest in Albuquerque's North Valley. Since her farm internship, Stephanie thinks she will likely not pursue farming as a career. However, she has observed that a few of her male peers went on to start farm businesses.

Stephanie: There I feel like as far as knowledge goes, because this is something that seems to come up, at least in my life, when thinking about gender differences and the way that people interact. More often than not, women seem to be more conceding with their knowledge and men seem to be more confident about their knowledge. (Plants of the Southwest)

I don't if that's true, but I'm thinking about the people who've gone on to... You know the interns I was with, who've gone on to start farms--a lot of the women have gone on to work on farms and to start things. One, for instance, who started her own farm, this was before I was there. I think her work fell through. My friend who went out to Connecticut is still doing farm work, but she's still interning right now, which is still great. On the scale of things, I think the men who come out of that program, for instance, are more likely to start things. One of the interns from the year before me started his own farm. It's now, I heard recently, solidly breaking even, which is a big deal. Another couple friends through the internship have gone on to become... One of them is now the head farmer at Los Poblanos Inn. He's working with another intern there who's just under him now. They're off doing their own ventures and really just starting things and doing that kind of work. I think a lot of the people who come out of that internship seem to do that too. [Regarding her family's response to Stephanie's interest in farming:] I mean, they weren't not supportive. I'm pretty sure that they don't want me to become a farmer, because they find it to be a really hard path to take, and I actually think I agree with them. I don't want to be a farmer, I realized.

I did for a while but doing that internship (with Los Poblanos Organics, now Skarsgard Farms) especially made me realize that. I learned a lot more about it; it's just so hard, so much of it is kind of up to chance and the weather. It's a very

uncertain profession so I think it would make me crazy to just straight up be a farmer.

There is definitely some convergence among some of the co-participants that women should prioritize the creation of women's dedicated space for knowledge exchange.

Sarah: There is an emerging philosophy around agriculture that looks at how to have farms that actually feed people in a much more direct and immediate way. I think what I see doing that is fairly evenly split. I think that there are more women doing that. I think that that may come out of the fact that women have always done that work. Women have always had the quarter-acre garden plot behind the house and grown the tomatoes, and the peppers, and the eggplants, and the cucumbers, and made sure that there was enough food put up for the winter to supplement with a few things, but to make sure that everybody got fed. I feel like the small scale farm is modeled after that. That is the knowledge base that we draw from to reimagine what happens with agriculture in this country, and how we can make it more economically viable for more people, and how can make it have a less significant impact on ecology, and maybe even a beneficial impact on the ecology of our cities and rural environments. I think the division of labor is probably the same, but there is a shift in agricultural philosophy that really acknowledges and empowers the kinds of work that women have always done.

Gender role subversion is not just for women. In the local food system, women co-participants like Robin and Sarah have observed that men are adopting some of women's gender roles and women's work within the GDOL.

Robin: ...I do see the home movement and there are a lot of feminist men. Not that they're effeminate, but they are aware, like they're eco-feminists. What we used to call eco-feminists back in the day; I don't know if you still use that term. But men who are sensitive and aware and cooperative. And I'm seeing a breaking down of the stereotypes of it's okay for a man to cry and be sensitive and be nurturing and be gentle as part of this movement. And it's okay for women to be strong as part of this movement.

You know, my former co-worker in the membership department left the Co-op to be Mr. Mom as they say, to be a full-time dad. And his partner is working the full-time job out of the home and he's taking care of the home and the babies. And I think the food movement is adding to our awareness of sort of reduction in those

stereotypes, and it's so funny because there's such a division of the culture, sort of, in that we have the far rightwing getting more and more adamant about women's roles and men's roles and no gay marriage and the stereotypical way it was as being acceptable. And then we have this whole other experience or this whole other culture, subculture, that is breaking those down more and more and more. And I think the local food movement is really part of how we're going to break down those stereotypes.

Amanda, Avery, Dory and Sarah all discussed how they, themselves, or women they have observed may adopt men's gender roles and men's work within the GDOL as they participate in the local food system. It is often presented within the context of competing in the markets. However, when it comes to knowledge exchange or sharing, then most of these same women co-participants talk about women's gender roles and women's work in the gender division of labor.

Avery: Starting off, I am a woman and I am a straight woman but a tall, physically competent and not overly feminine woman, which I think when we get into the part of the conversation about the way that gender roles have played out in my professional career.

I think that who I am and how I present as not obviously straight has made a difference in the way that I am, in the competence that is perceived, which is an interesting thing.

It's a maybe somewhat intentional way of gaining access to parts of the agricultural community that perhaps women who present themselves in a much more feminine way don't have access to. I think that I have been somewhat conscious in the last couple of years that that has worked to my advantage.

Amanda: Actually, in some ways, I identify more as a queer farmer than I do as a woman farmer, because I know many woman farmers who still ascribe to the sort of traditional gender roles and there's a whole queer farming movement.

A lot of the interesting and fun parts of farming that I like to explore as a queer person are the subversion of those gender roles, just being a woman as a farmer, you know, is like subverting that gender role.

In many ways I identify more with a queer farming community that's sort of growing out of all of this. I also just recognize that many of my qualities as a person could be called masculine in the Western system of gender roles or I sometimes like to think of Yin and Yan(g) of Chinese medicine in Eastern Cultures.

The Yin, or the masculine is assertive, maybe even aggressive, maybe loud spoken, active, fiery, talkative and the Yan, or the feminine, it's more receptive, quiet, gentle, subdued. Even when talking about myself as a woman farmer I feel like, in many ways, I'm not, I'm not ascribing to my gender role ever, anyway, you know, as a queer woman.

I already have that advantage. I wonder about this conversation with a sort of more feminine woman, I just wonder how it would maybe be completely different or how I often think, I'm so persistent and aggressive, and I have so much fire and willpower, but if somebody turns me down or puts an obstacle in my way, I don't just necessarily say, "Well, I was disenfranchised and I'm not going back to that system."

Like, I have the spunk to keep pushing and I wonder about my sisters, if they get easily discouraged. I wonder if there would be more of us if there weren't these barriers. I wonder how they deal in a man's world, in this field. I think I'm just identifying, that's like one interesting thing for me, talking about this stuff.

I'm a woman farmer but I don't often think of myself like that, unless I'm in a situation where I'm alone at the table, you don't have the luxury of working with other women, working with a lot of other women, having a lot of women connections, I can also keep myself in women space and that's sort of a bit of a bubble.

Recommendations for Theme 1: Gender & Women's Participation in the Local Food System

In 1851, at an early women's rights convention in Akron, Sojourner Truth gave her well known "Ain't I a woman" speech in rebuttal to middle class men's argument that women should not have certain human rights because they are unable to take care of themselves. Today, despite women's history in farm work and present day multiple roles and responsibilities, this notion of women's frailty persists, perhaps most among generations in their 40s and older, such that some men still question women's capacity to run a farm (Jensen, 1981, p. 57; A. Rich, Personal Communication, 2013; A. Anderson, Personal Communication, 2013). Women authors in this study have cited this perception in their own experiences (A. Rich, Personal Communication, 2013; A. Anderson, Personal Communication, 2013; Y. Najmi, Personal Communication, 2013).

Gender Roles & Subversion

When we look at gender roles and their subversion, we begin to see power dynamics within the local food system at play. The subversion of gender roles appears to meet strategic needs. Why and how is that? I recommend further investigation of this topic.

Since the local food movement is a social movement, it makes sense that marginalized communities might find a place within the local food system. As such, it is no surprise that there is a growing "queer farming" movement within the local food movement.

Amanda, Avery, and Dory all directly state that they subvert feminine gender roles by utilizing masculine roles to navigate and succeed within their work in the local food system. Amanda's participation in the growing queer farming community plays a more profound role in her life than her role as a woman farmer, with which she identifies much less.

Amanda's take on queer identity is linked to her subversion of gender roles. She identifies strongly with queer farming community as a gay woman and relates this identity and association with her subversion of gender roles. She sees her gender role subversion as a more masculine person as helpful to her navigation of male dominated spaces and dynamics within the local food system. Dory also said it takes balls, even if you're a woman, to be a farmer, and Avery believes that it has beneficial for her to be perceived as a strong, less feminine woman.

Martinez says you cannot separate identities (Davis, 1993). If that is true, then being a woman, gay, queer, farmer—all these subject positions are inextricably linked.

Intersectionality theory and methodology may be a useful means to explore this further. Its integration with a feminist participatory action research design (FPAR)⁵ could be inclusive enough to bear the multiplex identities and the related complex research questions, as well as the correspondingly sensitive analysis and data presentations.

Gender Division of Labor

⁵ See Appendix 2 for a detailed discussion of FPAR.

Isaura doesn't remember seeing that many women before in farming, though certain parts of New Mexico had more women farmers than others. Here [in Albuquerque], there were very few, but maybe now it's not quite half and half--women and men. She did note that a lot of the seed savers she works with are women. She said it was difficult for her to explain why except to say that, "women really are more the nurturers" and "...we just step in and take hold of this and protect the seeds." Also, she said that it may be related to the possibility that women are more visible now.

Emily and Robin also talked about women as nurturers by nature, but Amanda talked about how caretaking roles are often relegated to women. It is an important distinction in perspective. Considering the previously discussed socialization of gender roles (Safa, 2003; Papanek, 1987), I recommend that future work with co-participants from this study and beyond include discussion about socialization of gender roles, resource allocation and the gender division of labor.

Additionally, in the short to mid-term, I recommend that the co-participants convene to discuss how to support existing dedicated spaces and the creation of new ones for women's exchange of knowledge, as well as how to utilize this study data to that end. I also would pose the question, "What are strategies that would truly be empowering for women participating in the local food system without romanticizing or commodifying women's work?"

Theme 2: Women's access to resources

Numerous co-participants identified their apparent gender as a barrier to access to resources, especially land, capital and dedicated space for knowledge exchange.

Additionally, some co-participants also identified possible solutions to address certain barriers to land and capital.

Women's Space for Knowledge Exchange

Avery: One of the legacies of a male-dominated agricultural field is that lots of the support networks are, for people involved in agriculture, are male dominated. Grange halls and ag extension agents are largely male. The FSA loans, creating opportunities and incentives for women-owned businesses and the social support networks and the financial support networks and the policy support networks at a national scale, all the way down to the ag extension offices, becoming more focused on the value that operations that are run by women bring to the agricultural movement.

Just yesterday in a conversation with Holistic Management International, speaking with Ann Adams, they have started a Beginning Women Farmer Program. Like the National Young Farmers Coalition, they said, "This is a group that is underserved and needing specific resources and specific help in a field in which there's some level of bias against them or some level of disadvantage." I really appreciate that.

I think Quivira's program will always be open to both genders, but I'm really impressed by Holistic Management taking on a program that's specifically around training women and acknowledging that there are, and Ann Adams quoted the dollar differential in what women versus men are paid, gets amplified even more in agriculture when women are not viewed as equal in agriculture. It might not even be not viewed as equal by their partners but not viewed as equal in the industry.

Dory also believes there is value in women teaching other women in dedicated space.

Dory: So as far as gender roles, I think that . . . maybe with the older generation, a little older than me, I think it's more set in that gender role. But from what I've seen, I think that the farmers I've met don't really . . . are not maintaining that at all. But sometimes you see it's the same thing with the teacher and the student. You see the man teaching the woman. I would like to see the women teaching the women and the women teaching the men about options and alternatives that may not be really explored because women haven't been in that leadership role or transferring knowledge role in agriculture. Except for maybe Native American women; I don't know.

And I think the key is that as each of us farmers come into this knowledge, to pass it on and not covet it. I think that's a really horrible way. It's like the old violin makers. They did not hide their skills; they passed them on. And I think farmers should take that same path.

People like talk about their farms and experiences and like the farmers at the market, you ask them where they buy their boxes or their seed or their implements. Does anybody have a corn seeder so we can get the dry corn off the top? And Jesse from Amyo Farms was able to lend me theirs so I did not have to buy one. But if that conversation and those things were not taking place and we were all in our own little island as a farmer, it would be disaster. And I think that growers market creates a community of people; several communities of people who attend, the people who are the vendors, the farmers. Even the food people, even artisans.. We all have kind of made connections that are really, really important.

Sarah explicitly utilizes her role as editor of *Edible Santa Fe Magazine* to promote knowledge exchange, and believes that women should be more purposeful about passing along this knowledge to others in women's own spaces. She created a dedicated space in print recently with the publication of the spring 2014 issue of the magazine which focuses on "Women in Local Food."

Sarah: There are always questions of access to information, but having the information generated by the people who are doing the work is important.

I feel like as the editor of "Edible Santa Fe," I sort of see it as my job to encourage people to write about what their work is in the local food system, to become stronger writers, to think more deeply about what it is that they're doing, and to

articulate, and encourage them to share that with other people. I feel like in this moment that's where my head is at, where I'm at.

I have a lot of family who lives in Iowa. Not that I talk to that many people who are farming at a really large, industrial scale, but I've talked to a few of them. The moment I start talking about how I have a friend who's a farmer who grows on two acres, they all roll their eyes at me.

I don't know if men who are farming and choosing to do small-scale diversified farms are . . . I think they do perceive that and are aware that there is that, within the larger context of agriculture in the United States, it's not frowned upon, it's almost like it's laughed at or not taken seriously. I think that men face a similar challenge who are choosing to do small-scale agriculture because it's seen as insignificant, or women's work, or not important. In the same way that women are having to define spaces to exchange knowledge and information, I think that men who are choosing to work at that scale of food production also have to create those spaces. We have to create those spaces together.

I think that there are cultural barriers. I also think we don't have a framework, or we're not practiced and we haven't developed a . . . Within re-defining those roles, I think that women have not been, as a community, self-reflective about what it means to work with other women in those roles. Because we are individually re-defining those roles. Then having community around what those practices are is very new and not well-defined. That is a challenge in and of itself. Having spaces that are defined by women to talk about what their professional practices are I think is something that we really have not done.

There was this book I read a while ago. It was called *Women Folk*. The author talks about the significance of the quilting bee and how that was a space for women to get together and talk about what their practices were. I think it was written by a woman who was probably born in the '40s. She was talking about her grandmother and her mom having these practices. At that point, there wasn't a large female professional realm. Women's roles were largely domestic. That was the space where they would share information and knowledge about what their day-to-day practices were, and what their practices of skill and expertise were. That's where they created knowledge.

As women have become professionals, we've had to reimagine how it is that we produce knowledge and communicate about it. I think that particularly in local agriculture, because it also is a fairly new practice, we haven't entirely articulated the forms and the spaces in which, particularly as women, we have a conversation about those things.

We don't have a cultural practice developed around the cultivation of knowledge and the exchange of information in regards to those professional practices. I think that's not necessarily a barrier, but it is what makes doing this harder because we're both doing the sort of most practical, technical work of growing food. Then,

there's also this other level, which I think I talked about at the very beginning, which is a deeper cultivation of a knowledge base and a space in which that knowledge is created and continually redefined.

Women's Access to Land & Capital

Access to land and capital is problematic for many, especially in this economy. For many local food related enterprises (e.g. farms, warehouse and distribution centers, restaurants, etc.) land and capital are critical. However, access for women may be more complicated than it is for men. Though 85% of U.S. women farm operators own the farms they run, their farm parcels tend to be small, as well as their sales (U.S. Census of Agriculture, 2007). In the recent past, the USDA had to address a lawsuit for discriminatory practices in loans for women and people of color (USDA, 2012). Now, the USDA has designated a specific funding sources called the “Socially Disadvantaged Applicants” which targets women and people of color (USDA FSA, n.d.).

Sarah: Why I don't have my own farm is a question I ask myself on a very regular basis. I think a lot of it has to do with choices that I have made for myself up to this point and a certain amount of economic inertia. I don't quite, at this point, have the energy to shift that into farming a farm of my own. I could see that happening in the future.

When I say economic inertia, it's things like having student loan debt that make it, to me, a little daunting to take on an enterprise that could be totally financially stable, or could be a total disaster and not really feeling like I want to take on that risk quite yet, so looking for ways to continue being involved but not put myself in a position to make my life harder. You know, significantly harder as a consequence of not being able to be responsible for the things that I've chosen to do to date.

For women who bear the responsibility for the domestic tasks of grocery shopping, access to capital is also an issue. Emily describes what it is like to participate in need based programs like SNAP and WIC.

Emily: We rely on EBT currently and there has been some public debate in newspapers and on particular websites about EBT dollars and the kinds of foods that people are allowed to purchase on EBT and it's suddenly something that is really on my radar, because food for me, it's medicine, it's a social lubricant of a sort. It brings people together. It's also a way that I express myself creatively and artistically and it's a way that I care for and take care of my family. It's a way that I treat my daughter. It's a way that I teach her, involve her in things in the kitchen and a lot happens around food in our house. And a lot of the talk of creating restrictions on what people can buy, that influences... my current relationship to food, because I rarely pay with my own dollars at present to buy my food. There's sort of an awkward feeling when you go up to the cash register and you have organic broccoli and perhaps a locally grown or packaged food or maybe I don't eat cow dairy, I can't, so I've got my goat milk. These things that we often consider in our society to be luxuries, not only local, but really healthy food free of pesticides is not considered a right; it's almost like it's considered a frivolity. I feel like there's this war against the poor revolving around food as the cost of living has continued to soar, but the average income has stayed, actually adjusted for inflation since 1979, I believe it's decreased. It hasn't even remained the same.

In office based work for the local food system, such as planning, advocacy, policy, and so on, women may also face barriers to equal access to capital in the form of pay gaps.

Yasmeen: I've always told people that I felt that I've experienced more sexism and oppression as a woman than from any kind of cultural identity I've held. For me, that's true; that's not true certainly for everybody else. So I think in my own experiences as a woman -- professional and otherwise -- maybe it made me a little bit more compassionate and understanding of some of the historical oppression that's happened here.

I think it's something that most all women experience. It's not something really unique to me. We may have had some professional hindrances; issues with promotion, pay, certainly how people relate and talk to us -- especially men. What people consider an appropriate way to talk to someone regardless of whether they're a man or a woman. It's not unique to me by any means. I think

probably most women could claim that they have that kind of experience at some point in their lives.

Dory may exemplify one of the women farm operators who owns her own small parcels of farm land. She and her partner both work off the farm and subsidize their farm business. Dory discusses the sustainability of some alternatives to land ownership and possibilities for regulation to help increase farmers' access to land.

Dory: Seth, who I think he was an intern at Los Poblanos or Skarsgard Farms, started his own farm. And he has two interns that he pays a stipend to. I couldn't afford to pay that stipend, but he also does not pay for his land. He doesn't have insurance, mortgage, taxes. And most of the farmers I know do not own their land. I think Nolina and I are the only ones I know that own our land. Maybe some of the old-time farmers like Montoya farms, some of the older folks. I think one farmer at Agri-Cultura just bought a parcel in the South Valley from an old friend of mine who passed away. But the majority of the farmers lease the land for an annual fee or are just using property that people are donating. So there's an incredible disparity between what their expenses are compared to mine or other farmers who own their land. I think it's good that there are people who provide that opportunity. I think is very important because a lot of that land just sits idle. But what happens when they want to build on it? What happens when that housing market comes back and they want to sell that property? That's not a sustainable practice. And so I think that the efforts that need to be made by people who are making those in essence is they have to work with the conservation trust and figure out how to get those people to donate that land and make it worthwhile for them. But as soon as that bubble comes back, they'll be selling that property off. So a lot of that work goes into that infrastructure and then all of a sudden it's gone. That's a hard thing knowing county and city should be aggregating their funds and putting away capital improvement money to buy farmland. And they did that for a long time, but they bought it for open space, not farmland. They bought it for parks, recreation, open space. But you can't do anything on them.

Isaura has observed gender differences in resource allocation in terms of land inheritance which she relates to men choosing to farm as a profession.

Isaura: I think the majority of farmers have been men. In some situations, it was the men that inherited the land. That's one thing, for a lot of [farm] owners, the men inherited the land. And I think in other cases, it's been that the woman has been the person that's been taking care of the children, and maybe she works equally hard on the farm, but you don't see the woman as much. You always see the male person. He's the one that's at the market... and maybe the wife might be at home.

I know a few very good, excellent women farmers. I think women farmers tend to have more of what I call the creative crops. They're willing to take more risks with different types of crops... But I think a big factor here is financial restrictions that we have.

Recommendations for Theme 2: Women's access to resources

I recommend that existing and future co-participants explore the possibilities for dedicated women's space for knowledge production and exchange. There are existing assets that could be capitalized upon.

Avery shared that existing spaces for knowledge production and exchange tend to be male-dominated (e.g. USDA, Granges, etc.). Numerous co-participants discussed the need for women's space for knowledge production and exchange. Sarah and Dory talked about the experiential learning that happens in these kinds of spaces with written and spoken word, as well as visual knowledge production and accessibility. Jessica offers hands on opportunities to learn through the courses she teaches. Avery helped build the New Agrarians program of the Quivira Coalition, which is a resource- and time-intensive program that cultivates high quality mentors and connects them with high quality trainees to increase the number of learning opportunities, as well as the number of well-trained, next generation of ranchers. The Veteran Farmers Project, managed by Robin and Sarah through La Montañita Co-op reaches a number of women veterans who desire to become growers on some scale. Dory offers her CSA members educational opportunities like jam making classes, and she helps facilitate and participates in the natural resource and knowledge exchange already happening at the growers markets. Isaura hopes to teach cooking classes and share financial planning knowledge. Yasmeen shares field knowledge/project knowledge with co-workers and experience as a speaker on gardening methods with Bernalillo County Open Space classes. Emily and her husband pass along knowledge to both children and share experiences with children in their garden, growing

food as a family. Stephanie's experience as a farm intern lends to her ongoing knowledge exchange with customers. Amanda is a frequent speaker at area conferences and awareness building events and also shares knowledge through farm camps and workshops at Erda Gardens. Carrie travels across New Mexico and international borders as an ambassador and educator. She is a frequent partner of Erda Gardens, as well.

I would recommend for near future work, that co-participants and others investigate how we can support what is already happening in terms of space accessible to women and truly dedicated women's space that is working and beneficial.

My rough assessment of existing spaces for knowledge exchange among the co-participating women of this study include:

- home gardens producing food as a family, as individuals
- home kitchens processing and preparing food as a family, as friends, as elders/teachers/mentors, as individuals
- commercial kitchens as value-added producers with friends, with colleagues/peer value-added producers, as individuals
- growers markets—co-participant producers communicating with peer farmer vendors, with artisan vendors, with supportive shoppers/local food eaters
- on the job/in the field: farms (Dory, Amanda, Sarah, Robin, Jessica, Isaura), ranches (Carrie, Avery, Jessica), acequia/ditch networks (Yasmeen, Amanda), office buildings (Avery, Sarah, Robin, Jessica, Amanda, Isaura, Yasmeen)
- traveling family dinners

- organizational events (e.g. the Local Food Festival & Field Day, Rio Grande Farmers Coalition mixers, etc.)
- Capacity building organization meetings
 - Ag Collaborative monthly meetings, New Mexico Food and Agriculture Policy Council convenings, etc.
 - Producers are not attending these as much as other capacity builders

Additionally, I recommend that co-participants purposefully connect with USDA representatives to determine strategies to make these federal funding sources much more accessible to women.

Isaura also observed that men may have worked higher paying jobs and/or had higher salaries which enabled them to purchase land and set up more their farm enterprises more easily, whereas women may be relegated to lower paying, maybe even minimum wage type work so it's difficult to purchase land. Ongoing work and research is recommended to develop strategies to address this chronic issue, which may include participating in existing efforts with area organizations already working on addressing pay gaps.

Further Recommendations

Short Term

Knowledge production and exchange was a common theme among most of the co-participants' stories. As such, I hope to work with each co-participant to determine a few immediate actions: 1) where to store their contributions for preservation, 2) what the final "contributions" will be (e.g. raw transcripts, edited oral testimonies that they help craft, etc.), and 3) if they are interested in exchanging their knowledge with others who may want to utilize their contributions (e.g. posting quotations on the Rio Grande Farmers Coalition website).

While I will talk with each participant about those questions, I also will be supplying each co-participant with their own copies of their contributions on a disc that includes their raw transcripts, photos I took, as well as copy of this thesis.

Mid- to Long Term: Counting Women's Work

Donahoe (1999) focuses on the creation of typologies that more accurately encompass women's work in developing nations. This is to address the problems with conventional labor force participation measures and how they under represent women and their work. Much like Dixon's (1982) article, this article may serve as a guide to ensure that future measurements of New Mexico women's work include as many voices as possible regardless of their conventional prominence or invisibility.

Additions to the Analytical Framework for Next Steps: Difference and Other Emerging Theories

In alignment with gender planning implementation through training and participatory action research, co-participants'--taking next steps toward transformation of women's opportunities in the local food system--may be helped by a shared analytical framework. Based on the many nuanced lines of inquiry generated by this study--as well as the multiplex identities of each co-participant of this study and others recommended for inclusion in an expanded study, I recommend an analytical framework that is informed by and sensitive to difference, intersectionality, and decolonization. Also, given the inherent conflict throughout transformative processes, I recommend that co-participants learn about non-violent communication, mediation and other communication strategies to help communication, even regarding contentious issues, to be productive and peaceful.

Difference

In addition to my primary focus of the gender division of labor, I expected that self-identification across a variety of subject positions that directly and generally affect how people navigate the world would be an emergent theme in the co-participants' stories. I expected race to be another important subject position—really, *the* other important subject position that women would discuss in terms of their participation in the local food system. I also expected that, given my appearance and self-identification as a white woman, that it was likely that women of color may be less likely to participate, and, that the women of color who did participant may not be comfortable discussing their

experience as a woman of color with a white woman. That may have held true (i.e. most co-participants self-identified as white, and only three participants directly mentioned racial difference as any sort of issue, and in those instances, they were speaking from self-identified racial groups outside of the racial group they discussed), but racial difference did emerge to some degree. However, there was some surprising divergence from my *a priori* assumption that when/if race was discussed in terms of a co-participant's direct experience it would likely be framed as a barrier to participation in the local food system for women of color. The self-identified subject position as a woman of color for one participant, Yasmeen Najmi, was beneficial to her for her work in Taos, and also personally. Additionally, she said that she has experienced more discrimination based on her subject position as a woman than as a woman of color. In a future study, it would be interesting to see what a self-analysis of difference and then intersectional analysis of the local food system with respect to difference yields in terms of the identities that produce power disparities within the local food system.

Given the limitations of this study, its purpose as a thesis, as well as my own subject position as a white woman, I will only speak to race as it emerged in the study, and I recommend that future research includes the aspect of difference more purposefully through feminist participatory action research (FPAR) that purposefully engages women of color who represent the differences of racial identity in New Mexico, as well as white women. This purposeful engagement should include a simultaneous effort to mitigate the language barrier for many New Mexico women whose native language is not English (e.g. Spanish and indigenous languages).

Additionally, other subject positions should be considered and included within co-participant researcher group(s). Difference focuses on a few subject positions as most clearly affecting how people engage in the world—especially race, gender, class and sexuality (Davis 1993). The intersectionality of those and other subject positions such as age and/or generational self-identity (as identified as a factor by a number of participants -- including Jessica, Dory, Amanda, Robin, Avery and Isaura) should be analyzed. My recommendations on lines of inquiry for future research are based on the findings of this study, as well as review of analytical frameworks to study these themes that are related to identity and power dynamics: difference and intersectionality.

I recommend for future training and research for participatory practice that each co-participant/co-researcher explores her subject positions and that difference is analyzed at an individual level. The resulting self-awareness of each co-researcher will inform the intersectional analysis of power dynamics within the local food system to help answer the questions raised by this study. Despite my education across a variety of planning traditions -- and my personal and professional subscription to gender planning and continuing study of difference and intersectionality -- given my subject position as a white person, I think it is especially important for women of color and multilingual women to be represented as co-researchers/co-participants.

In this study, I made an effort to include women of color as co-participants, but was limited by several aspects of my multiplex identity including being perceptibly/presumably white (though it is how I self-identify), and being essentially monolingual since my intermediate fluency in Spanish is not adequate for the complex

conversations of inquiry. Future research, training and action plans would do well to address these constraints and others that may be identified by co-researchers and co-participants.

Generational and cultural difference

There were a couple of mentions of discord possibly due to age difference, as well as cultural conflict and how these disconnects affect women's participation in the local food system. The question around generational and cultural difference in regard to women's participation in the local food system may be "how do we identify and get over the barriers?" It is less about saying who is right or wrong, who is being a jerk and who the victim is, and more about finding a way to work together toward a common goal. Next steps will include that questions, "What is the common goal?"

Organizing across difference

In a 1993 talk on "Building Coalitions of People of Color" at the University of California, San Diego, writers and activists Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez and Angela Y. Davis spoke about how people of color can work together across difference on common issues. The wisdom they offer can serve as guidelines for future research and work regarding equitable participation and opportunities in the local food system.

As women, we might consider prioritizing our gender identity over other identities to find common ground from which to work together. However, Davis proposes that we can

come together and act around a common issue across difference (e.g. poverty)—without concerns about how we are the same, how we are different, and who or what is most important (1993). In fact, Davis argues that identifying one’s “group” is, in itself, problematic.

If we are prioritizing race in our self-identification, and identify in that regard, then we are not taking into account the incredible complexity that can exist within, for example, African American communities, and that it is possible that one African American woman of certain subject positions may find more in common with a woman of another race based on other subject position commonalities (e.g. class, gender, sexuality) (Davis, 1993). Martinez encourages us to realize that issues concerning class, gender or sexuality are issues within all racial groups. When it comes to working with other people and organizations, agreement and commitment to “anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-homophobic work” is a more effective way to ally (Davis, 1993). Additionally, Martinez posits that you cannot separate out your identities, anyway: “There’s no way to separate what you experience as a person in the Raza community from what you experience as a result of being a woman” (Davis, 1993).

In the same talk, a student asked both women what it would take to have a broad enough coalition so that everyone could be included as “one race, one person, one body”. Davis does not necessarily desire a homogeneous future, and argues that such a goal is premature because racism is still a factor in movements across other subject positions (e.g. the gay movement being perceived as gay and white) (1993). We can, however,

thoughtfully work together in ways that “encourage racial boundary crossing” (Davis, 1993).

In response to the same question, Martinez says that many people want to know why there is a need to place importance on difference, and ‘why can’t we all just be people?’ or ‘doesn’t the focus on difference just exacerbate the issue?’ However, Martinez argues that without transforming the existing power structures that continue to oppress many people, that is not possible (Davis, 1993).

I expect that some readers might pose a similar question to me: Why am I making the local food system so complicated? I would argue that it already was. It is more a matter of whether or not we choose to recognize the complexities and include them in our consideration as we navigate the local food system within our own multiplex roles. Through my education, experiential knowledge, and—now—research, I have seen the abundantly rich and complex lives and voices of several of the women working in the local food system, and have seen that there is a notable difference in how women and men participate. Given that awareness, I choose to work toward a more inclusive local food system that has room for these complexities.

I think that both author activists offer lessons that can provide guidance. Additionally, I think that it is useful to consider including this line of questioning in any prelude (e.g. Gender planning/PAR training of co-researcher/co-participants) to future research or work.

For Planners

Policy and planning includes some local food system concerns, but there is, of course, always room for improvement. I recommend a review of current planning policies and documents at various levels (regional, state, county, city, neighborhood) within the regional foodshed to see where and how food systems are supported by existing planning efforts, and where and how we can work to improve them as needed. I would recommend that anyone working on local food concerns—including planners, as their work is often concerned with systems that have bearing on regulation and often is long-term in scope--work within and with communities to understand power dynamics, who is marginalized and how, and what actions will create positive transformation.

As mentioned by Dory, existing land use regulations that allow for large residential lot sizes are problematic as we try to conserve arable land in New Mexico. Additionally, small scale value added producers face roadblocks to existing or would be enterprises due to complex regulations (that can lead to prohibitively high expenses) that are intended for larger scale operations.

Additionally, as indicated by Yasmeen and Amanda, at least some New Mexico natural resource management organizations, including our conservancy districts, are male-dominated and, at least at times, are not accessible or have limited accessibility to women. According to Amanda's experience as a female farmer, it can be difficult to be taken seriously and have her farm operation's water needs addressed. Yasmeen also reports that if there are any female ditch riders, they are few, and that men tend to be the

ones out in the field, working on the acequia/ditch networks. I recommend that these organizations be examined and that they work with women to make the services they provide, as well as the career opportunities within them, accessible to people across different subject positions.

IV. CONCLUSION

Out of all of this, there is interest in the following:

- Discussing how to establish a reliable means of knowledge exchange and work sharing among women participating in the local food system;
- Increasing understanding of men's participation in women-dominated, capacity-building nodes like technical assistance, advocacy, etc.;
- Increasing women's access to land and capital; and
- Addressing the disparity in caretaking work that inhibits women's ability to participate in roles across the local food system.

Based on the findings, I am especially interested in pursuing the following:

- Working more concertedly with women producers and the USDA organizations that influence access to land and capital such as the Farm Service Agency or the Natural Resources Conservation Service to ensure that these organizations are aware of women's interests and needs and that women have reasonable access to communicate with these entities;
- Working with the co-participants of this study on the establishment of a regular means for women's knowledge exchange and work sharing. I support this participant identified goal and already have initiated an informal professional group of my peers to more deliberately share knowledge and work together to meet our collective and individual needs.

General Limitations

For future work with this data set, I strongly recommend that the co-participants of this study at least have the opportunity to work as co-analyzers, editors and authors of future presentations of their interviews.

By continuing to purposefully employ the “standpoint theory” concept of expertise (i.e. “the very experience of a phenomenon confers expertise of that phenomenon, and privileging that experiential knowledge above academic knowledge while still respecting validity of academic knowledge), future research will remain grounded in the voices of the women actually involved in the local food system. As more people and organizations become involved, there may be temptation to include and even prioritize other voices—especially considering that women are socialized to avoid conflict, future co-participants/co-researchers may want to be particularly mindful of this tendency. However, going too far in the other direction also can be problematic—as I found through my own experience. I was conflicted about using my own “lens” in editing the transcripts to create succinct oral testimonies for this thesis. I was inhibited by my inflated concern that my co-participants’ voices would be obscured or misrepresented the more I became involved in the representation of their stories. Finding the balance is necessary to effective research, as well as data analysis and presentation.

How this study is influencing my work

I am already incorporating my findings into my profession work:

- a) through conversations with local food stakeholders (e.g. Eric Griego)

- b) following up with Dory to support her work in increasing awareness around home-based, value-added production regulations/small scale production issues

- c) connecting with farmers more directly in the spaces where they already convene—primarily the Downtown Growers Market for now, but I look to connect with farmers at other markets, as well

- d) communicating with partners—including those engaged in funding and policy work—about ways to ensure our work is reaching more producers across different subject positions (e.g. Eric Griego)

As previously stated, I will be convening with the co-participants of this study to share copies of this study's products (e.g. interview transcripts, photos), as well as to set plans for determining how we will work together to preserve and share these women's contributions. I will recommend that we consider short-term to long-term options, with the most immediate possibility for both preservation and sharing being the option to post some form of these women's testimonies to the Rio Grande Farmers Coalition website. Whatever comes to pass, it will be through a collaborative effort.

By working to transform our local food system to be more inclusive across subject positions, and we can help ensure that participation is more equitable for everyone and encourage our future generations to be the next New Mexican farmers, policy makers,

educators, co-op managers, and so on. I look forward to continuing the conversation with my colleagues and beyond to realize the vision of a more inclusive, thriving local food system.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Trigger questions

Appendix 2: Detailed Discussion of Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR)

Appendix 1: Example Trigger Questions

- How are women currently participating within the local food system?
- How does gender affects women's participation?
- What helps women's participation and what hinders women's participation?

Appendix 2: Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR)

Feminist Participatory Practice

Definition

One method utilized by the gendered planning tradition is “planning as debate”. The premise is that in a plural society with a diversity of often conflicting interests, collective, democratic action should be in the form of debate. Debate creates a confrontation with those in power on several levels to address instead of ignore tensions. Outcomes cannot be precisely anticipated; as an iterative process; the focus is on the process. Needs are mediated into strategies, policies, programs and projects. Proposed implementation includes training and participatory method (Moser, 1993).

One specific form of this is Participatory Action Research (PAR). There are three elements: research, education, socio-political action. It includes a methodology for acquisition of reliable knowledge upon which to construct power for the poor, oppressed and exploited groups and social classes for their authentic organizations and movements. The purpose is to enable these groups and classes to acquire sufficient leverage to achieve goals of social transformation (Slocum & Rochleau, 1995). As Yoshihama and Carr (2002) put it, the purpose of PAR is to transform existing social orders to create “equitable distribution of resources, empowering the oppressed, increasing self-reliance, [and] transforming social structures into more equitable societies” (pp. 98-99).

While PAR, in itself, may be inherently useful as an action research and participatory method, it still has the capacity to perpetuate oppressive structures when forces of oppression remain unquestioned. As such, a feminist theory perspective can dramatically alter the dynamics of PAR, or other participatory practice models, by destabilizing perceptions of what is “normal”.

Framing the role of feminist theory in participatory practice

It is useful to establish the relevance of feminism to participatory practice. While many studies of women’s participatory practice incorporate at least some form of feminist epistemology, many times it goes unnamed. That begs the question, “Why is feminism important to participatory practice?” One article in particular gives a very cogent and concise argument. This article is described in the overview that follows to establish the validity of utilizing feminist theories in participatory practice.

Frisby, Maguire and Reid (2009) make a very compelling argument for feminist action research. In their article, “The ‘f’ word has everything to do with it: How feminist theories inform action research”, the authors define why feminism is valuable to action research, whether it is “named” feminism or not (Frisby, et al., 2009). According to Frisby, et al., (2009), feminist theories add value to action research because they intentionally counter dominant theories about human experiences and strategies for change. They also serve as a catalyst that motivates people to question power dynamics that are often invisible or misinterpreted (Frisby, et al., 2009).

The purpose of action research is to destabilize ubiquitous, but often covert, power structures and dynamics (Frisby, et al., 2009). Feminist theories can have overlapping purpose with action research, but extend that purpose even further to uncover gender inequalities in power. These inequalities have dire consequences, yet they are so frequently normalized that they often remain unquestioned (Frisby, et al., 2009).

Some of these dire consequences are measurable. For example, the United Nations “estimated that women do two-thirds of the world’s work, receive 10 percent of the world’s income, and own one percent of the world’s property” (Frisby, et al., 2009, p. 14). Essentially, because poverty is gendered, among other things (e.g. race, class, sexuality, etc.), feminist theories have much to offer to the way action research is conceived and conducted (Frisby, et al., 2009). Feminist action research is especially effective at encouraging typically marginalized voices (Frisby, et al., 2009). This action orientation helps counter the claim that some feminist theories are too esoteric to be practical (Frisby, et al., 2009). Determining which theory is most applicable is, however, quite problematic (Frisby, et al., 2009).

Frisby, et al. (2009) provides a brief historical overview of the iterative evolution of feminist theories. Despite the fact that there is no unifying feminist theory for action research, the authors assert that by updating past theories to be more inclusive of differences previously unaccounted for, action research can be an even more effective, sustainable tool to achieve transformative results (Frisby, et al., 2009). In other words, updating feminist theories for action research means moving beyond the liberal feminist argument for “equal rights” and, instead, creating a more holistic theory that takes into

account difference and how differences, such as sexuality, race, class, etc., are linked to gender oppression (Frisby, et al., 2009). It also means taking the perspective beyond privileged white, Western, middle-class, heterosexual women's perspectives which can serve to reinforce hierarchies and inequalities (Frisby, et al., 2009). Instead, it encompasses geographical, cultural, imperial, and historical perspectives, as well (Frisby, et al., 2009).

The authors propose intersectionality theory by Kimberle Crenshaw as a theory that is potentially unifying enough to encompass difference, which is a central concern of many more contemporary feminist theories. The intersectionality theory encompasses multiple positionalities and avoids exclusions of earlier theories (Frisby, et al., 2009). By conceptualizing multiple and shifting identities, it encourages deconstruction of liberal feminism's essentialist positions and polarizations of difference (e.g. North is "advanced" while South is "primitive") (Frisby, et al., 2009). Through this lens, "dynamic and contradictory power dynamics" are made obvious (Frisby, et al., 2009, p. 19). Additionally, the authors point out Davis's argument that the ambiguity of intersectionality theory is actually one of its greatest strengths (Frisby, et al., 2009). As it could be applied to action research, it can encourage researchers to continually question the "multiple and shifting" positionalities, including their own, and how it impacts all aspects of research (Frisby, et al., 2009). The resulting destabilization has actually led to innovative strategies in fighting oppression (Frisby, et al., 2009).

While it is an appealing theory, Frisby, et al. (2009) did find tensions resulted from the application within their own work. It is useful to note these, as Yoshihama and

Carr's (2002) case study notes similar tensions about seven years earlier. For Frisby, et al. (2009), two major tensions resulted: 1) resistance to the terms 'theory' and 'feminist' and 2) representation (i.e., who gets heard and how). Overall, though, the use of the feminist intersectionality approach to their action research prompted the re-examination of 'common sense' beliefs among their participants (Frisby, et al., 2009, p. 21). They also found that, while many conventional methods try to reach consensus or a collective understanding, that can be an unrealistic goal within the context of intersectionality theory (Frisby, et al., 2009). Due to its destabilizing effects, the theory creates tension. The authors propose that action researchers instead look for ways to work across differences to build sufficient common ground to create the basis for individual and collective action (Frisby, et al., 2009). Another noteworthy, though not new, concept offered by Frisby, et al. (2009) is the notion that participatory processes actually give back to feminist theory-building by bridging the gap between academy and community, as well as helping prevent disparity between the value of 'academic expertise' and the expertise of the participants who are the ones about which the academics theorize (Frisby, et al., 2009).

A Case Study of Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR)

Yoshihama and Carr's 2002 case study is a great illustration of the concepts outlined in Frisby, et al. (2009). Yoshihama and Carr (2002) utilized and adapted the PAR model to include feminist theory, called FPAR, for a project targeting a population of Hmong women in a large Midwestern city. The authors had a head start on Frisby, et al. (2009), though, as their case study began in 1997 (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997).

Additionally, this case study, with its focus on Hmong women's safety and well-being [characteristics measured by the UN's Human Poverty Index (HPI)] can potentially be used as an FPAR model to address other aspects of human and gendered poverty (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997; Cagatay, 1998).

Yoshihama and Carr (1997) examined how gender, race and class impacted low-income Hmong women. This focus on difference bears some similarity to Kimberle Crenshaw's intersectionality theory (Frisby, et al., 2009). They chose the Participatory Action Research model in order to connect their research participants with resources and to ensure their project "combine[d] action, education, and research" (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997, p. 87). Negotiation was a constant throughout the research process. In the beginning, the authors focused on domestic violence (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). However, based on participants' wary response and perceived interests, the authors widened their focus to include issues that affect Hmong women's safety and well-being (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997).

Phase I of the project encompassed a series of participatory workshops over six Saturdays (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). To avoid language barriers (most of the Phase I Hmong participants spoke little to know English), the authors hired a Hmong facilitator. Additionally, local Hmong women voluntarily recruited diverse participants. The project staff used a variety of group activities, such as a photovoice project. This project had women documenting their lives through photos and then sharing their stories in critical dialogue groups of peers and university-based researchers. Then, together, they worked to form a strategy to address the Hmong women's perceived needs. For example, there

were many pictures of abandoned lots and dilapidated buildings. Through their stories, the Hmong women developed strategies to clean up those areas and plant gardens.

Phase II was focused on a particular goal. During the Phase I workshops, several participants stated that they wanted to establish a non-profit, community-based organization to address local Hmong women's various needs (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). This was especially relevant because there were no local agencies offering culturally or gender-sensitive services in the area (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). Therefore, in Phase II, the participants and staff held meetings to discuss the plan and recruit more participants (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). One caveat to this phase is that the meetings were held in English with English-speaking Hmong women participants instead of utilizing the Hmong facilitator (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). However, the Phase I participants did form a self-named "sub-committee" of non-English speaking Hmong women and men who were not attending the regular meetings, but were attending the subcommittee meetings and providing guidance to the plan for a non-profit organization (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). The regularly scheduled meetings had a diverse group of eight Hmong women, covering a variety of ages, clans and class backgrounds (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). The strategies of the two meeting groups worked and the non-profit was established. Yoshihama and Carr (1997) saw this as a measure of the FPAR model's success.

Yoshihama and Carr (1997) described their reasoning for using PAR, for modifying it to become FPAR, and they also discussed the complexities of the practical application of FPAR within their project (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). The strengths of

PAR are made clear. PAR takes action research further by focusing on the research process, which is iterative and allows for the participants, who are students in the process, to become teachers (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). Due to this nature, PAR also facilitates the building of social networks among its participants and reduces social isolation (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). Thus, the benefits of the model of participatory practice extend beyond just the network of participants. In this sense, PAR is more sustainable in its collective action because the knowledge and skills are not just acquired, but also shared throughout the process (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). Additionally, PAR researchers become facilitators who help raise participants' awareness and encourage them to identify and strategize to address their own problems (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997).

Yoshihama and Carr (1997) adapted PAR using “a feminist epistemology which posits that those marginalized are best able to analyze the circumstances of their own oppression” (p. 92).

The authors were purposeful about maximizing Hmong women's participation throughout the project with interesting results. They focused on their participants as co-researchers and valued their local expertise (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). They also took steps to remove barriers to participation. For many Hmong women, the double or triple day nature of their lives (i.e. many of the participants were responsible for household chores, childcare, and often outside employment) limited their access to participation in the project (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). To address this, they held the workshops at an easily accessible location, provided food and provided childcare (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). They also used outreach strategies such as hiring a graduate student to network with the community in both informal and formal venues. Through advice collected

during outreach, they were able to choose an appropriate workshop location and appropriate food to meet the needs of the participants (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). Additionally, during Phase I, they hired a bilingual Hmong facilitator to increase majority participation.

Yoshihama and Carr (1997) found that participation was fluid; events often affected who participated and when. Flexibility was especially needed to accommodate participants' multiple roles (i.e. double and triple day) (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997).

Tensions arose from the application of FPAR. Research control was more distributed, meaning there was less control for the university-based researchers than they typically experienced (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). In fact, since the Phase I workshops were conducted by someone else, the Hmong facilitator, the actual project staff were relegated to caretaking roles like ordering the food and setting up the space (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). This did not promote the "co-researcher" aspect of PAR. Also, the workshop participants regularly revisited the research areas of focus creating challenges for the authors (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). Given the complications of outreach and distribution of control, the authors questioned when to have participation and how much should participants have. Another concern around participation was the fact that Hmong culture is patriarchal which resulted in unequal access to participation due to gender biases (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). That begged the questions, "Do women benefit from PAR as much as men and do they experience different costs for participating?" (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). Also, the notion of "community interest" conflicted with "women's interests" because of the patriarchal culture (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). It was

difficult to balance since the focus was women's issues (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). Just as measuring poverty at the household level masks gender inequalities, defining groups of people as a community can obscure important differences within the group and locality. Just as measuring poverty at the household level masks gender inequalities, defining groups of people as a community can obscure. Also the assumption of shared interests common to the concept of "community" further obstructs our notice of "power laden relations of class, gender, clan, and age" (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997, p. 99). In the end, the authors defined community as constant negotiation across varying and often conflicting interests (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997). Again, though Yoshihama and Carr never use the term "intersectionality theory", similarities between their feminist epistemology and that theory are apparent.

A significant distinction between conventional PAR and FPAR is that FPAR does not make the assumption that the oppressors and the oppressed exist in discrete social groups. FPAR facilitates the challenge of the male-dominated social order. Specifically, women are frequently connected within the same groups to those who perpetuate the male-dominated social order that discriminates against women.

Therefore, when analyzing the relationship between women and poverty, it is important to consider poverty in all its complexity (i.e. looking at individual women's access to resources and opportunities) instead of oversimplifying poverty (i.e. neoliberal conception of income-related poverty within household units). Looking at poverty in that light allows one to see that even in the presence of household wealth, women can be impoverished in terms of their capacity and vulnerability to income-related poverty.

Additionally, because this complex view of poverty is gendered and encompasses difference, it is an ideal concept to be integrated in feminist participatory practice approaches to increase women's wealth and resilience.

Feminist participatory action research (FPAR) can be a successful model for increasing women's wealth and resilience, as evidenced by Yoshihama & Carr (1997). The resulting tensions, as discussed by Frisby, Maguire and Reid (2009), actually promote the deconstruction of male-dominant paradigms of power. Also, since the process includes an educational component which participants share with others outside of the research, FPAR is more sustainable and far-reaching than conventional research methods (Yoshihama & Carr, 1997).