

KEEPING FOOD MARKETS WORKING IN PESHAWAR, PAKISTAN

Policy options toolkit



ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

EAP	Expert Advisory Panel
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
GAIN	Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition
GRCN	Resilient Cities Network
HLPE	High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition
IPC	Integrated Food Security Phase Classification
KFMW	Keeping Food Markets Working
MUFPP	Milan Urban Food Policy Pact
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
SETSAN	Technical Secretariat for Food Security and Nutrition
SME	Small and Medium sized Enterprises
SUN	Scaling Up for Nutrition
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
VAM	Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping
WASH	Water Sanitation and Hygiene
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

ABOUT GAIN AND GAIN'S COVID-19 RESPONSE

The Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN) is a Swiss-based foundation launched at the UN in 2002 to tackle the human suffering caused by malnutrition. Working with governments, businesses and civil society, we aim to transform food systems so that they deliver more nutritious food for all people, especially the most vulnerable.

GAIN's Keeping Food Markets Working (KFMW) programme is an emergency response to the COVID-19 crisis, providing rapid support to food system workers, to small and medium enterprises supplying nutritious foods, and to keeping fresh food markets open. To find out more about this program see <https://www.gainhealth.org/impact/our-response-covid-19>.

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COVER PAGE PHOTOGRAPHS

Left: Vendor selling cherries at a market in Peshawar, Pakistan; Right: Vendors selling vegetables at a market in Peshawar, Pakistan
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1. INTRODUCTION

GAIN's policy and coordination work under the **Keeping Food Markets Working (KFMW)** programme, during and beyond COVID-19 focuses on collecting evidence and understanding urban food environments and the wider food systems in which they are embedded (See Appendix D). Efforts centre on **urban traditional food markets** as well as the **co-design of policy options** to be considered by policymakers in six cities, and/or urban counties¹. The six cities/urban counties are: Beira and Pemba (Mozambique), Machakos and Kiambu (Kenya) and Rawalpindi and Peshawar (Pakistan). These endeavours aim to enhance good governance, urban food and nutrition security, and market resilience—with an emphasis on vulnerable urban communities, including those on low incomes, while applying a gender lens.



Figure 1: Peshawar—Policy workshop 1, 6 June 2021

Between September 2020 and September 2021², GAIN adopted a **participatory approach** to its policy and coordination work. It engaged with a range of urban food systems stakeholders including policymakers, traditional food market vendors and market committees, and other small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs).

Activities included:

- i. Mapping stakeholders, urban food systems and food related governance.
- ii. Conducting Rapid Needs Assessments of the perceptions and practices of traditional urban market stakeholders under COVID-19, using vendor surveys, key informant interviews and focus groups with policymakers, vendors, women's groups, and SMEs, as well as desktop research and satellite imagery analysis³.
- iii. Sharing assessment feedback and co-designing policy options in two policy workshops (See Figure 1, Chapter 4 and Appendices A and B).

An **Expert Advisory Panel** comprising 12 members (See Appendix C), of which at least two are based in each country (Mozambique, Kenya, and Pakistan), are part of this GAIN initiative. The panel is an advisory body, providing the KFMW initiative the benefit of their diverse expertise, including in the areas of public health, food systems, food safety, small and medium sized (food related) enterprises, and urban governance. Eighty percent of the panel are women. Additionally, there are two GAIN co-chairs, Ann Trevenen-Jones⁴ who is based in the Netherlands and Obey Nkya, who based in Tanzania.

1 GAIN is also collaborating with local stakeholders, including local policymakers, traditional markets, and universities, to design a city level, food systems data dashboard (prototype), in Beira (Mozambique), Kiambu (Kenya) and Rawalpindi (Pakistan). This responds to the need for accessible and disaggregated food systems data at the city level, in 'one place', which policymakers and other stakeholders can use to better inform decisions and activities.

2 See Appendix A.

3 <https://www.gainhealth.org/impact/our-response-covid-19/effective-policy-making-and-coordination-during-pandemic/urban>

4 Sharelle Polack (GAIN, Switzerland) was a former co-chair until June 2021.

Policy options toolkits, like this one, are tailored to each city/urban county. These toolkits are designed to build on the understanding of the local context during COVID-19, to be attentive to stakeholder voices as well as local government mandates, budgets and any existing food and nutrition policy and to be practical. Four thematic policy areas with supporting activities and a selection of policy options, from which empowered local government (city/urban) policymakers can choose to address their prioritised challenges are presented in this toolkit.

Responses, successes and learnings during the pandemic and the way it has spotlighted the existing fragility of urban food systems presents an opportunity to act to reshape urban food systems towards equitable, inclusive, sustainable, and resilient systems that advance food and nutrition for all. Following the sharing of these toolkits with local policymakers, case studies will be developed as a means of more widely sharing the value and learnings of this policy and coordination work with other cities.

POLICY OPTIONS in this toolkit are a selection of actions or levers that strive to:

- i. Coherently connect, where possible, with existing food systems and nutrition policy strategies across government spheres as well as those explicitly or implicitly recognised in local government mandates, regulations and plans.
- ii. Be part of an emergency response that addresses the particularities of cities/urban counties and their food environments; while being attentive to those most vulnerable, like the urban poor, informal market vendors as well as being gender sensitive.
- iii. Foster present and future proactive, participatory 'one city' action by local policymakers and other urban food system stakeholders.

Where policy options are framed by the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda's commitment **to people, planet, prosperity, peace, and partnerships**.

2. URBAN FOOD SYSTEM CHALLENGES UNDER COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic together with the ensuing economic crisis have threatened public health and had an additional impact on food and nutrition security, particularly for the most vulnerable. Emergency responses are further hampered by insufficient reporting of the impact of the pandemic on women and children. COVID-19 has also worsened the impact of existing challenges, like climate change, issues of long, complex food supply chains, and inequality in urban communities. Additionally, pandemic responses like school closures, lockdowns and curfews have had unintended impacts e.g. cessation of regular school meals, job losses, increased food waste and disrupted access to food.

2.1 COVID-19 and urban traditional food markets

Urban traditional food markets, sometimes referred to as informal or wet markets, are a vital node in cities and urban areas food systems. These markets are closely linked to urban residents' food availability, accessibility (including affordability) and food safety, and hence support food security and nutrition, provide income and job opportunities—particularly for women and those with low incomes^{5,6}. However, markets also contribute to food loss and waste.

Urban traditional food markets are not uniform in shape, function, or situation along the formal-informal space. Many cities have formally mandated central retail, wholesale markets, or neighbourhood markets. However, there are also purely informal permanent and periodic markets that operate outside of local government jurisdiction, or markets that have extended beyond their formally gazetted areas. While these markets may look similar, they have unique governance needs and opportunities.

2.2 COVID-19, rapid urbanisation and Zero Hunger

Rapid urbanisation in sub-Saharan Africa and South-Asia places stresses on urban infrastructure. It drives demand for more affordable housing alongside improved water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) systems and for transforming local food systems. The way people intersect with the wider food system in urban areas differs from what is seen in rural communities in several aspects. For example: by types and diversity of available food; affordability and availability of convenient and processed foods; constraints to urban agriculture and dependence on long food supply chains extending outside the city. Furthermore, vulnerable urban communities, like those with low incomes, in Africa and South Asia, face an increased incidence of malnutrition from underweight, micronutrient deficiencies, and overweight/obesity, with tremendous impact on health and well-being⁷. For these reasons, progress towards achieving **Sustainable Development Goal 2 on Zero Hunger**—to end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture—has also been lagging. Additionally, during the **COVID-19** crisis, dietary diversity has decreased and child malnutrition and mortality—particularly in low- and middle-income countries—is expected to increase^{8,9}.

5 <https://www.ifpri.org/blog/growing-cities-growing-food-insecurity-how-protect-poor-during-rapid-urbanization>

6 <https://data.unwomen.org/features/three-ways-contain-covid-19s-impact-informal-women-workers>

7 <https://www.gainhealth.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/gain-mufpp-ruaf-a-menu-of-actions-to-shape-urban-food-environments-for-improved-nutrition-october-2019.pdf>

8 <http://www.fao.org/3/cb4474en/online/cb4474en.html>

9 <https://www.nature.com/articles/s43016-021-00319-4>

2.3 COVID-19, local government and urban food systems

The pandemic has placed an enormous burden on local governments service resources and budgets. Local governments are instrumental in providing an enabling environment for all residents, within the administrative area. They are at the forefront of urban planning and development and delivering essential basic services including water, sanitation, health, food systems, education, and mobility (for more details on food systems and urban food environments, see Appendix D). As such, local governments are closely involved in the emergency response to the impact of COVID-19 and further designing policy and coordination tools to support long-term resilience beyond the pandemic.

As part of efforts to overcome challenges arising from COVID-19, local governments, in cities and urban counties, have been coordinating with national and provincial governments alongside initiatives from local and/or international organisations. For example, on expanded forms of social safety nets, reduced/ temporary removal of taxes and bank charges, communication campaigns, and nutritional and medical support services. Even so, many of those in the informal sector, like food market workers and street vendors, have not benefited sufficiently from these measures because of their informality (lack of necessary records/papers).

Within local governments, policymakers have a variety of mandated powers and policy options that can be better shaped to respond to the pandemic and mitigate impacts on food security and nutrition. Applied principles of good governance alongside other policy options like regulation, urban planning, economic incentives, public procurement and communication campaigns, can help reshape the food system within cities/urban counties. A key component of this is the routine and quality multi-stakeholder engagement by policymakers which fosters a dynamic space for the address of equity, inclusivity and innovation. Stakeholders should encompass those elected and administrative in the public sector, the private sector, including SMEs and public and private partnerships, community-based organisations, non-government/non-profit organisations, research centres and academics.

Ultimately, local policy and coordination around emergency responses to the pandemic also contribute to pursuing the realisation of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals and addressing urban **resilience** i.e., the capacity for people, nature and their social, economic and environmental systems, to cope with sudden change and continue to develop. It involves mitigation, adaption, transformation and innovation, and learning¹⁰.

¹⁰ Resilience description informed by Stockholm Resilience Center interpretation. See: <https://www.stockholmresilience.org/research/research-news/2015-02-19-what-is-resilience.html>

3. PAKISTAN: PESHAWAR AND COVID-19



Figure 2: Location of Peshawar and Rawalpindi

3.1 Pakistan

Pakistan is the fastest urbanising country in South Asia, with about 40% of the population presently living in urban areas¹¹. Appropriate public policies are vital to realising the potential of a beneficial relationship between urbanisation and economic growth¹². Poverty, environmental degradation, and inequalities are a challenge for Pakistan, alongside inadequate urban planning.¹² Over the past 15 years, 23 million people have been moved out of poverty—a decline in poverty of 40%¹². However, there are concerns that COVID-19 is eroding this reduction in poverty and driving an economic slow-down, especially in the agricultural sector.¹³ This challenge adds to the on-going impacts on health, well-being and food security driven by climate change and conflict. Malnutrition statistics are worrying. In 2020, approximately 7% of children under five years of age in Pakistan

suffered from wasting, and 37% from stunting. At the same time 41% of women of reproductive age were living with anaemia, while 7% of all adults were obese¹³.

In early February 2020, a State of Emergency was declared as swarms of desert locusts in Eastern Pakistan (Punjab province) decimated crops, including wheat (a staple) in the main agricultural area. Around this time, reported cases of COVID-19 were increasing rapidly (late February/ March 2020). Initial response measures to contain the spread of the pandemic included wide ranging lockdowns, market closures, restrictions on mobility, bans on communal events such as weddings, quarantines, and border closures. Mindful of the negative economic impact associated with strict lockdowns, a series of 'smart lockdowns' followed. These limited stricter lockdowns and enforcement to COVID-19 'hot spots'.

Examples of some of the regulation and relief initiatives undertaken included: i) regulation and coordination response (under the National Coordination Committee and National Command and Operation Centre); ii) Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF), which partnered with organisations; iii) Ehsaas Emergency Cash Program, launched by the government, which provided cash relief to millions of families with daily wage earners; and iv) Twitter information campaign lead by the Health Ministry. As of October 2021, Pakistan also continues to rapidly implement a wide-reaching vaccine programme¹⁴.

3.2 Peshawar

Peshawar is the provincial capital of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province. It is strategically located near the Afghanistan-Pakistan border and connects key areas of western and north-eastern Pakistan. Peshawar is an import and export hub for international food trade between Pakistan and Afghanistan, with for example a large volume of potatoes, tomatoes and onions imported into Pakistan and meat exported out to Afghanistan. The city population of almost 2 million people¹⁵ is mostly Pashtun, and rising rapidly, in part due to the influx of migrants from Afghanistan¹⁶. Poverty is high with many people living in informal settlements (slums)

11 https://www.pk.undp.org/content/pakistan/en/home/library/development_policy/covid-19-pakistan--socio-economic-framework.html

12 <https://www.pk.undp.org/content/dam/pakistan/docs/DevelopmentPolicy/DAP%20Vol5,%20Issue4%20English.pdf>

13 <http://www.fao.org/documents/card/en/c/cb4474en>

14 <https://covid19.who.int/region/emro/country/pk>

15 <https://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/final-results-census-2017>

16 <https://www.unicef.org/pakistan/media/2956/file/Profiling%20of%20Slums%20and%20Underserved%20Areas%20of%20Peshawar%20City%20of%20Khyber%20Pakhtunkhwa%20Province%20of%20Pakistan.pdf>

which lack access to clean drinking water and sanitation, and where the incidence of diseases like diarrhoea, tuberculosis (TB), malaria and respiratory illness is high¹⁶. Children under five years of age have been found to be especially vulnerable in these settlements.¹⁶ Peshawar experienced several smart lockdowns during the pandemic, impacting the health, well-being, food security and prosperity of many residents.

3.2.1 FINDINGS FROM GAIN'S RAPID NEEDS ASSESSMENT

In early 2021, traditional food market vendors from a selection of city markets in Peshawar were surveyed as part of GAIN's Rapid Needs Assessment. All vendors surveyed were men, who sold a variety of foods—from fruits and vegetables to meat. Mandated wearing of facemasks was the most favoured pandemic response measure, while almost 60% considered communication strategies to be effective. Most vendors reported proactively cleaning surfaces and reminding customers to maintain social distancing. All of those surveyed had seen their customers decreasing substantially in number during the pandemic. A few vendors reported changes in supply, but nothing significant¹⁷.

“This market has been here for more than 200 years. My grandfather had bought this shop. I am fourth generation continuing our ancestral business...”

—FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT [VENDOR], PESHAWAR

The qualitative Rapid Needs Assessment¹⁸, comprising key informant interviews and focus group discussions, provided greater insight into the complexity of food and nutrition within the traditional markets of Peshawar. Most vendors described their market business as a family vocation that was often inherited. Markets were viewed as a vital social hub by the wide selection of participants (vendors, SMEs and policymakers), with many different people reported to visit the markets. Markets were also regarded as places where information, primarily about food, could be shared. There were a few reports of misinformation about COVID-19 negatively impacting sales—e.g. rumours that chickens sold in the market were infected with COVID-19. Government safety measures, like sanitisation at market entry points, were considered by vendors and market committees to be ineffective and more about public relations.

The general view was that government was not meeting its responsibilities to the markets, by for example, supporting market workers, by using taxes to re-invest in the market, or by maintaining market infrastructure. Vendors and market committees held strong views about government enforcement being too strict, with heavy fines and market raids. Taxes, licence fees and pandemic measures were amongst the reasons given for vendors selling illegally in the markets (and paying bribes) and/or outside the market gates (and often forcibly moved). Numerous vendors said that they suffered from poor mental health because of the pandemic, response regulations, and the negative impacts these caused on their finances. Some vendors were forced to close their stalls/shops, while many said they had become dependent on day-to-day income and loans. The worst impacted said they could not pay for their basic utilities and rent. Vendors also found that government COVID-19 relief packages were inaccessible to them.

“We can't feed our families and you [government] is putting taxes over everything.”

—KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW [FOOD OFFICER], PESHAWAR

17 <https://www.gainhealth.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/covid-19-vendor-survey-factsheet-markets-peshawar-pakistan.pdf>.

18 <https://www.gainhealth.org/resources/reports-and-publications/covid-19-qualitative-assessment-factsheet>

3.2.2 INSIGHTS FROM POLICY WORKSHOPS

Engagements during both policy workshops in Peshawar confirmed the findings of the Rapid Needs Assessments and provided insights into the current food environment and pandemic circumstances. Workshop 1 participants comprised a variety of urban food environment stakeholders from vendors to SMEs, and government officials. Workshop 2 focused on policymakers with an emphasis on local government officials. Policy option responses were co-designed during both workshops (See Chapter 4 and Appendix A).

Five core problems were prioritised by participants in the policy option workshops (See Appendix B). These were i) poor market infrastructure and inadequate services e.g. electricity, water, sanitation, and waste services, ii) lack of proper storage which also increased food waste, iii) price instability of food items which was linked to import/export dynamics and to the practice of commission agents providing loans, at various rates, to farmers. The cost of these loans (and the lack of insurance for both parties, if a crop failed or was destroyed) in turn informed food prices at the farm gate, iv) corruption, poor enforcement of laws (from regulation of permits to security) and lack of governance in the markets, and v) financial crisis (and related mental health impacts) of daily wage workers especially those who sold highly perishable foods like fruits and vegetables as well as those with ad hoc, informal jobs linked to the markets.

3.3 Peshawar: governance of markets

Municipal Corporations regulate under the district administration and are guided by local government Act and the provincial food safety Act across the country. Whereas the Cantonment Boards operate under The Department of Military Lands and Cantonments (ML & C) all over Pakistan. Cantonment Boards are autonomous bodies working under the administration of ML&C Dept. Cantonments are classified into three categories (A, B & C) depending on the size of the civilian population. Similarly, Cantonment Boards, as per their classification, have 3 to 15 authorised members that include equal numbers of elected and nominated members. Two key acts, around food related matters, are referenced inside the cantonment areas are, the “Cantonment Act (1924) and the Cantonment Pure Food Act (1966).

Peshawar city market’s locations and vendors /carts location are controlled by the Municipal Corporation, while the cantonment area within the city falls under the Cantonment Board (local for each city where a cantonment is located). Key legislation includes: the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act (2019) and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Food Safety and Halal Food Authority Act (2014). The legal framework for price control and food safety is separate from the mandate for the municipal corporation. Peshawar has a cantonment board, one of 44 Cantonment Boards across the country. Cantonment areas of Peshawar are managed by the Peshawar cantonment board accordingly.

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government recently permitted local fruit and vegetable markets to trade from designated places on the roadsides, across the province to facilitate uninterrupted supply. This aimed to provide relief from price inflation and facilitate available, affordable, and accessible fruits and vegetables. In turn, this has disrupted the business model of those who buy from farmers and sell to vendors in the markets at higher, unregulated rates. Market committees now bid for fruits and vegetables in the early mornings at the farm gate. Food grades and prices are determined and then shared with district administrations for final price regulation. Unlike these food items, grain, poultry, meat and fish markets are privately operated. Deputy Commissioners, who represent district leadership, oversee the working of all markets either through market committees (fruit and vegetable markets) or other regulatory frameworks e.g. price control and food safety (other food markets).

4. POLICY OPTIONS FOR PESHAWAR

Various policy options or levers can be adapted, modified, and applied to transform Peshawar's food environment during the pandemic, as an emergency response, especially aimed at keeping urban traditional markets working. In designing and implementing this emergency response, the importance of and longer-term commitment to the vision of a more equitable, inclusive, sustainable, and resilient food environment that has the capacity to advance healthy diets for all needs to remain at the centre. Of the numerous available policy options e.g. regulation, public procurement, urban planning, regulations, zoning, multi-stakeholder engagement and communications and information campaigns, only a selection are feasible or timely in a crisis like this pandemic. Existing options can be expanded or adapted. Typically, policymakers will need to employ more than one option in response to the challenges identified, both simple and complex. Additionally, national pandemic measures impact policy options in Peshawar's food environment (See Chapter 3 and Appendix D). Flexibility, learnings, and examples of best practices are also needed.

Insights from GAIN's Rapid Needs Assessment provided a foundation on which stakeholders, including policymakers could co-design policy options for response. Understanding the wider public health, food security and nutrition situation as well as local experiences and types of foods sold by female and male vendors in Peshawar's traditional food markets, for example, facilitated informed tailoring of policy options. (See Chapter 3. Rapid Needs Assessment Factsheets are also available—refer Appendix A)


Given the emphasis in GAIN's KFMW COVID-19 initiative, themes and policy options are directed at actions policymakers can adopt and/or further explore. **Four themes** with associated policy and coordination activities emerged from the Rapid Needs Assessment and policy option workshops, with stakeholders in Peshawar (See Table 1). These themes are:

- i. Good governance and urban food environments.
- ii. Knowing your city.
- iii. Mobilised, food proactive city.
- iv. Externally networked city.

Icons associated with each of these themes can be found in Table 1. These serve as visual cues to highlight themes and the different linkages between themes and the range of co-designed policy options (See Table 2).

Stakeholders identified and defined specific problem statements. Perceived causes and impacts together with stakeholder roles and responsibilities, as well as prioritised problem-solution areas were critically explored during the workshops. Appendix B provides an example of a problem statement and a problem tree (Figure 3) that were developed during Peshawar's Policy workshop 2. Table 2 presents a selection of prioritised key problems alongside possible policy options—as co-designed.

Table 1: Urban food environment policy and coordination themes

Theme	Description and activities
 <p>Good governance and the urban food environment</p>	<p>Good governance, in the context of the urban food environment, encompasses a diversity of resident communities, dietary preferences and environmental contexts. During a crisis, like the pandemic, it may seem as if enhancing existing and/or developing new, good governance tools and practice are less of a priority. However, taking time during response planning and coordination to be clear about good governance provides a vital foundation and leadership for responses. A reminder that this does not need to be a lengthy process or about extensive documentation. Rather the emphasis is on coherence and been practical.</p> <p>Three valuable good governance interpretations are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a people and planet specific, nutritious food environment vision. commitment statement. principles. <p>These three interpretations, help guide daily, routine public sector practice, show leadership and can inspire and harness urban residents, food market committees and organisations’—whether non-profit, public, or private sector. Examples of visions are: ‘Good Food Charter’s’ like those for Bristol (https://bristolgoodfood.org/). Scaling up for Nutrition (SUN: https://scalingupnutrition.org) is another country-level resource which already supports in Kenya, Mozambique and Pakistan, SUN aims to inspire ‘new ways of working collaboratively to end malnutrition, in all its forms....[with government ...uniting] people—from civil society, the United Nations, donors, business and researchers—in a collective effort to improve nutrition’. (See: https://scalingupnutrition.org/about-sun/the-vision-and-principles-of-sun).</p> <p>It is useful to critically think of how these interpretations intersect the local, urban sustainable development goals strategy. For further guidance for local policymakers about the SDGs and cities see: https://sdgcities.guide/</p> <p>Principles of ‘good governance’ to consider with a traditional food market lens are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation and representation (e.g. inclusive, equitable and gender attentive multi-stakeholder platforms—informal or formal). • Fair and due process with respect to ‘appointments’ to technical and management food and nutrition committees. • Effective, efficient, and quality service delivery and public asset management, informed by best practice and appreciation of the local, urban food environment as a social, economic, and environmental investment. • Knowledge empowerment, and communication. • Accountability, transparency, and learning. • Resilience and sustainability: with an openness to innovation, systems thinking and transformation e.g. circular, regenerative food systems and urban planning market synergies with, for example, roads, transport, energy, and WASH infrastructure. • Respect for human rights (including the right to safe and nutritious food). • Respect for the law and ethical conduct.



Know your city: people, food, and environment

Know and understand the character and dimensions of your city's/urban community's food environment within the administrative area. The focus here is urban residents, food security and nutrition, specifically around urban traditional food markets and vulnerable communities. Examples of theme activities are:

A. Health, food security and nutrition data

Having information about residents—who they are, their health and food security and nutritional well-being—and the food environment, gives policymakers a better picture of who is and may become vulnerable, gender sensitivities, food, and nutrition status, localised climate change, needs and opportunities as well as data gaps. As important as having this information in one, accessible place for as many stakeholders, as possible, to update and use. Peshawar, like many urban counties and cities in Africa and Asia, lacks comprehensive, easily accessible data on the food environment. There is an opportunity to start identifying and bringing together as much robust, relevant data, as quickly as possible and to form relationships with those who can help support data collection and access.

Secondary data about the local population (e.g. size, age, gender, income, serviced households, health etc.) are often available even if not always most recent. National statistics and local government databases are useful data resources as are internal government departments (e.g. public health, agriculture, development and planning, water and sanitation). It is valuable to know about the number of vendors, gender and age composition of vendors and market committees, number and type of traditional markets, food diversity and prices, in the administrative area.

Less available and accessible are food security and nutritional well-being data specific to local, urban administrative governance areas. Local universities as well as organisations, like the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) and World Food Programme (WFP) can provide secondary data and facilitate rapid assessments and primary data collection, at the city or urban community level—this is especially so during crises like this pandemic.

The National Nutrition Survey (2018) (<https://www.unicef.org/pakistan/media/2826/file/National%20Nutrition%20Survey%202018%20Volume%201.pdf>), is a recent and valuable evidence source for policymakers—including those at city level. Other data sources, at a city, sub-national and national level, include: reliefweb (<https://reliefweb.int>), annual *State of the Food Security and Nutrition* reports (<http://www.fao.org/publications/sofi/2021/en>), the Food Systems Dashboard (<https://foodsystemsdashboard.org>), Integrated Food Security phase Classification (IPC: <http://www.ipcinfo.org>), WFP's Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping (VAM) alongside its Hunger Hub (<https://dataviz.vam.wfp.org/>) and the World Health Organization (WHO: <https://www.who.int>).

"KNOW YOUR CITY..." continued on next page



Know your city: people, food, and environment

(CONTINUED)

B. Map: local food environments

Maps of different types of food and nutrition related information can be partially mapped and/or in map layers which can be overlaid to show synergies, challenges, and opportunities. This supports data and better informs policy and coordination decision-making during the pandemic and beyond (as part of an on-going sustainability and resilience tool). Mapping can be a high technology or low technology activity. Data collectors can use mobile phones and google maps, satellite maps, printed street maps or own drawn sketch maps. Everyone can be part of data collection even everyday residents and informal vendors. This type of mapping is informed by urban planning and community asset mapping (see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_tkLFCJUjYI). To gather and coordinate the flow of information, consider arrangements with a mobile phone company (e.g. toll free texts to share data), community radio, market champions, SME business networks or working with the wide network of community workers (e.g. from the Department of Health) and harnessing school networks. Consider mapping some or all, of the following:

- i. type and size of markets.
- ii. location of and connections between markets.
- iii. urban food relationships (including urban development plans) between traditional markets and/or for example: street vendors, low-income neighbourhoods, public-private-non-profit food procurement programmes (e.g. schools with feeding schemes), larger and increasingly more formal food markets, urban and peri-urban agriculture, transportation routes, community health clinics, and/or municipal waste disposal.
- iv. urban and peri-urban and rural food supply chains. This includes food production (location, type and seasonality of foods), processing and transportation, nutritional information and food prices over time. Attention should especially be paid to staples and local and indigenous, nutritious foods.
- v. stakeholders e.g. list and map the type and role/s of a diversity of food environment stakeholders from policymakers, government (National/Provincial/Local) departments, non-profit and private sector food programmes, schools, hospitals, research institutes, informal market vendors, market committees and SMEs.
- vi. public policies, regulations, programmes, budgets and financial tools as well as communication campaigns.
- vii. public assets that could be of value e.g. green space, urban agriculture (some could be private), buildings, car parks, schools.
- viii. social capital e.g. ask residents to voluntarily map activities, like food sharing, bartering, pop-up food gardens/stalls, alternating shopping trips with neighbours activities.

C. Develop a monitoring, evaluation, and learnings framework

It is important to develop and/or align with existing key performance indicators (including proxy indicators where necessary), to monitor, evaluate and to learn about the performance of policy option responses—especially amidst a highly changeable socio-economic, public health and environment circumstance. This can also build towards a more comprehensive resilience framework. For practical guidance on how to set up your own framework, policymakers may find the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP) Monitoring Framework Handbook and Resource Pack useful. This brings together the principles and real urban food systems experience of the MUFPP together with the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the RUAF Global Partnership on Sustainable Urban Agriculture and Food Systems. (<https://www.milanurbanfoodpolicycompact.org/the-milan-urban-food-policy-pact-monitoring-framework-handbook-and-resource-pack/>)

Theme	Description and activities
 <p>Mobilised, food proactive city</p>	<p>Mobilise the diversity of food system stakeholders including traditional market vendors, urban/peri-urban agricultural producers and residents to proactively be part of the local food environment's pandemic response, sustainability, and resilience. Policymakers can support and coordinate this by promoting the accessible, digital e-governance tools, regular community engagement, and sharing information and communication. They can encourage two-way sharing of information about the urban food environment, facilitated by, for example: i) peer-to-peer groups (existing and new) which can offer access to vulnerable communities, such as those with HIV/AIDs, the elderly, mobile informal vendors; and ii) establishment of toll-free phone numbers. Policymakers can also critically consider how existing arrangements e.g. market vendor fees and zoning, can be restructured to support emergency food or cash relief.</p>
 <p>Externally networked city</p>	<p>Food environments—in cities and urban communities—are unique. However, there are best practices, learnings, tools and innovations that cities/urban counties can share with each other, and which can be modified and adapted.</p> <p>Possible city networks and platforms to consider are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP): See: https://www.milanurbanfoodpolicypact.org • Food Action Cities. See: https://foodactioncities.org • Resilient Cities Network (GRCN): See: https://resilientcitiesnetwork.org/ • ICLEI—Local Governments for Sustainability: See: https://iclei.org • C40 Cities (C40). See: https://www.c40.org • United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). See: https://www.uclg.org

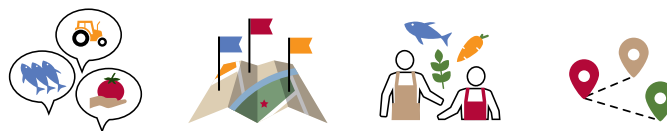


Table 2: Prioritised urban traditional food market challenges and co-designed policy options

Market pandemic challenges and resilience focus area	Policy options
<p>Poor market infrastructure and inadequate services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By government: insufficient investment in infrastructure and service provision e.g. electricity, water, sanitation, hygiene (WASH) and waste services. • Lack of storage for food leading to increased waste and financial losses. • Insufficient ownership by vendors and market committees to help manage the infrastructure and services in the markets (within their roles). • Lack of security (infrastructure and service) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public and private (and non-profit) partnerships for infrastructure and operational co-designing. Need to revise and put in place principles of partnerships with accountability and transparency mechanisms, as well as to streamline process. • Inclusive multi-stakeholder engagement: establish a combined management stakeholder team (entity) with a clear electoral system of non-government stakeholders and management processes. Stakeholders include market committees and relevant local government service departments including health and safety officials, who can support investment and management e.g. about emergency response, market policy, planning and coordination, market design, market operational management—including of market essential services, food safety, permits and fees. Engagements need to be regular. • Where no formally designed market committees exist, these should be established, working with market vendors, with clear structure and functions and election processes in each market. • Design for services and security: how best to provide basic services that can be easily maintained, are reliable and cost effective (economically, socially, and environmentally). Consider options like, renewable energy and security cameras. Cameras also suggested as means of surveillance of COVID-19 safety protocol compliance. • Design/re-design specifically for food quality, safety and reduced and/or regenerative food waste systems e.g. prioritise address of WASH (e.g. options like water filtration plants) and cold room and dry storage infrastructure and related services. This should aim to reduce loss of food quality and food waste, and to promote access to safe and nutritious, fresh food while also facilitating pandemic and personal hygiene alongside compliance with other public health regulations. • Review infrastructure design that supports regenerative food waste options supported by business models linking markets to waste management services and/or agriculture to support production. This may require review of legislation around food safety and waste to maximise opportunity but also ensure compliance. • Establish an internal public sector technical committee (across departments and including agriculture, urban planning and development and WASH) to support coordinated service provision to markets and planned WASH infrastructure and cold room and dry storage. • Training of vendors, SMEs (e.g. transporters) and market champions about food loss and spoilage as well as food waste. • Provision of short, regular technical training support for market committees to support their management roles; Training also of authorities to better sensitise them to how the markets work in practice, their needs and pressures.



Market pandemic challenges and resilience focus area

Policy options

Government management (permits, fees, taxes, regulations) of markets and vendors

- Transparent, accountable, and consistent enforcement of regulation—that is also not excessive e.g. high fines.
- Robust, capacitated market committees with legitimacy to provide governance and management of the markets in partnership with authorities.
- Anti-corruption programme supported by market committees and toll free, anonymous reporting phone number.
- Review of permits, fees and taxes re: markets and vendors. How best to structure these to encourage a stable, safe, inclusive, and thriving business environment? What incentives? How to advocate within the public sector for monies accrued from these financial tools to be re-invested in the markets e.g. infrastructure, maintenance, innovation, emergency COVID-19 WASH investments, technical and management training of market committees and vendors, communications.

Insufficiently planned and coordinated food system, including, network of formal and informal urban traditional food markets.

- Between markets
- Links with farmers
- Role of commission agents

- Consider how to improve the market food system, better connecting formal and informally recognised markets as well as local agricultural producers, using existing resources and scoping potential for development (supported by public and public and private/ nonprofit partnerships) in Peshawar.
- Emergency response: quick wins and trade-offs e.g. recognising roadside vendors (especially fruits and vegetable vendors) as key to linking producers and markets and providing residents with consistent access to safe and nutritious food at affordable prices.
- Map networks of markets and food specific 'routes' to markets (See Table 1). Review synergies and where possible shorten food chains, especially of core staples and nutritious foods. Design registration system and supporting legal framework for farmers, other suppliers and vendors.
- Use communication campaign to also foster better connectivity between markets, and producers—making food more available to residents and to share information of value to vendors e.g. food price trends, production updates in peri-urban and rural areas and as per cross-border routes.
- Review the role and practices of commission agents. How best to optimize their role in the food system, to stabilise prices, enhance access to food in the city, support farmers and to provide an improved business model for all.



Market pandemic challenges and resilience focus area

Policy options

Further unlock food systems potential with urban traditional food markets as a key role-player.

- Improve and streamline clear policy and procedures for public procurement.
- Develop public procurement principles around nutrition and priority purchasing from urban traditional markets. Use these to also inspire private sector procurement.
- Public procurement opportunities: secure contracts with vendors and SMEs e.g. transporters to purchase percentage of perishable foods that would otherwise go unsold. Food can be used for school feeding schemes as well as hospital meal programmes, municipal canteens etc.
- Mobilise public and private procurement, of staples and nutritious foods, to routinely procure from markets and local farmers, as a means of absorbing what could be lost or wasted and supporting the market economy (resilience measure).
- Engage with market committees, health and education stakeholders in the public and private sector, to find a way of ensuring school-going children still receive nutritious meals when schools are shut. Use mapping (see Table 1) to explore possible spaces that can be used, within regulations, to enable access to these meals. Similarly, with respect to the ill, disabled, maternal women and children under 5 years of age.
- Use mobile technology to communicate and promote access to information about local food sources, food prices and local alternatives that are nutritious and desirable. This should also be used to communicate where food, like meals for the vulnerable can be accessed e.g. maternal women at clinics, or school children when schools are closed.
- Explore food sharing schemes to support well-being of vulnerable communities and access to healthy, safe diets for all.
- Consider innovative processes and technologies that reduce food loss and waste e.g. cool rooms and dried produce.
- Inclusive multi-stakeholder engagement: Vendors, Market Committees, and other stakeholders when reviewing options and innovations.

Urban agriculture

- View as a social safety net feature e.g. essential 'kitchen gardens' for sustenance and resilience.
- Align urban planning to support small gardens for sustenance and better use of urban public spaces.
- Promote school, work, hospital, clinics, municipal and other nutritious, climate smart food gardens.
- Engage a range of stakeholders in choice of 'seeds (foods)' for 'kitchen gardens' and technical assistance.
- Encourage sense of community and nutrition, through campaigns: sharing of food from 'kitchen gardens' and peer-to-peer sharing of knowledge about the gardens and safe, nutritious foods.
- Promote organic gardening and composting; also consider links to food waste in markets to support composting.



Market pandemic challenges and resilience focus area

Policy options

Communications

- Campaigns to foster knowledge and on-going awareness of: food safety, COVID-19 safety measures (like social distancing) and other public health challenges, regenerative food waste opportunities, better cold room storage practices, technical and business management support and information, innovations and financial-social safety net relief.
- Communication channels: social media, WhatsApp / texting, mobile phone messaging (implemented ready to convey COVID-19 information—can be expanded and diversified to support food systems and urban traditional food markets), peer to peer relations and market champions, pamphlets, and 'durable' posters.

Loss of income, jobs and purchasing power (vendors, consumers and those in market related SMEs).

Financial and mental health stress. Insufficient fiscal and emergency social safety net response or access for vendors (for

- Financial and management package that supports vendors returning to the market. Possible consideration of formalising small vendor-market units outside the market but with WASH support as a means of enhancing food system connectivity and resilience and supporting vendors and related SMEs that lost their income/jobs.
- Consider designing a public works programme with national government as short-term income/job relief for those impacted; accompanied by skills transfer where possible and aligned with priorities of local government.
- Start multi-stakeholder and financial institutions dialogues to provide financial management support, debt relief and other options. This should also connect with participatory market governance and administrative management support from local government.
- Review of market and other vendor fees as well as fees for basic service provision like energy and WASH to provide a supportive business environment with incentives. Consider public health, food security and nutritional wellbeing as well as social support value trade-offs of reduced or otherwise restructured fees.
- Actively assist those who do not have all the necessary documentation and/or may appear above the income threshold line to apply for social safety net support and connect them with networks of private, public and non-profit support schemes where possible (including support with communications and market committee outreach).
- Raise awareness of relief and support options including mental health services, through information and communication campaigns and include peer to peer resources, all municipal departments and other government programmes e.g. community health workers.
- Through equitable representation, within the cultural context, in market committees, government departments and multi-stakeholder food system compositions—work towards inclusivity and equity re: women and youth (See Table 1)
- Policymakers should be generally proactive in this regard and sensitive to vendors who may fall outside of the usual market governance, health and financial processes.

5. CLOSING COMMENTS

The policy approach to keeping food markets working should include the cornerstone of food systems ‘good governance’, while also being dynamic and able to evolve. **It’s important to start somewhere, to keep a record of the journey** and to remember that in the real world, and especially during crises, themes and options are never perfect or complete. Start collecting information, mapping a city’s food system and stakeholders, set-up informal/formal multi-stakeholder platforms and technical advisory and management committees (some will be long lasting, and some will be an emergency, temporary response as needed). Interpretation of priorities (what can be done, by whom and when), toolkit options and the ways in which stakeholders engage are for the local policymakers of Peshawar and residents to determine.

While this toolkit emphasises an emergency response, that is attentive to gender and especially for vulnerable people living in Peshawar, this experience can also present a valuable learning journey for other cities and urban communities—with successes, opportunities, and challenges—to build from and share. The uniqueness of Peshawar and its food system context are to be recognised, though where similarities with other cities exist, similar policy options may apply.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Details of policy options activities in Peshawar

Activity	Timeline	Notes
Mapping: Stakeholders, urban food systems and food related governance	October 2020–July 2021	Initial mapping updated ahead of each activity e.g. Rapid Needs Assessments and policy options workshops
Rapid needs assessment: Desktop studies and satellite imagery analysis	November 2020–February 2021	Desktop (internal) to support design of assessment and policy co-design process, and better understanding of context during pandemic. Satellite imagery analysis shared in policy option workshops.
Rapid needs assessment: Vendor surveys, key informant interviews and focus groups	December 2020–March 2021	Factsheets available: Survey + Interviews and focus groups. Download from: https://www.gainhealth.org/impact/our-response-covid-19/effective-policymaking-and-coordination-during-pandemic Or ask GAIN Pakistan
Sharing assessment feedback and co-designing policy options: Policy options workshop 1 Policy options workshop 2	6 th May 2021 6 th June 2021 27 th July 2021	Virtual event Participants: Policymakers In-person event Participants: Vendors and market committee representatives In-person event Participants: Policymakers and vendors

Appendix B: Examples of problem statements and problem trees

Below are examples of a problem statement and problem tree as developed by stakeholders in the Peshawar, Policy Option Workshops. This multi-stakeholder process was adapted from the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) toolkit which policymakers may like to explore further. See: ODI Toolkit, Successful Communication, A Toolkit for Researchers and Civil Society Organisations. www.odi.org/publications/5258-problem-tree-analysis.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Hold of commission agents in the markets: Commission agents of fruits and vegetables take most of the profit and the farmers/producers do not get reasonable profit because of gap between the consumer and the producer. There is a lot of competition between the commission agents (CAs) in the central wet market of Peshawar as there are around 200-300 of them which grants them price setting powers over the markets. The Agricultural Department should develop farmer markets near the farms to reduce the gap between the producers so that they get more profit and consumers so that they pay reasonable prices. Additionally, the market committee should organize and regulate the working mechanisms of commission agents legally.

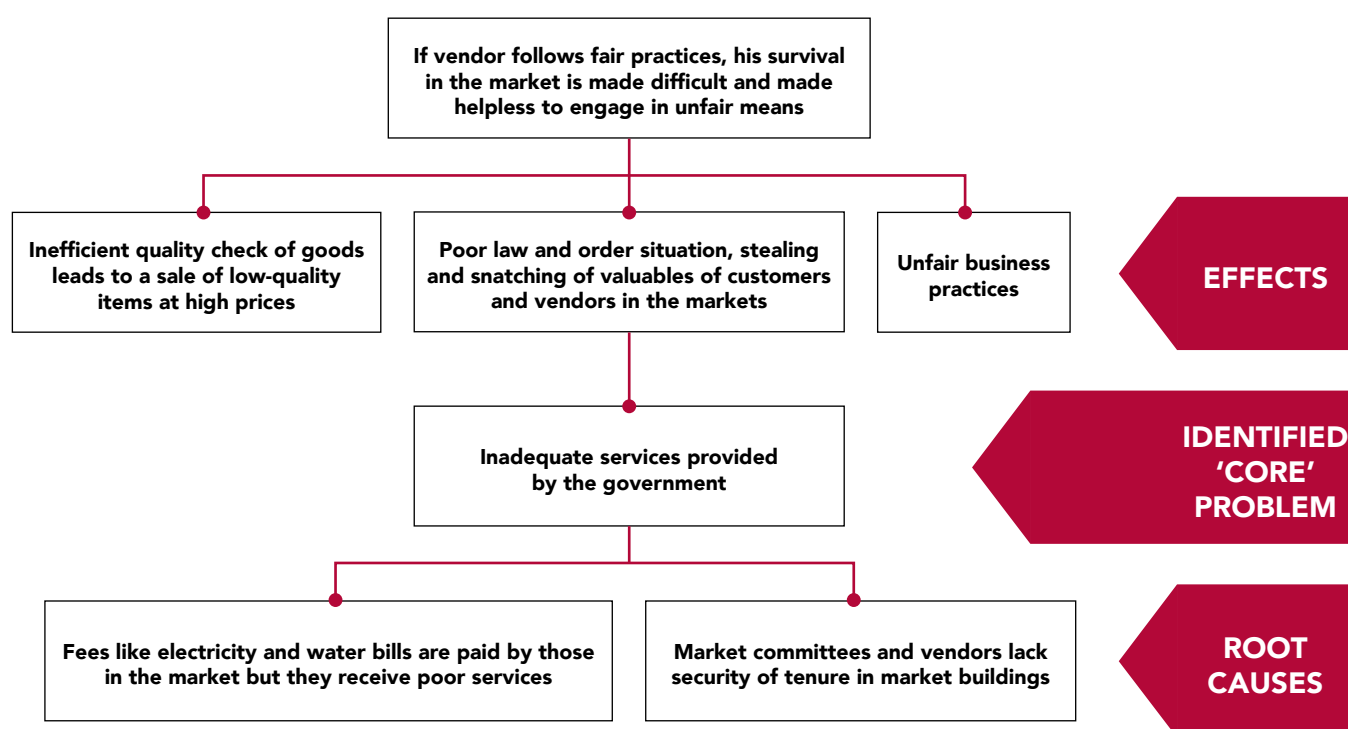


Figure 3: Poor governance in the market—Problem tree (Peshawar)

These problem trees were then positively reframed, by stakeholders during workshop 2, flipping problems into objective trees solutions.

Appendix C: List of GAIN's keeping food markets working: policy and coordination, expert advisory panel members

Name	Home base	EAP country team
Cornelia Maputsoe-Liku	Kenya	Kenya
Cornelia is a Lecturer in the Department of Development Studies at the Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Kenya. She has broad experience in project planning and management, gender analysis, research and training.		
Jane Musindi	Kenya	Kenya
Jane has over 20 years of experience in the agribusiness industry in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Ghana, where she has strived to empower agricultural micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) in the areas of agronomy support, market linkage and business system support, including crop forecasting and planning. Jane is also involved in policy advocacy in the Kenyan agriculture industry to improve the business environment for smallholder farmers and MSMEs.		
Delia Grace Randolph	Kenya	Kenya
Delia is an epidemiologist and veterinarian with 20 years' experience in low- and middle-income countries. Currently a Professor of Food Safety Systems at the Natural Resources Institute UK, Delia previously led research on foodborne disease at the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) in Kenya. Her research focuses on food safety in the domestic markets of developing countries.		
Jane Wambugu	Kenya	Kenya
Jane has worked with Kenya's Ministry of Agriculture for 27 years. In that time, she has mainstreamed nutrition in departments (crops, livestock and fisheries) and enabled the Ministries of Agriculture and Health to work together on nutrition interventions through the creation of the Agri-Nutrition Linkages Technical Working Group. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, Jane coordinated the development of national guidelines and 1 million kitchen garden initiatives across Kenya.		
Jane Battersby	South Africa	Mozambique
Based at the University of Cape Town, Jane is a geographer who has worked on urban food security, food systems and their governance in the African context since 2007. Her research interests lie in the relationships between food environments, urban systems and social systems, and in the dual burden of malnutrition. Her current focus is the development of food sensitive policies and planning at the urban and neighbourhood scale.		
Samuel Mabunda	Mozambique	Mozambique
The former Chief of the National Malaria Control Program, Samuel has 20 years' experience in malaria planning, coordination and policy. Samuel is a medical doctor by training and is currently Senior Lecturer in the department of Community Health, where he teaches malaria epidemiology, research methods and public health at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo		
Danielle Resnick	USA	Mozambique
Dr. Danielle Resnick is a Rubenstein Fellow in the Global Economy and Development Program at the Brookings Institution and a Non-Resident Senior Research Fellow at the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI). She is a political scientist who focuses on the political economy of development, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Her research includes the impacts of public sector reforms on accountability and efficiency, and urban governance and informality.		

Name	Home base	EAP country team
Eduardo Sengo	Mozambique	Mozambique

Eduardo is an economist with a thorough knowledge of the Mozambican and international economy. His interests centre on macroeconomics, particularly in the public finance, agrarian, financial and small business management sectors. Eduardo is Executive Director of the Confederation of Economic Associations of Mozambique.

Genevie Fernandes	India/ UK	Pakistan
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Genevie is a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Edinburgh, UK, and is a global public health professional with expertise in research, programme implementation, documentation and training in South Asia. Over the last 10 years, Genevie has worked with government and international development agencies on projects in maternal and child health, HIV/AIDS, tobacco control, pandemic preparedness and response, and food security.

Rafia Haider	Pakistan	Pakistan
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Rafia is a career civil servant and has worked extensively in local governments, food regulation, communicable disease control and waste management. She headed the Communicable Disease Control Directorate in Punjab during COVID-19 pandemic and helped establish COVID testing lab network and Central Command and Control Centre. She is currently heading the largest Waste Management Company in Pakistan.

Caroline Omondi	Switzerland	Pakistan
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Caroline is a sustainable supply chain expert and a Go-To-Market strategist in the food sector. She has more than 15 years of experience in the food industry and has been at the forefront of developing and implementing operational business processes to achieve growth and deliver profitability. Caroline is currently working with different SMEs and organisations as a Consultant and an Advisor to develop sustainable food supply chains and access global markets.

Aslam Shaheen	Pakistan	Pakistan
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Aslam has more than 33 years of experience in planning, coordination and policy development in areas including nutrition, food systems, public health nutrition, public policy, and strategy development. Through roles including acting as the Nation Focal Point for 'Scaling Up Nutrition Movement in Pakistan', Managing Scaling Up Nutrition Networks and leading the development of Pakistan Dietary Guidelines for Better Nutrition, Pakistan Multi-sectoral Nutrition Strategy, Pakistan Country Report for International Conference on Nutrition 2014. Aslam has built strong relationships with high-level policy makers in nutrition, health, and food systems.

*Panayota Nicolarea	Italy	Mozambique
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*Yota is an urban planner with a passion for urban food planning. Her work includes advocacy action to take forward the urban food agenda, municipal capacity building and project design and management in urban food systems. Yota is currently the UN Pre-Summit and Summit Events Lead, previously she worked with the Milan Food Policy Pact, a global agreement among city government aimed to enhance implementation of urban food policies.*Yota stepped down from being a member of the EAP to give her full focus to the UN Food Systems Summit.*

Appendix D: Food systems and the food environment

Food systems¹⁹ are inclusive of people, animals, institutions, ecosystems and infrastructure (part of the 'built environment') that relate to food production, retail, consumption, diets, nutrition and health. External drivers, such as, globalisation and trade, politics and leadership, income and its distribution, population dynamics, society, culture, and environment (including climate change), influence and shape the elements in the food system (See Figure 4).

The food environment is an integral part of the food system, forming the link between food supply chains and household's or individual's acquisition and consumption of food and in turn relate to health and nutrition. This toolkit focuses on Peshawar's **food environment** around urban traditional markets, and its resilience during (and beyond) the pandemic.

Understanding this context is key to responding to the needs and opportunities of urban communities, with attention to those with low incomes, other most vulnerable (e.g. children, elderly and disabled) and gender. The urban food environment is where urban residents and the wider food system meet. It is about:

- food availability—type and diversity
- affordability—prices, purchasing power and income distribution.
- food quality and practices—food safety, convenience, and desirability.
- food markets and vendors
- messaging, advertising, and marketing²⁰.

Local **policymakers** in Peshawar have an important role in transforming the urban food environment to be more equitable, inclusive, sustainable, and resilient. Although limited in the extent to which they can influence many of the external food system drivers, local policymakers can proactively and indirectly intersect with some drivers e.g. through food and nutrition sensitive urban planning and more coherent connections and advocacy for neighbouring public administrations and national government.

¹⁹ <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i7846e.pdf>

²⁰ <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2211912418300154>

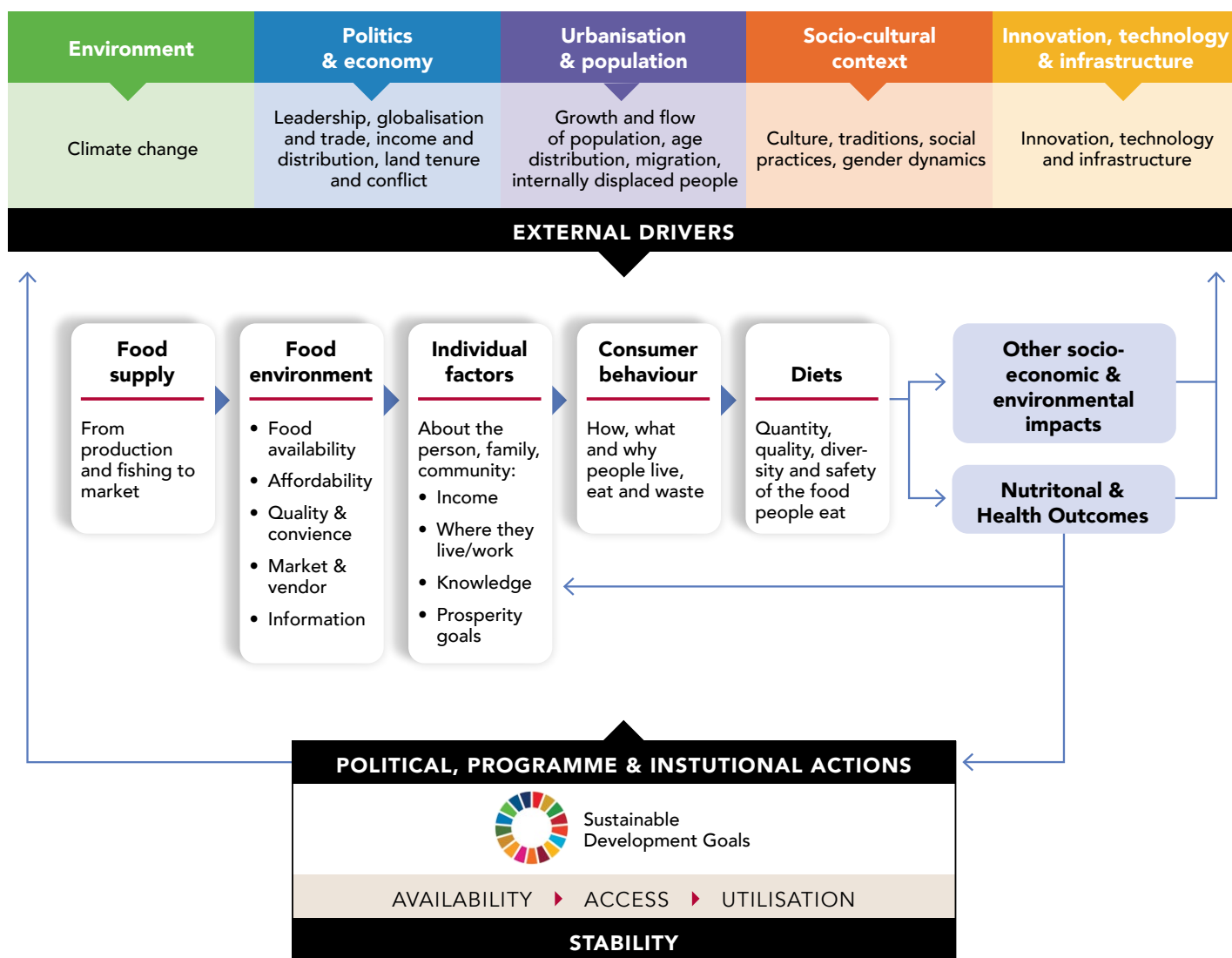


Figure 4: Food systems conceptual framework

(Adapted from the High-Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (HLPE) (2017). Nutrition and food systems: a report by the High-Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition of the Committee on World Food Security, Rome)²¹

²¹ <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i7846e.pdf>

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