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Review 1 & Response:

First of all, we would like to thank the reviewer for taking the time to give clear and structured feedback. Below we address the feedback point by point where there was need for a response. Responses are bolded.

1. Does the paper address relevant scientific questions within the scope of SOIL?
Yes. It could help for understanding if you address also the specific research question you are addressing already in the introduction: what is the soil type of urban garden soils in the case study area? How do different management practices effect nutrient content and availability of the soils? Why do women farmers chose certain soil management techniques?

We have attempted to incorporate the response to these questions in the earlier version of the paper, but were apparently unsuccessful in doing so. In this version of the paper additional attention has been paid to the way the paper is structured, as also recommended by the 2nd reviewer, and we believe that we are now more clear in addressing the answers to these questions in the text.

- Is the soil type/classification adequately described?
8. Are analyses and assumptions valid?
yes, yet in two lines of argumentation you could be more specific regarding the interpretation of the soil nutrient data: you write “often a larger portion of the nutrients was water soluble or exchangeable”(p. 10,3) and “some of the nutrients” (p. 11,31), when from the figure it appears that this is only true for Mg and Ca. Also it is not clear from the conclusion which management practice (manure only; manure and intercropping for N enrichment; or manure and intercropping for second income) can be recommended for use by other urban farmers.

We have made the mentioned sections of text more specific A generic recommendation is not made in the conclusion because any recommendation would need to be tailor-made to the specific individual circumstances of the farmer in question and their soil.

You mention that information on daily activities varies too much, in order to be analysed. Did you check for the total work burden of women (can be calculated from the typical working day)? This could give important insights on which management practices are feasible to women. Also the often quoted FAO report that states women could be 30% more productive neglects that women often have higher work load than men, that restricts them in using certain yield increasing methods.

This is an interesting technique and we will certainly see if we can use this in the future. However the data collected in this study was not in the right format to apply such a quantification.

9. Are the presented results sufficient to support the interpretations and associated discussion? yes
10. Is the discussion relevant and backed up?

Please check the discussion for not introducing new results (e.g. p. 11, l. 1-7; l. 16-22 should be in the results section) Discussion could be shorter and highlight important points, i.e. soil analysis results that (recommended practice) of intercropping led to lower soil nutrient content. Extension failed to see needs of farmers for second income crop.

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Thank you for pointing these instances out. We have moved some sections of the text and removed some in order to streamline and better structure the text of the paper.

10 In presenting the FGD results it is not clear in which FG men were present and whether knowledge differences of men and women could be detected.

The focus group discussion section of the paper has also been restructured. We believe it is now easier to make the distinction between data from the mixed FGD and the women only FGD.

15 11. Are accurate conclusions reached based on the presented results and discussion?

See above.

12. Do the authors give proper credit to related and relevant work and clearly indicate their own original contribution? Yes

20 13. Does the title clearly reflect the contents of the paper and is it informative?

Still I don't like the direct link of knowledge to nutrient content, maybe: Women's farming practices and their effect on soil nutrient content in the Nyalenda urban gardens

25 **Due to the complex relationships featured in this paper it has been difficult finding a title that covers it in entirety. We have altered the title based on your recommendation and believe that it now infers less of a direct relationship between women's knowledge and soil nutrient content. Thank you for your suggestion.**

30 14. Does the abstract provide a concise and complete summary, including quantitative results?
yes

15. Is the overall presentation well structured? yes

16. Is the paper written concisely and to the point? Yes, but please check to prevent iterations of the same lines of arguments.

35 **There were several instances where information was repeated in the text. In this version these instances have been removed as much as possible.**

17. Is the language fluent, precise, and grammatically correct? Yes

40 18. Are the figures and tables useful and all necessary? Yes, maybe include a table on members of focus group discussions and interview partners?

19.

We have included an anonymized version of the participants lists for the interviews and the FGDs in the supplement of this revision.

45 20. Are mathematical formulae, symbols, abbreviations, and units correctly defined and used according to the author guidelines?

21. Should any parts of the paper (text, formulae, figures, tables) be clarified, reduced, combined, or eliminated? See above

22. Are the number and quality of references appropriate? yes

50 23. Is the amount and quality of supplementary material appropriate and of added value?

We would like to thank the reviewer again for giving clear and structured feedback.

Review 2 & Response:

First of all we would like to thank the reviewer for going through the paper and providing clear and structured feedback. We address some of the points raised below. Responses are bolded.

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Suggestions for revision or reasons for rejection (will be published if the paper is accepted for final publication)

The aim of this paper is to link women's knowledge on agricultural practices and their motivations in choosing specific practices with the nutrient content of their soils.

The data presented however are too limited in scope to really thoroughly address this question. The paper nevertheless can provide some insights in the way urban agriculture in Nyalenda is practiced and which constraints people face. However, I would suggest some extensive re-structuring (see below) and would furthermore suggest to the author to be more open about the short-comings of their findings right from the beginning: be more open about what they can really "prove" and which open questions remain. The conclusion in this sense would profit from finishing with suggestions for further research that needs to be done.

We have restructured the different sections of the paper based on your recommendations and those of the other reviewers. We have also tried to make clear more carefully the limitations of the study as you suggest.

Some specific comments:

Paragraph: p.2, 11-24 not really necessary

p.3, 6-15 – Are you referring to agriculture in general or to urban agriculture?

p.3., 16-22: Which factors did you use to select Nyalenda? In which way is it representative?

p. 3, 27-32, paragraph would rather fit in the intro

Is the Question: how knowledge influences action addressed?

p.6, 6-7: do you know for the two fields whether the farmers used compost or cow manure? And whether they are the ones that are occasionally using mineral fertilizer?

Compare and combine: p.6, 13-18 and p.7, 30-45: some many similarities in those parts. Best to put all information on p.6

p.7, 34 "know" is missing)

We have clarified where you indicated that the text caused confusion and incorporated a more detailed account of the selection criteria and the management practices used in the sampled fields. Overlap in the text has been removed as much as possible.

IN general for the interviews and FGD: differentiate clearly where you could identify a lack of know, where are lack of motivation and where a lack of resources as the reason for a specific management technique and structure the presentation of your findings this way. This should help to get clearer information concerning the aim of your paper: "women knowledge on agricultural practices and their motivations in choosing specific practices with the nutrient content of their soils." Chapter 3.3. in general is a mixture of an interpretation of the soil data, with some interviews and additional information. Some more structure would do good here. A, engage in depth with the soil analysis and which kind of conclusion you can or cannot draw from them and B, Discuss (in the Discussion part?) whether the differences can be explained through the different management techniques.

We have extensively restructured the paper and believe that the data is presented in a clearer manner in this version.

Concerning your soil data: please provide standard deviation for all results

We have included all standard deviations where possible in the data tables included in the paper.

p. 8, Table 1: please provide results separated for field without intercropping and field with intercropping (additional comment: you provide some of this information later in the text, p.8 27-34... think about re-grouping the information). + probably best to already present Figure 2 here and combine the two.

We have extended table 1 to include the data averaged over all sampled fields as well as per management type and the accompanying text has been restructured to be more clear.

p.8, 9: How do you justify your conclusion: “Soil analysis shows that the application of intercropping has a significant effect on the soil nutrient content” I find this conclusion difficult to be drawn from the data you have at hand. Please discuss in more depth on how you come to this conclusion.

The phrasing of this sentence may have been off. We meant to indicate that, although small, the differences in the soil nutrient content for the two compared management types were statistically significant. We have amended the text to clarify this.

p. 8, 15: “slightly higher” please quantify

p8, 16-17: Covering: at which period of time? Is it the overall and average covering over the whole growing period? Please be more specific on who you quantified the coverage.

p.8 , 17-18: “manure information” should come earlier, when presenting the sampled plots.

P.8, 27-34: please indicate for all your results which differences were significant! Not only for the results presented in Figure 1

We did include in the earlier version in the text that all of the differences in soil nutrient content between the two management types were statistically significant. This may not have come forward properly due to the structure of the results section in this version.

Figure 1: what do the differences you found in Figure 1 tell you? Can the differences be explained by the management practices? What could be the reason for the differences? Please discuss.

These results are now discussed more in-depth in the discussion section of the paper.

p.10, 16-20: the conclusion “socio-economic factors as determining” did not really become that clear during the presentation of your results. = Re-structure (see my above comments). (other suggestion combine with info on p11 – 24-29 and p12 1-9)

p.10 21-26: does this paragraph belong in the discussion? I would suggestion: “introduction”

p 11, 1-7: part of your results I suggest

p11, 17-21: Repetition! Check with results part.

P 11, 24-29 combine with statement p10, 16-20

P11, 30-40: some of this information could be moved to the soil analysis. ... Again a matter of structure.

P12 , 1-9 (Structure! Should come together with p.10 16-20)

We have restructured large sections of the text and included your comments in doing so. Thank you for pointing out the cases in which there was repetition that we initially overlooked.

Conclusion

Here you should come back to your main question: “link women’s knowledge on agricultural practices and their motivations in choosing specific practices with the nutrient content of their soils”. I would

suggest critically going through your paper, improving the structure and in the end coming back to your opening research question. It is no problem, in case you could not fully answer your research question, however be precise in presenting what you could show, what you couldn't show, which questions remain open...

When looking at the information you present I wonder why the woman intercropping actually did the intercropping? To improve soil fertility or to create additional income?

Or otherwise put: what does the woman know? What is the driving force for their action? Is it missing knowledge or socio-economic pressure?

Thank you for your advice on this. We have gone through the study results again after the restructuring and used this to update our findings in the conclusions. We have also taken care to indicate where there are still questions remaining to be answered.

p.12 – 32: where did you show that the “cultural status” of women is important for understanding their action? Maybe I did miss this information. But, I can only remember you citing a study from elsewhere, but no information from your study. So, I would say you couldn't show so. Other possibility: clearly explain what you mean with “cultural status” and how the data you collected supports your conclusion.

In the section on focus group discussions the cultural restrictions on women in agriculture were mentioned and the example of the prohibition on women owning banana trees was given. This may not have been clear in the previous version of the paper.

Did you show in which way the women's decision might differ from that of the men? In case you couldn't, then no need to talk about it. Could you show with your data how the access of women to knowledge, contacts, material and capital differs from that of the men? If so, please make these differences clearer in the presentation of your results. In case you couldn't show, then mention it as a short-coming, or do not mention it at all. I can only remember reading somewhere that the women said, they are more open to knowledge and advice (p.6, 32)

We have removed the section mentioning this from the paper as we felt after review that they may give the wrong impression that we are comparing the practices of men with the practices of women.

Thank you again for your careful and extensive review and commenting on our paper.

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List Major Changes:

Title and Author list:

1. Change title from: Women's agricultural knowledge and its effects on soil nutrient content in the Nyalenda urban gardens of Kisumu, Kenya, to: Women's agricultural practices and their effects on soil nutrient content in the Nyalenda urban gardens of Kisumu, Kenya – to better reflect article contents
2. Change in author list order to better reflect contributions

Introduction:

3. Removal of 2nd paragraph

Methods and Materials:

4. Removal of 1st paragraph
5. Move of interview and focus group discussion question lists to supplement

Results - Interviews:

6. Restructuring of content to eliminate repeat information
7. Removal of quotes

Results – Focus group discussions:

8. Switched 1st and 2nd paragraph

Results – Soil Analysis

9. Switched position of 1st and 3rd paragraph
10. Addition of soil data per different management practice described in table 1

Discussion;

11. Removal of repeat information in 3rd paragraph
12. Removal of 5th paragraph

Conclusion

13. Addition of indication for need of future research and clarifying information

Supplement:

14. Addition of supplement containing interview and focus group discussion questions and anonymized participants data

Article Submission – Track Changes:

Women's agricultural ~~knowledge practices~~ and ~~its their~~ effects on soil nutrient content in the Nyalenda urban gardens of Kisumu, Kenya

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Acknowledgements

20 | We would like to sincerely thank all those who aided us in the preparation and execution of this research project. Among ~~whiehwhom~~: the Kisumu VIRED team, including ~~professor-Professor~~ JB Okeyo-Owour and ~~Dr.~~ Dan Abuto, ~~and~~ the CABE team in Nairobi, including Dr. Hannington Odame, ~~and NWO-WOTRO for funding of the project (W 08.250.200).~~

Abstract. In Kisumu up to 60% of the inhabitants practice some form of urban agriculture, with just under 50% of the workers being female. On average, women spend more hours a day in the gardens than men. To increase yields, women's knowledge ~~is pivotal to effective~~~~has to be considered in~~ agricultural management. ~~This means taking into account that~~~~However,~~ women face greater obstacles in land ownership, investment, and farm inputs due to social and cultural constraints as consequence of their gender. This case study aimed to ~~determine better understand the position of women farmers in the urban gardens by determining what~~~~what~~ agricultural knowledge the women farmers ~~there~~ hold, where they get their knowledge, what motivates them in their choice of agricultural management, and finally how their choices influence the soils nutrient content. ~~Interviews and focus group discussions were organized in Nyalenda, one of Kisumu's informal settlements where urban gardening is practiced, to determine what knowledge the women farmers possess, and where they acquired their knowledge.~~ Soils were sampled ~~at the site in Nyalenda, one of Kisumu's informal settlements where urban gardening is practiced,~~ to determine soil nutrient contents in the form of total C and N, available N and P, and exchangeable K, Mg and Ca in the soil. Two prevailing practices were compared: 1) applying manure only, and: 2) applying manure while intercropping with cowpeas ~~to determine how the agricultural management practice influences soil nutrient content.~~ ~~Interviews and focus group discussions were organized to determine what knowledge the women farmers possess, and where they acquired their knowledge.~~ Soil analysis showed that ~~the soil in Nyalenda was rich in nutrients overall, agricultural management had significant effects on nutrient presence and availability.~~ ~~but that i~~ Intercropping led to significantly lower total soil nutrient contents than when only manure was applied. ~~While theoretically intercropping with a legume such as cowpeas should increase soil N content, due to socio-economic factors, such as poverty, intercropping was applied in a way~~

~~that did not increase soil nutrient contents; rather it diversified revenue for the women farmers. However, due to socio-economic factors, such as poverty, intercropping was applied in a way that did not increase soil nutrients but diversified revenue.~~ The knowledge of the female vegetable growers was found to be limited to practical and sensory knowledge. This shows that in addition to socio-economic and cultural context, gendered knowledge differentiation has to be acknowledged and used in agricultural training when aiming to improve soil nutrient status and agricultural yields.

Keywords: Agricultural management, women in agriculture, urban agriculture, soil nutrient content

Introduction

This paper ~~concerns~~ builds on a case study conducted in the urban gardens of Kisumu, Kenya. The study ~~is part of an interdisciplinary study on soil nutrients and women entrepreneurship in Kenya and Burkina Faso and~~ seeks to link women's knowledge on agricultural practices and their motivations in choosing specific practices with the nutrient content of their soils at this site. Urban gardening is part of the practice of urban agriculture, which encompasses all agricultural activities practiced within municipal borders (FAO, 2012). Urban gardening, ~~also called market gardening, is a phenomenon~~ found in most cities in the developing nations, such as Kenya, and ranges in scale from sack gardening ~~next to houses~~ to several acres being used for food production. For the urban poor the urban gardens provide employment ~~opportunities~~ and ~~are a source of~~ affordable vegetables. These vegetables are less expensive than those imported from the rural areas due to the lack of transporting costs. Moreover, limited ~~Limited~~ infrastructure makes it difficult for ~~some types of produce~~ fresh vegetables to be transported from the rural areas. By growing such vegetables within the municipality the costs are reduced and the lower costs of these vegetables allow the urban gardens to contribute to urban diet diversity and food and nutrition security (FAO, 2012; Gallaher et al., 2013). Urban gardening is ~~hailed by many as~~ possible way to increase local food and nutrition security, ~~as well as~~ and provide employment. ~~;~~ However, there are ~~also many~~ concerns surrounding urban gardening, including some concerning health risks and environmental degradation (Cofie et al., 2003; FAO, 2012).

~~Opposition to urban agriculture comes mainly from the sectors of public health, environment and urban planning. In terms of urban planning, land used for urban agriculture may be more productive or valuable when used for other enterprises (Mougeot, 2000). Furthermore, urban agriculture is also often practiced on public lands (Mougeot, 2000). When undertaken on private lands it often concerns farmers whose previous rural land has been overtaken by urban sprawl, now finding themselves in the (peri-)urban sphere (Mougeot, 2000). When urban gardening is practiced on public lands the farmers often work on the roadside, or on riverbanks and floodplains (Mireri et al., 2007; Mougeot, 2000). Agriculture practiced on locations like roadsides especially, risks pollution from vehicle exhaust and industrial waste (FAO, 2012; Mireri et al., 2007). As a result, products from these sites can have contaminants that can threaten the health of the consumers as well as the producers. Urban agriculture is also considered to be an intense form of agriculture that causes soil degradation. Often confined to small areas, there is little room for urban farmers to rest the soil or rotate the crops, and products like mineral fertilizer are expensive for the poorer segment of the urban farmers that are most likely to resort to these practices (FAO, 2012; Mougeot, 2000).~~

With over half a million inhabitants Kisumu is Kenya's third largest city. Unemployment in Kisumu is high; in 2013 the unemployment rate in Kisumu was ~~determined to be~~ 40% (Mireri, 2013). Over 60% of Kisumu's inhabitants live in informal settlements (Mireri, 2013; Obade, 2014; UN-Habitat, 2005). ~~It is~~ An ~~estimated~~ ~~that up to~~ 60% of the inhabitants of Kisumu practice some form of urban agriculture, including livestock keeping. Agriculture has been practiced on the periphery of the

city since its founding in 1901, but as the city grew the boundaries between the urban areas and the rural areas have ~~grown vague~~~~faded~~. ~~Most of the original~~ agricultural areas have fragmented and now fall within the municipal boundary, as such these areas have been reclassified as urban gardens (Anyumba, 1995). ~~Most of the~~ urban gardens are located on the edges of the informal settlements.

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Mireri (2013) found that approximately 47% of those working in the urban gardens in Kisumu is female, and that on average the women spend more hours a day on the farms than men. Women are culturally expected to take responsibility for ~~household duties like~~ family food provisioning, ~~cleaning the house and watching any children.~~ ~~and practicing urban agriculture allows many women to do so while also performing their other duties.~~ ~~Women are expected to clean the house, provide food and watch over any children.~~ As urban agriculture sites are relatively near the home it is an accessible option to women who also have many other daily tasks (Doss et al., 2018; Mougeot, 2000; Poulsen et al., 2015; Simiyu and Foeken, 2013). Many of the women farmers work on a subsistence basis (Kabira, 2007; Kameri-Mbote, 2006; Kiriti-Ng'anga, 2015a; Kiriti-Ng'anga, 2015b; Likoko et al., 2019; Mireri, 2013) and any excess produce is sold ~~by the women~~ to pay for expenses such as their children's school fees (Mireri, 2013; World Bank, 2009). Gender inequality makes it difficult for these women to move beyond subsistence agriculture. Women face greater obstacles than men in regards to land ownership, investment, and farm inputs due to historical, social, cultural and financial constraints as a consequence of their gender (Alunga and William, 2013; Dolan, 2015; Kabira, 2015; Kameri-Mbote, 2006; Kiriti-Ng'anga, 2015a; Kiriti-Ng'anga, 2015b). As a consequence of these obstacles, few modern techniques are applied in the urban gardens. Lack of access to capital and knowledge limits these women to traditional techniques and sensory knowledge passed down within families (FAO, 2012).

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~~Due to a lack of equal access to technologies such as fertilizers,~~ Overall, women consistently have agricultural yields that are on average 20-30% less than men in developing countries, due to a lack of equal access to technologies such as fertilizers (FAO, 2006). At the same time, there is evidence of gender differentiated access to knowledge. The results of a food security survey held by the African Women's Studies Centre and the Kenyan National Statistics Bureau in 2013 in several counties in Kenya showed that women respond differently to food security issues and consider challenges differently than men. For example, up to 80% of men believe that a small, uneconomical area of land is a hindrance to achieving food security, whereas only 20% of women consider this to be a major hindrance (KNBS/AWSC, 2014). There is further research that suggests that women could potentially produce up to 20% more on the same surface area than men if given equal access to resources (Saito et al., 1994). However, there is also research showing that due to a lack of education and training, women farmers use practices that are less environmentally friendly and can lead to a more rapid degradation of the soil (Doss et al., 2018). It could be expected that sources of information and knowledge are present and accessible more readily in an urban environment, and that because of this the women in urban agriculture could be more knowledgeable on agricultural management practices than their rural counterparts.

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This raises the question of what knowledge women working in urban agriculture have on agricultural practices, and how their practices affect their soil. In close partnership with local partners from scientific institutions and NGO's, Nyalenda, a location in one of the urban gardens of Kisumu, Kenya was selected. The site is considered to be as representative of the area and farmers groups in the urban gardens of the city in terms of size and composition, as well as the prevalent soil type and water accessibility at the site itself. The farming group is~~and~~ characteristic for the urban gardening situation that can be found throughout other cities of Kenya and (sub-)tropical Africa in general as well. With an approach that combines semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with women food entrepreneurs (WFE's) working in Nyalenda, and soil analysis of their urban garden plots, we aimed to determine how the agricultural knowledge and motivations of women farmers influences their soil's nutrient status as reflected by the total soil C and N, available soil N and P and exchangeable

soil Na, K, Mg and Ca in the Nyalanda urban gardens. The methods used were designed to triangulate and provide complementary information.

Materials and Methods

~~Kisumu is a city of approximately half a million inhabitants on the northern shores of Lake Victoria. The city is the headquarter of the Kisumu district and the Nyanza Province (Mireri, 2010). Temperature averages at 22 °C year round and annual rainfall averages between 1000 and 1400 mm. There is a short rain season in November and December and a long rain season lasting from April until June. The city lies on Quaternary sediments and Tertiary Volcanic deposits. Due to the tropical climate, deeply weathered soils can be expected in this area, but the parent material is relatively young and rich in nutrient bearing minerals (Orodho, 2006).~~

~~There are~~ Nyalenda is one of several six informal settlements in Kisumu; and is one of the largest, both in number of inhabitants and surface area covered (UN-Habitat, 2005). including Nyalenda. Nyalenda lies on the southern edge of the city and is one the largest of the cities six informal settlements, both in number of inhabitants and surface area covered (UN-Habitat, 2005). Divided over two blocks, A and B, Nyalenda houses nearly 50.000 people within an area of 8.1 km². Existing infrastructure, access to electricity and access to sanitation are limited in the informal settlements (UN-Habitat, 2005). All along the southern edge of Nyalenda there are active vegetable farms adjacent a river and wetland area. One of the groups active in these urban gardens is the Mesopotamia group. The group consists of 14 members, 8 women and 6 men, who cultivate an area of 3-4 ha. Most Mesopotamia members have inherited their land and some rent extra plots within the area; the group is diverse in age and experience.

The decision to work with the Mesopotamia group was made after various meetings with local NGO's and scientists in conference with the Mesopotamia group itself in January 2016. The Mesopotamia group is seen by the scientists gathered at the conference as representative for many of the urban gardening groups in Kisumu, and especially those working on the border of the Nyalenda informal settlement. The Mesopotamia group had previously been informed by government extension services that their soil might be lacking in N. In response to this apparent lack of N at least 5 group members changed their practices, they started to intercrop the local staple crop Sukuma Wiki, a kale (*Brassica oleracea var. Sabellica*) with a legume with nitrogen fixating root nodules, cowpeas (*Vigna unguiculata L. Walp*) (Likoko and Jonkman, 2016).

The four fields selected for soil sampling were all used to grow kales, in two of the fields the kales were intercropped with cowpeas. All four sampled fields are centrally located in the urban gardens, limiting the differential influence the nearby river might have on fields lying closer or farther away from it. The soils on these fields were classified as Vertisols (FAO, 2014), characterized by the presence of heavy clay which shows shrinking and swelling behaviour. All samples were collected in May during the dry season. On each of the four fields 12 samples were collected from the topsoil (0-15 cm) to limit the influence of spatial variability, 48 samples total. All samples were subsequently dried at 70°C, sieved at 2 mm and stored for analysis.

2.1 Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

The four fields sampled are owned by two female members of the Mesopotamia group, each member owning two of the fields. ~~One of the women grows exclusively kales on her fields and the other woman intererops the kales with cowpeas on her fields. Both women used manure as fertilizer, however the farmer who grows exclusively kales ploughed the manure into the soil while the intercropping farmers applies the manure as a topdressing.~~ The two women that own the sampled fields,

along with the 6 other female members of Mesopotamia, were interviewed to determine what agricultural knowledge the women have, where they get their information, and how this influences their management choices. The eight women varied in age and experience, capturing a broad spectrum of views and knowledge. The semi-structured interviews used open questions to determine what knowledge women farmers had about the effects of fertilizers on crops and soil, where they received this information, and to what degree and with whom they shared this knowledge. A set list of questions was used for the interviews to gather complementary and comparable information on the women's knowledge and views. The interviews were conducted with the aid-assistance of an interview guide including an introduction, opening questions, key questions and a summary (adapted from Woodhouse, 1998; Curry, 2015a).

Interview questions:

Opening questions:

- ~~○ Can you describe what you do on your field on a typical day?~~
- ~~○ How do you fertilize your fields?~~

Key Questions:

- ~~○ What do you know about what the soil needs for growing crops?~~
- ~~○ What do you know about the effect of fertilizer on the soil?~~
- ~~○ What methods to fertilize your fields do you know?~~
- ~~○ How do you know this? Where did you get your knowledge?~~
- ~~○ Did you ever see differences in crops or the soil when you or somebody else changed their methods?~~
- ~~○ Did you ever share this information with others?~~
- ~~○ Is there an opportunity to share knowledge within the farmers group?~~
- ~~○ Do you feel your knowledge is valued by others?~~
- ~~○ Is it easier to share knowledge with other women?~~

In addition to the interviews, two focus group discussions were held with members of the Mesopotamia group. One focus group discussion was held with 6 female participants and another with 11 participants, 6 women and 5 men. A women's only discussion was held with the 6 women participating to go more in depth on the knowledge of women. The focus groups discussions were based on questions used in the interviews and the methodology proposed by Curry (2015b), Krueger & Casey (2002) and Johnson & Mayoux (1998). The discussions were aimed at determining the extent of agricultural knowledge in the Mesopotamia group as well as their information sources and the relative importance of these to the farmers. Both focus group discussions had the same format and started with a short opening and introduction followed by an explanation of the goal and guidelines for the discussion. The opening was followed by a set of discussion questions and an exercise. The discussion was closed with a short summary. Due to the open platform and the presence of multiple participants the focus groups discussions provided more in-depth answers and clarifications, to support the information from the interviews.

Focus group discussion questions and exercise:

- ~~○ What does your day on the farm look like?~~
- ~~○ How do you take care of your fields and crops? How do you decide on this?~~
- ~~○ How do you know what you have to do to take care of your fields and crops? Where do you get this information?~~
- ~~○ Can you rank the sources of information on validity and give a short explanation about their final ranking?~~

2.2 Laboratory analyses and data processing

5 The analysis of the samples is to determine how soil nutrient contents were influenced by the management choices of the women farmers. Water extracts of the soil samples were created (ratio 1:2.5) and used to determine pH and EC. These water extracts were then filtered and available P, K, S, Ca and Mg measured using a Perkin Elmer Optima 8000 ICP-OES Spectrometer. Available NH_4^+ , NO_3^- , PO_4^{3-} and SO_4^{2-} in the extracts were determined on a Skalar SA-40 continuous-flow analyzer. Total organic and inorganic C in the extracts were measured using a Shimadzu TOC/TN analyzer.

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Filtered BaCl_2 extracts were used for the determination of exchangeable Fe, Mn, Mg, Ca, Al, and K with ICP-OES (Schwertfeger and Hendershot, 2009). Extracts were prepared using 100 ml BaCl_2 0,125 M and 4 grams of sieved and milled soil sample (<2 mm). CEC was calculated as the sum of the values for exchangeable Ca, Mg, K and Na in cmol_c/kg .

15 Total C and N were determined with 50 mg of soil (<2mm, milled) by using a Elementar Vario EL cube CNS analyzer. Total P, K, Ca, S and Mg were determined by measuring HNO_3/HCl extracts with ICP-OES; extracts were prepared with 250 mg soil (<2 mm, milled), 6 ml HCl 37% and 2 ml HNO_3 , and underwent microwave destruction (60 min; $T_{\text{max}} 220^\circ\text{C}$; $P_{\text{max}} 75\text{bar}$). Total elemental composition of the soil samples was also determined using XRF analysis, using the Thermo Scientific XRF Analyzer Niton; setting: mining Cu/Zn; Standard: NIST 2709a PP 180-649; 160 seconds.

20 Variance within each field and between fields with different management practices was determined using analysis of variance test. ANOVA was used in case of normal data distribution and Kruskal Wallis with non-normal data distribution (Burt et al., 2009). The strength and direction of the relationship between different parameters was determined using a correlation coefficient, Pearson's R. All statistical analysis was done in Matlab, version R2014b. The measured results and calculated variances were corroborated with the results of the interviews and focus groups discussions.-

25 Results

3.1 Interviews

While the interviews started with enquiring into the typical daily activities these turned out to vary too much from person to person and season to season to provide a meaningful clustering. The interviews did show that a range of agricultural management practices is known and practiced within the Mesopotamia group. The agricultural management practices that the women spoke of during the interviews were: crop rotation, fallow periods, fertilization with manure, compost and mineral fertilizer, intercropping, and mulching. Of the interviewees 2 knew no other methods aside fertilization for improving the soil, 3 named mulching, 4 mentioned fallow periods, and 4 mentioned crop rotation. Some of the women found that they were limited in choice of management practice due to their socio-economic circumstances. For example, for many women fallow periods are not an option as their lands are simply too small. A certain yield is needed for sufficient income generation and leaving the land or a portion of it fallow would mean a significant reduction in income. A consequence of the lack of fallow periods is more pressure on the land, which can lead to increased erosion and may result in diminished soil nutrient content and yield(KNBS/AWSC, 2014).

35 Fertilizer use is mostly in the form of locally produced or homemade compost (4 of 8) or the use of unprocessed cow manure (2 of 8). The other two interviewees used either mineral fertilizer or cow manure with occasional application of mineral fertilizer. All interviewees named fertilizer as something the soil needs for growing crops, but none really knew what

fertilizer does for the soil in technical terms. The knowledge regarding the effects of fertilizer is limited to visible effects only. ~~When it comes to other methods to increase soil fertility the results are more divided. 2 interviewees knew no other methods aside fertilization, 3 named mulching, 4 mentioned fallow periods, and 4 mentioned crop rotation. All interviewees that named other fertility increasing methods also apply these methods when needed and many noted that they see a visible difference in their crops when one or more of these methods is applied.~~ The agricultural information sources named during the interviews were relatives, including parents, grandparent, or husband, trainings by NGO's or extension workers, elementary school, and observing others. Information from relatives was most common, being named by 5 of the interviewees, followed by trainings by NGO's or extension workers, named by 3 interviewees. As point of interest, one of the interviewees got her information from her grandmother, who was also interviewed, and who got her information from training by NGO's and extension workers. The agricultural knowledge women accumulate over their lifetime thus travels in small social and family circles.

“Next to the information we got from our ancestors, we get information from the look of things, when you come and see somebody farming and you ask what they are doing and how it is going. So by observing is also how we get information” (FGD 1, participant I5).

~~The women of the Mesopotamia group possess limited technical knowledge and are aware of the effects of the management practices that they apply only in terms of the visible effects of these practices. From the interviews it is clear that there is a range of agricultural management practices known and practices within the Mesopotamia group, but it also became clear that while the farmers know that these methods work when aimed at improving soil quality—they do not why these methods work. They know that plants need nutrients from the soil and that they can add nutrients to the soil by applying fertilizers, mineral or organic, but how the fertilizers add these nutrients to the soil is unknown. The agricultural management practices that the women spoke of during the interviews were: crop rotation, fallow periods, fertilization with manure, compost and mineral fertilizer, intercropping and mulching. Not all of the mentioned practices were familiar to all of the women, and some of the women found that they were limited in choice of management practice due to their socio-economic circumstances. For example, for many women fallow periods are not an option as their lands are simply too small. A certain yield is needed for sufficient income generation and leaving the land or a portion of it fallow would mean a significant reduction in income. A consequence of the lack of fallow periods is more pressure on the land, which can lead to increased erosion and may result in diminished soil nutrient content (KNBS/AWSC, 2014).~~

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~~“Next to the information we got from our ancestors, we get information from the look of things, when you come and see somebody farming and you ask what they are doing and how it is going. So by observing is also how we get information” (FGD 1, participant I5).~~

~~All interviewees noted that they meet either monthly or weekly with others and feel that they can speak freely and that their input is valued in general. Of the 8 women interviewed 5 responded that it is easier to share knowledge with women and 3 responded that they share equally easily with men. However all interviewees noted that women overall seem more open to input or that they listen and understand better. Many felt that the shared circumstances of women, meaning similar problems and the care for the household and children, spending more time at the house or on the field, is the leading cause of this. Two of the women said that men are less open to advise and can even become violent.~~

~~“Women are easier to work with because they are the people who take responsibility in the houses and can solve this.” (FGD 2, Participant I5).~~

3.2 Focus group discussions

~~During the women only FGD we learned that most of the women work in the urban gardens as a way of generating income, to provide for themselves and their children. At least half of the women participating in the FGD are widows and agriculture is their sole form of income. They do feel that their gender puts them at a disadvantage as they feel that there is a lack of mutual understanding between the men and women of the group and that the men have a tendency to refuse to share resources with them. They believe it would help if there would be at least 1 woman on the groups' board and this would lead to more equal distribution of resources among the group members. There are some limitations on the women's activity due to cultural restriction, but not all of them are still actively followed. One that still is followed and limits the women is the prohibition for women to plant and own trees. Banana trees for example can bring higher profits than some other crops, yet women are forbidden from planting them.~~

Much of the information from the interviews was confirmed in the focus group discussions (FGD). The exceptions were as follows. Although the types of fertilizers named during the FGD were mostly the same as those in the interviews, more of those responding appear to be using a form of mineral fertilizer. This discrepancy may be due to the inclusion of men in the FGD. It also became apparent, in contrast to what came forward from the interviews, that the farmers do have knowledge of the way to work intercropping in a manner that can add N to the soil, but that they have a different name for this method: green manuring. The management of the farms and decision regarding using one of the various methods to restore soil fertility is largely reactionary - actions are undertaken only when the crops seem to do less well than previous cropsly.

While mineral fertilizers seem to be used more than inferred from the interviews, the participants do show a preference for organic types of fertilizer. According to them vegetables grown with organic fertilizers taste better and keep longer, whereas ~~and~~ mineral fertilizer is reported to damages the soil.

~~During the women only FGD we learned that most of the women work in the urban gardens as a way of generating income, to provide for themselves and their children. At least half of the women participating in the FGD are widows and agriculture is their sole form or income. Their main issue in working with men is a lack of mutual understanding and the men's tendency to refuse to share resources with them. They believe it would help if there was at least 1 women on the groups' board and this would lead to more equal distribution of resources among the group members. There are some limitations on the women's activity due to cultural restriction, but not all of them are still actively followed. One that still is followed and limits the~~

women is the prohibition for women to plant and own trees. Banana trees for example can bring higher profits than some other crops, yet women are forbidden from planting them.

When asked about the sources of agricultural information the participants of the FGD name 5 different sources. All rank family as the first and most important sources, followed by trainings and demonstrations. Observation and visiting others is ranked third. Media and exhibitions are ranked fourth and fifth respectively, and the farmers indicate that this is because of their lack of access to media and the expenses involved in visiting exhibitions. This may indicate that while there are more and closer sources of information on agricultural management in the urban environment, accessibility remains a problem for these farmers.

3.3 Soil Analysis

Intercropping is done by 4 of the women in the Mesopotamia group, mainly with cowpeas. Theoretically intercropping should improve soil nutrient content, specifically soil N content. However, the intercropping technique is not always applied in a way that would accomplish this: the cowpeas are harvested and not ploughed into the soil. Ploughing the cowpeas into the soil is needed for the nutrients accumulated to become available for other crops (Okalebo, 2009). The women also use intercropping to prevent soil erosion while the main crops, often kale, is still growing. Intercropping also provides a source of income while the farmer waits for the kale to mature as cowpeas mature faster.

To support the soil analysis the two farmers whose fields were sampled were interviewed more extensively than the other interviewees. Both farmers have at least 5 years of experience and principally grow kales. The manure of Bboth farmers useis made manure from cows and chicken mixed with organic waste. The farmer using only the manure applies this at time of planting and then again every 4-12 weeks as she feels is necessary. The application is ploughed into the soil. The farmer practicing intercropping applies manure as a topdressing at planting and approximately 8 weeks after planting. The cowpeas are broadcast on the field and a number of the plants is removed after 2 weeks to make room for the kales to grow. The farmer using manure weeds and ploughs her field every 10 days, whereas the intercropping farmer weeds every 14 days and ploughs her fields only every 26 weeks. In the fields of the farmer that uses only manure kales were grown in the fields in the previous growing season. The fields of the intercropping farmer were left fallow for 6 months before planting the current crops; in one of the fields maize was grown before the fallow period.

The sampled soil was analyzed for its nutrient content, and overall, by FAO standards, generally fell within the ranking 'high' (FAO, 2006). Table 1 provides the average values of the main soil parameters for all 4 sampled fields, as well as those parameters separated per management practice. The pH of the soil in the sampled fields ranged from very slightly acid neutral to very slightly alkaline, with an overall average of 7.25 (Table 1). The CEC was high overall with an average value of 33.5 cmol_c kg⁻¹, likely as a consequence of the high clay content of the soil (Table 1). Similarly, with an average of 36.6 g kg⁻¹ the total soil carbon was also high. The laboratory analyses showed relatively high amounts of water soluble and exchangeable cations, however there is a significant difference in nutrient content depending on the management practice.

	pH	C	N	Mg	Ca	K	CEC	NO ₃ ⁻	NH ₄ ⁺	PO ₄ ⁻	SO ₄ ²⁻
	-	g kg ⁻¹		mg kg ⁻¹			cmol _c kg ⁻¹	mg kg ⁻¹			
Mean	7.3	36.6	2.8	572.6	4842.1	1768.4	34.0	85.5	5.9	24.0	59.0
	(0.2)	(11.0)	(0.4)	(89.2)	(761.2)	(879.2)	(5.4)	(62.7)	(3.7)	(15.6)	(44.5)

Manure only	<u>7.3</u> <u>(0.16)</u>	<u>45.3</u> <u>(8.9)</u>	<u>3.13</u> <u>(0.3)</u>	<u>603.6</u> <u>(102)</u>	<u>5467.8</u> <u>(467.9)</u>	<u>2210.5</u> <u>(1056)</u>	<u>38.6</u> <u>(3.2)</u>	<u>96.7</u> <u>(56.9)</u>	<u>6.7</u> <u>(4.9)</u>	<u>31.2</u> <u>(18.3)</u>	<u>84.1</u> <u>(56.9)</u>
Intercropping + Manure	<u>7.1</u> <u>(0.2)</u>	<u>27.9</u> <u>(3.4)</u>	<u>2.6</u> <u>(0.3)</u>	<u>541.7</u> <u>(60)</u>	<u>4216.3</u> <u>(395.9)</u>	<u>1326.3</u> <u>(200)</u>	<u>29.5</u> <u>(2.4)</u>	<u>74.3</u> <u>(66.3)</u>	<u>5.0</u> <u>(1.4)</u>	<u>16.9</u> <u>(6.9)</u>	<u>33.9</u> <u>(10.3)</u>

Table 1. Average pH, total C and N (g/kg), exchangeable Mg, Ca, K and Na (mg/kg), CEC (cmol_e/kg) and water soluble ions NO₃⁻, NH₄⁺, PO₄⁻ and SO₄²⁻ (mg/kg) in the soil of Nyalanda field site, standard deviations in parenthesis (0-15 cm depth, 4 fields, with 12 samples per field; n=48).

5 To support the soil analysis the two farmers whose fields were sampled were interviewed more extensively than the other interviewees. Both farmers have at least 5 years of experience and principally grow kales. The fields of the farmer that only uses compost have a slightly higher clay content and lower drainage capacity than those of the farmer that practices intercropping. The intercropped fields have a coverage of approximately 60-65%, less than those where only kale is grown, which have an approximate covering of 80-85%. The manure of both farmers is made of manure from cows and chicken mixed with organic waste. The farmer using only the manure applies this at time of planting and then again every 4-12 weeks as she feels is necessary. The application is ploughed into the soil. The farmer practicing intercropping applies manure as a topdressing at planting and approximately 8 weeks after planting. The cowpeas are broadcast on the field and a number of the plants is removed after 2 weeks to make room for the kales to grow. The farmer using manure weeds and ploughs her field every 10 days, whereas the intercropping farmer weeds every 14 days and ploughs her fields only every 26 weeks. In the fields of the farmer that uses only manure kales were grown in the fields in the previous growing season. The fields of the intercropping farmer were left fallow for 6 months before planting the current crops; in one of the fields maize was grown before the fallow period.

20 Intercropping is done by 4 of the women in the Mesopotamia group, mainly with cowpeas, which should theoretically improve soil nutrient content. However, the intercropping technique is not always applied in a way that would accomplish this: the plants are harvested and not ploughed into the soil. Ploughing the cowpeas into the soil is needed for the nutrients accumulated to become available for other crops through the enrichment of the soil with organic matter (Okalebo, 2009). The women also use intercropping to prevent soil erosion while the main crops, often kale, is still growing. Intercropping also provides a source of income while the farmer waits for the kale to mature as cowpeas mature faster. Soil analysis shows that the application of intercropping has a significant effect on the soil nutrient content (Figures 1, 2, Table 1).

30 In case of manure application combined with intercropping the pH was neutral ~~leaned towards being very slightly acid~~, whereas in case of only manure application the pH leaned towards very slightly alkaline (FAO, 2006). The CEC was nearly 10 cmol_e kg⁻¹ higher in fields under only manuring than in the fields where there is also intercropping. Similarly, total soil carbon is nearly 20 g kg⁻¹ higher in the fields where only manure was applied in comparison with the fields where there was also intercropping (Table 1; Fig. 2a). While the soil organic carbon was slightly higher in the manured fields versus the intercropped fields the difference was not significant (Fig. 2c). The contents of the macronutrients N, P, K, Ca and Mg were almost all higher under the field management type manure application only, as compared to manuring combined with intercropping (Fig. 1; Fig. 2).

Figure 1a, 1b and 1c show the amounts of water soluble and exchangeable Mg, Ca and K as part of the total amount of the cation present in the soil, clearly demonstrating that the levels are higher under the practice of applying manure only. Figure 1d, 1e and 1f show the proportion of the total amount of Mg, Ca and K in the soil that is water soluble or exchangeable. Notable is that while the absolute amounts are higher under manuring only, under the practice of manure application

combined with intercropping, often a larger proportion of the nutrients was water soluble or exchangeable (Fig. 1). Specifically, the average exchangeable fraction was higher for Mg and Ca under intercropping + manuring, and the average water soluble fraction was higher for Ca and K under intercropping + manuring (Fig. 1). The Kruskal Wallis and ANOVAs tests showed that all the described difference between the fields and between the management practices were significant for these characteristics at a confidence interval of 95%.

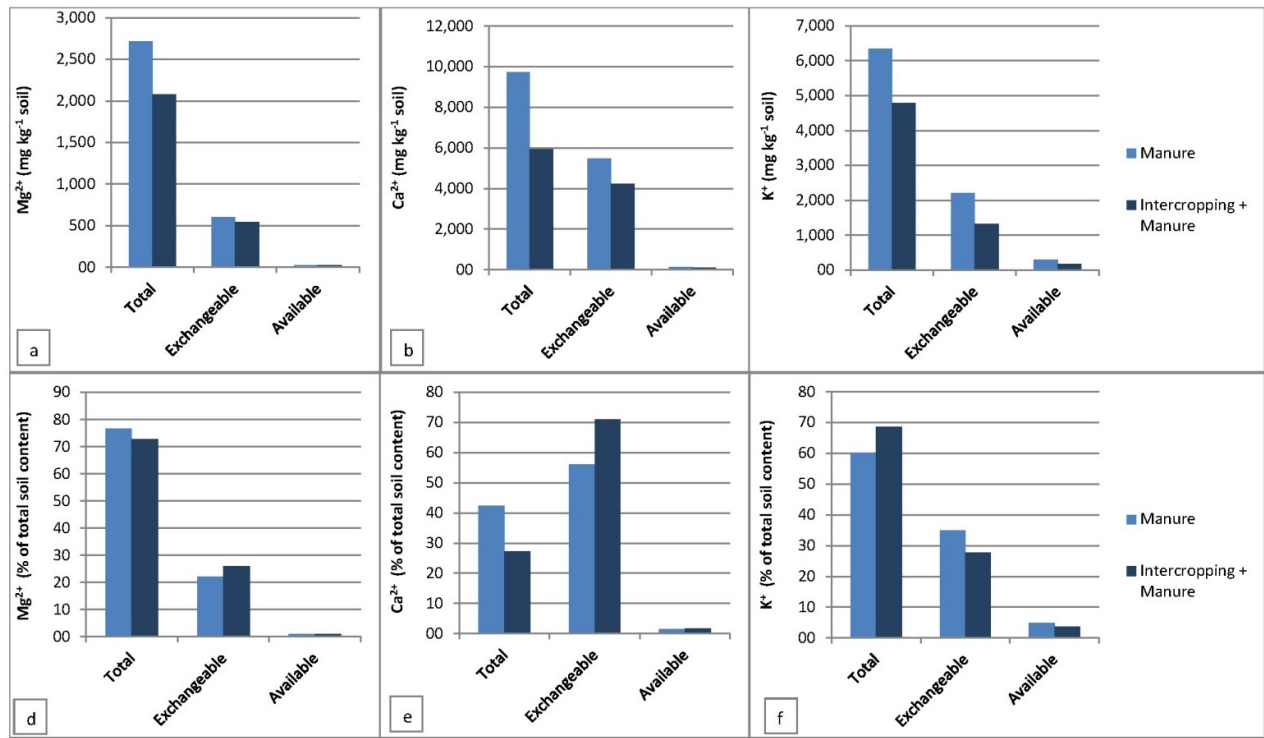


Figure 1. 1a, 1b and 1c: Bars length show the total, exchangeable, and plant available/water soluble amount of Mg, Ca and K in mg kg⁻¹ soil under management 'manure' and 'intercropping and manure'. 1d, 1e and 1f: Total, exchangeable and plant available/water soluble Mg, Ca and K in the soil as percentage of the sum.

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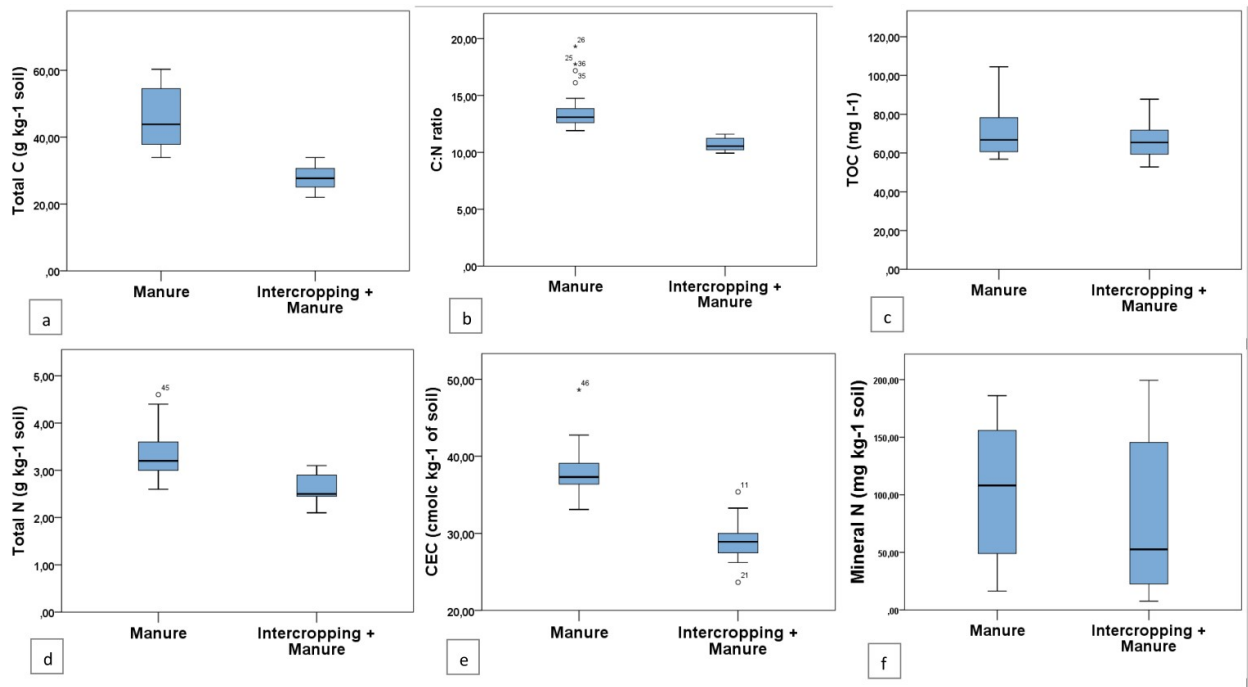


Figure 2. Boxplots showing the differences between 2a: total C (g kg⁻¹ soil), 2b: C/N ratio, 2c: total organic C in the extracts (mg C l⁻¹), 2d: total N (g kg⁻¹ soil), 2e: cation exchange capacity (CEC in cmol_c kg⁻¹) 2f: Mineral N (mg kg⁻¹ soil), for the agricultural management practices of 'manure' and 'intercropping and manure'.

5 Discussion

Results of the sample analysis of the soil of the urban gardens in Nyalenda showed a pattern consistent with the soil typology. The soils in the Nyalenda urban gardens can be classified as Vertisols, locally known as black cotton soils, which are soils characterized by a high clay content that shows shrink and swell patterns (FAO, 2006; FAO, 2014). Vertisols are generally fertile and productive soils, high in Ca, K and Mg, but often poor in N and P (FAO, 2006, FAO, 2014). Soil analysis has shown the rating for exchangeable Ca and K was very high and the rating for Mg was high according to FAO classification (Table 1; Fig. 1) (FAO, 2014). The high amounts of nutrients in the Nyalenda soils is most likely because of the parent material, which consists of river and lake sediments with inputs from the African rift valley, and the limited age of the soil material.

Earlier research on soil nutrients and possible solutions for soil fertility problems in rural western Kenya concluded that socio-economic factors determine how likely it is that scientific findings are taken up by farmers (Gicheru, 2012; Okalebo, 2005). The results from the interviews and the FGDs show that this is also the case in a more urban setting. - This might be because the gardens were originally located in a more rural surrounding, but the urban centre of Kisumu has since spread to that area; effectively changing the gardens environs from rural to urban. The extension of the urban environment has however not led to a greater accessibility to information sources for the farmers that now live in the informal settlements of the city. Information from media and exhibition were indicated to be too costly for the farmers in this study.

Gender-aware research has shown that women possess important knowledge regarding agricultural management, distinctly different from the knowledge of men in agriculture (Saito et al., 1994; KNBS/AWSC, 2014). When farmers do not use scientific findings it is often regarded as a sign of unwillingness, lack of understanding, or ignorance. This view is particularly damaging for the collaborative interactions between different institutions and farmers, and the success of any potential innovations in agriculture that are adaptive, affordable and applicable to the context.

When asked to name and rank their primary sources of information all farmers of the Mesopotamia group, male and female, indicated a preference for inherited knowledge, followed by trainings and demonstrations. ~~There was some discussion on the differences between demonstrations and observations, and some of the farmers consider them equal in importance. Information from training and demonstrations is however often lost because techniques or elements thereof are forgotten over time and/or materials needed are unavailable or too expensive. Using and adapting techniques by observing other farmers is more common.~~ Information from television or internet has less impact because these farmers lack access to these media. Exhibitions are considered good, but the expense to go and visit them is often considered to be too high. So even though the number of information sources is higher in the urban environment, the access to these sources remains a challenge for the women farmers in Nyalenda that were part of the present study.

Limited access to sources of information means that most of the Mesopotamia farmers possess limited technical knowledge regarding soil processes, however they are aware of soil processes and their consequences in practical terms from sensory knowledge and daily experience. For example, the women are aware of the need to rest the soil with fallow periods or crop rotation and that mulching improves soil structure. The majority of the women in the Mesopotamia group possess knowledge

regarding agricultural management practices and the effects of these practices on soil in these basic terms. As this knowledge is mainly passed down from previous generations or disseminates through observation of other farmers in the group or community, this knowledge does not travel far (Alunga and William, 2004; Kabira, 2007).

5 ~~The women farmers of Mesopotamia report that they prefer to share information with other women. Some of the women are occasionally wary of sharing information with men, as men might feel offended by ‘being taught’ by women. The women believe it is easier for other women to understand their knowledge because of their shared backgrounds and responsibilities and they indicate that they often continue beyond scheduled meetings to further discuss issues and solutions. On occasion they will choose not to share information with another, if for example they believe that the other woman does not have the resources to apply the technique.~~
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In Nyalenda, a context where poverty is widespread, agricultural management and decisions are heavily influenced by social-economic constraints. These constraints can work against sustainable farming practices. For example, the farmers explained that some had taken to intercropping with cowpeas originally because they were told that they needed to increase
15 N in the soil by government extension workers. Yet, the analysis of the soil samples shows that the soil nutrient content is significantly lower when the kales are intercropped with cowpeas (Table 1, Fig. 1, 2).

Soil samples from fields with intercropping show lower amounts of soil nutrients on average (Figs 1a, 1b, 1c, 2), however a comparison on the availability ratios of ~~some of the nutrients~~ magnesium and calcium showed that they have a higher
20 availability or are more readily exchangeable under intercropping (Fig. 1d, 1e, 1f). The cause for this difference is not clear, but may be the influence of the presence of a legume species. The presence of the rhizobacteria on the root nodules of the legume can promote the availability or exchangeability of nutrients beyond nitrogen by immobilizing nutrients and preventing them from leaching from the soil (Lavakush et al., 2014; Vejan et al., 2016). Furthermore, the lower amount of nutrients in the intercropped fields may be due to the different approaches that the farmers have to applying manure. Farmer
25 I2, who applies intercropping, applies the manure as a topdressing only. Farmer I7, who does not practice intercropping, ploughs the manure into the field. Ploughing the manure into the field preserves the N and promotes the biological breakdown of the manure, which increases the availability of the nutrients therein (Baligar, 2001). The decrease in soil nutrients in intercropped fields (Fig. 1) was most likely caused by the farmers not ploughing the cowpeas into the soil in combination with the different manuring practice (Okalebo, 2009).

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During the interviews it became clear that instead of ploughing the cowpeas into the fields, the farmers are harvesting the cowpeas for sale. Harvesting the cowpeas means a greater uptake of nutrients from the soil and no additional organic material is added to the soil. Selling the cowpeas has become the primary motivation for intercropping as it gives the farmers a source of income in the period before the kales are mature and the advantage of doing so is more readily apparent to
35 farmers than a potential increase of N in the soil. This shows that the lack of effect of intercropping on soil N contents in the examined soils is most likely not ~~the caused by a~~ d by a lack of women vegetable farmers’ knowledge of proper application or the technical knowledge of intercropping. Rather it appears to be a conscious choice related to a shift in the aim to be achieved by intercropping, i.e. gaining a secondary crop to be harvested and sold rather than increasing the yields or quality of the primary crop.

Conclusion

The results of the soil analysis showed that the soil in the Nyalanda urban gardens is rich in macronutrients. Further analysis indicated that, while seemingly small, the impact of different agricultural management practices on soil nutrients is statistically significant. The growing of the cowpeas beside the kales causes a more rapid extraction of nutrients from the soil. Growing cowpeas and ploughing them into the soil should increase soil N content, however the farmer that applied intercropping sold the cowpeas on the market rather than ploughing them into the soil. While it is likely that the farmer originally took up intercropping to increase soil N after the advice from the visiting extension workers, she at some point changed her practice to make use of the opportunity that harvesting the cowpeas instead of ploughing them into the soil offered her in terms of additional income. It is unclear when or why exactly she changed her practice, but it is likely that this was financially motivated. This practice likely resulted in the observed decrease in nutrient contents, but provided the farmer with income at a time when the kales were still maturing.

The interviews and FGDs with the Mesopotamia group showed that there is knowledge of a wide range of agricultural management practices present. However, the interviews with the individual women members of the group showed that the knowledge on these practices is unequally distributed and that while they may be known to a technique they do not possess technical knowledge on the effects of their management practices. We conclude that the incomplete knowledge of these farmers is a consequence of the way they acquire and rank knowledge, as well as their lack of access to alternative sources such as the internet. Further research would be needed to confirm this conclusion. During the FGDs a clear preference was given by all farmers to knowledge gained from family members. Observation of other farmers and trainings by outside groups were also appreciated, but considered less important. Knowledge from the trainings was often forgotten or materials needed were unavailable or unaffordable, making the training virtually ineffective.

~~The ineffectiveness of trainings showed that these should be adapted to take the socio-economic circumstances of the trainees into account. Furthermore, the gender differences in ability and access should similarly be taken into account in order to improve the effectiveness of a given training or agricultural recommendations.~~ While this paper covers a case study of limited scale, meaning that this should be taken into consideration when viewing the results and drawing conclusions, the circumstances found within the Mesopotamia group are representative for many other groups in the urban gardens of cities in Kenya and subtropical Africa. The case study showed that women are influenced by their socio-economic and cultural status when making decisions in agricultural management and ~~that~~ these decisions may differ from those of men in the same or similar circumstances due to a lack of access to knowledge, contacts, or materials and capital. ~~While the women of the Nyalanda group are willing to share their knowledge with other women, they are more wary of sharing with men. This wariness on the part of women contributes to the presence of gender differentiated knowledge and hampers the spread of knowledge in general. Trainings should be adapted to take the socio-economic circumstances of the trainees into account. Furthermore, the gender differences in ability and access should similarly be taken into account in order to improve the effectiveness of a given training or agricultural recommendations.~~

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