Chapter 1.

Why a territorial perspective is useful for food security and nutrition policy

This chapter argues that all too often, policies to combat food insecurity have neglected to take into account the territorial dimension of this issue. The nature of food insecurity varies significantly across urban and rural regions as well as across different territories. If policies are to be effective, they must also reflect regional differences. This chapter argues that food security and nutrition (FSN) is a multidimensional issue that has instead often been addressed through a sectoral, top-down and "one-size-fits-all" approach. Drawing on the OECD New Rural Paradigm, the chapter proposes a holistic territorial approach as an alternative framework for tackling this issue. A territorial approach to FSN policy is also needed to facilitate co-ordination among different sectoral policies and levels of government. This can help make the FSN policy framework broader and more flexible. Following a territorial approach is complex but crucial for policy making that connects the objectives of equity, economic efficiency and environmental sustainability – each indispensable in the fight against food insecurity and malnutrition.

Introduction

In a world that is growing ever richer, more globalised and increasingly productive, the benefits of these advances have been highly uneven. A striking feature of contemporary economic development is unprecedented regional disparities, not only *across* but even more *within* countries. Within OECD countries, inequities between regions within countries are larger than inequalities between countries (OECD, 2016). Across developing countries, many have experienced limited progress in economic development, especially in rural regions. These gaps reinforce the notion of a dual economy first advanced by Arthur Lewis in the 1950s (Lewis, 1954). The discussion of regional disparities tends to focus on mainstream economic concepts, including levels of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, employment rates and types of economic specialisation. There are often also large differences in access to food between more developed urban regions and less developed rural regions.

Problems of food insecurity and malnutrition continue to face all nations, whether in low-income developing countries or high-income industrialised ones. It is easy to find sub-populations in any country where chronic hunger and an unhealthy diet limit the growth of children and their ability to learn, and make adults less effective workers. Moreover, while severe problems of famine and acute hunger are less common than in previous centuries, there are still places in the world where hunger either leads directly to death or leaves people too weak to be able to fight off disease.

Hunger and malnutrition have a clear geographic concentration, whether in low-income inner-city neighbourhoods in large metropolitan regions or in isolated subsistence farming communities in remote rural regions. Both types of regions exist in the developed OECD member countries and in developing countries. Food insecurity and malnutrition within a country tends to occur in geographical clusters, and the forces that lead to food insecurity can vary by type of geography. Consequently, a place-based or territorial approach to food insecurity can potentially improve current food security and nutrition (FSN) policies in all types of countries.

In facing the many dimensions of FSN, and poverty, it is often acknowledged that it is in rural areas where the battle will be "won or lost" (Anríquez and Stamoulis, 2007: 6). This reflects two important realities. The first is that it is in rural areas where food is mainly produced, and to the extent that shortages in supply contribute to food insecurity, they must be addressed through improvements in agricultural productivity. The second, and less acknowledged, reality is that food insecurity can be much higher in rural areas because of a far greater reliance on a narrow range of locally produced foodstuffs whose yields are unstable. Limited access to national and global food markets, and high levels of poverty can price rural people out of food markets.

The international track record in alleviating persistent issues of food insecurity and rural poverty has been lacklustre (World Bank, 2007). In the last decade, greater focus has been placed on integrating rural regions into the national and global economies, broadening the economic base of rural regions and improving agricultural productivity. In many respects, the pursuit of competitiveness, productivity and income generation (regional development) are necessary to sustain progress in the effort to reduce hunger, malnutrition and poverty. However, they are far from sufficient on their own. As "[r]ural people make up a high percentage of the hungry and malnourished in developing countries […] efforts to promote growth in agriculture and the rural sector can be an

important component of a strategy for promoting inclusive growth and improving food security and nutrition" (FAO, IFAD and WFP, 2015: 42).

We currently lack frameworks, tools[1] and policies that target FSN challenges and poverty across all types of regions, particularly rural regions. To be effective, FSN initiatives need to be integrated into broader economic development strategies, since development reduces vulnerability to a broad range of individual and social problems, nutrition included. With these challenges in mind, the central thesis of this report is that a territorial, place-based approach is needed to address FSN challenges and that such an approach should be integrated into broader regional development strategies in both urban and rural territories. Further, improving the level of economic development in rural areas is central to addressing the challenges of FSN and poverty. Development strategies are needed that focus on "mechanisms which build on local capabilities and promote innovative ideas through the interaction of local and general knowledge, and of endogenous and exogenous actors in the design and delivery of public policies" (Barca, McCann and Rodríguez-Pose, 2012: 149).

Similarly, implementing the Sustainable Development Goals (including SDG 2) requires whole-of-government and integrated approaches. The 17 goals, incorporating economic, social and environmental aspects, are indivisible and recognise the interlinkages in achieving sustainable development. The territorial approach of this study has much in common with the cross-cutting approach called for by the Agenda 2030.

The context: Territorial trends and challenges in the developing world

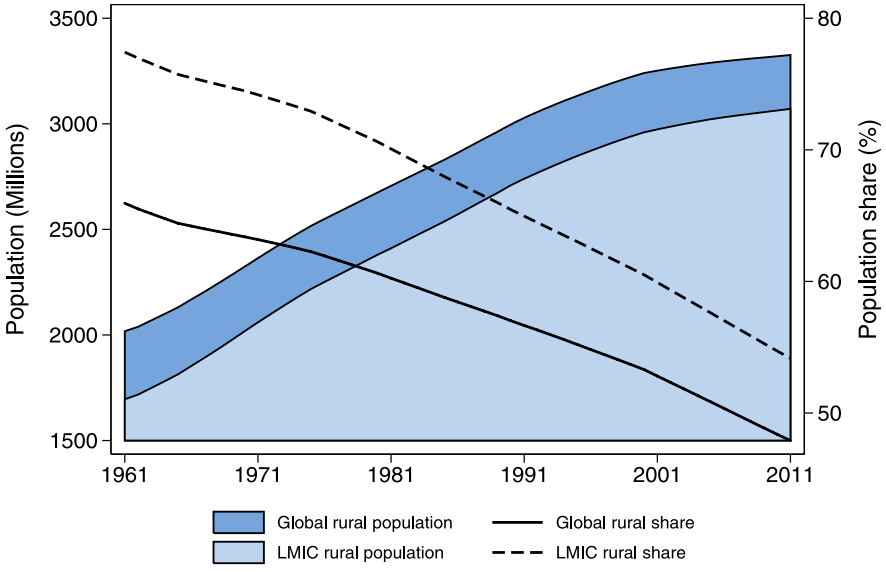
Global objectives of eradicating hunger, malnutrition and poverty are proving stubbornly resistant to change. It is estimated that just under 1 billion people live in extreme poverty worldwide (i.e. on less than USD 1.25 per day – at PPP-adjusted, 2005 prices). Three-quarters of them live in rural areas (UNDP, 2015), and two-thirds earn their living from agriculture (Olinto et al., 2013). These estimates of the rural-urban disparity may be somewhat low. Indicators of multidimensional poverty – a measure that utilises more inclusive dimensions of acute poverty in health, education and living standards – put the rural-urban poverty divide as high as 85% (Alkire et al., 2014). From a food security standpoint, of the global population that is food insecure (795 million people), 94% live in the rural regions of low- and middle-income countries (UN, 2013). The precarious and volatile nature of this picture is also worth emphasising. The global food price spike of 2011, for example, pushed a further 44 million people into hunger (Ivanic, Martin and Zaman, 2012) and brought the issue of food insecurity back as a more acute concern.

The case for intervention to address food insecurity, malnutrition and poverty in rural areas is a strong one. It is also a message that tends to get lost in the dominant development discourse, which focuses on national macroeconomic conditions and is largely spatially blind. In particular, while it is clear that urban populations are expanding at an unprecedented rate, the absolute number of people living in rural areas has also expanded significantly – by 70% in the last 50 years and by 120 million people since the

1. The OECD is working to develop a screening tool for policy coherence for sustainable development and food security [SG/PCD(2016)4]. It aims to support governments and stakeholders in designing, promoting, implementing and assessing policies that have a potential impact on food security.

turn of the millennium. Rural populations are projected to expand in absolute numbers until at least 2030. Importantly, for the vast majority of low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), rural inhabitants still outnumber city dwellers (Figure 1.1). Finally, it is worth noting that rapid urbanisation can largely be attributed to rural-urban migration, because rural areas are failing to provide suitable livelihoods, particularly for younger people. These migrants typically become part of the urban underclass, with limited job prospects and low incomes, which in turn increases the number of urban residents with food insecurity problems.

Figure 1.1. **Percentage of global rural population, 1961-2011**



Note: LMIC, Low-and middle-income country.

Source: Own elaboration based on World Development Indicators, http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators.

Food insecurity, malnutrition and poverty: Spatial correlation

As outlined by the Committee on World Food Security in 2012, FSN is defined as a condition that "exists when all people at all times have physical, social and economic access to food, which is safe and consumed in sufficient quantity and quality to meet their dietary needs and food preferences, and is supported by an environment of adequate sanitation, health services and care, allowing for a healthy and active life" (CFS, 2012). In practice, however, a lack of clarity and consistency in the way food security (Pinstrup-Andersen, 2009) as well as rural development (van der Ploeg et al., 2000) have been defined has resulted in "many fads … but few satisfying economic evaluations" (Hewings, 2004; cited in Valdés et al., 2005). In particular, development efforts typically address one dimension – the adequacy of domestic food production – and have largely neglected to address the dynamics of access, utilisation and stability of food availability, as summarised in Table 1.1. As such, it is now commonplace for the domestic food supply within a country to be more than adequate, but for its distribution to be constrained to a subset of regions, typically metropolitan regions, where incomes are higher, market forces are more prevalent and there is political pressure to maintain a general access to food. The remainder of this section surveys the state of FSN and

poverty globally, and for rural populations in particular, and how these factors relate to additional challenges in increasing food production and encouraging vibrant rural economies.

Table 1.1. **Dimensions of the food security and nutrition problem**

Availability	Achieved when an adequate supply of food is at a population's disposal.
Access	Guaranteed where all households and all individuals within those households have a sufficient economic and physical capability to obtain appropriate food (through production, purchase or donation) for a nutritious diet.
Utilisation	Refers to the biological and social constraints on food security, related to the ability of the human body to ingest and metabolise food (i.e. through proper health care and culturally sensitive food provision, to ensure that disease and illness are avoided and food is adequately utilised).
Stability	Refers to the temporal dimension of food security and nutrition and affects all three physical elements. Chronic food insecurity (i.e. repeated food shortages) should be distinguished from transitory food insecurity (i.e. linked to a natural or man-made disaster).

Source: Adapted from FAO (2012a), *The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2012: Economic Growth is Necessary but not Sufficient to Accelerate Reduction of Hunger and Malnutrition*, available at: www.fao.org/docrep/016/i3027e/i3027e.pdf.

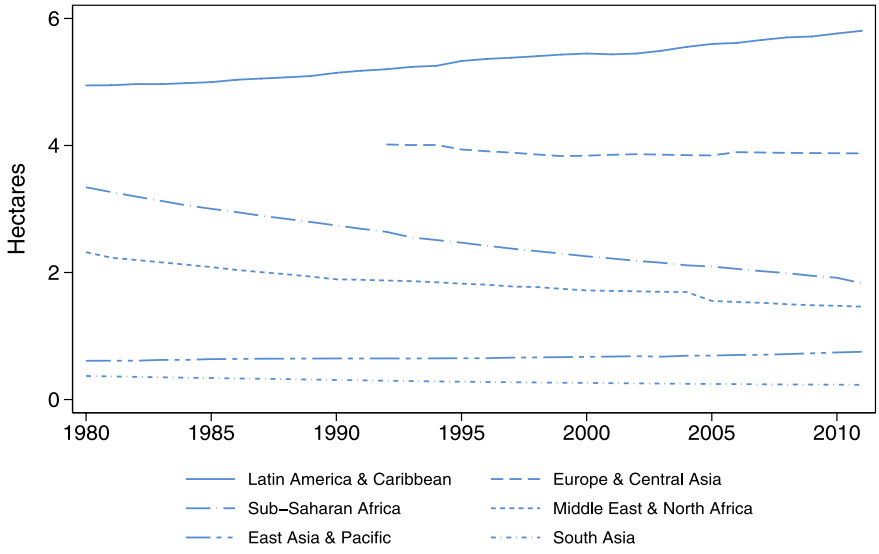
While urban regions – where food production is limited – have better access to food, rural regions – where most food is produced – have more limited and variable access to food. This basic contradiction is one of the driving forces militating in favour of a territorial approach to food insecurity. Clearly, geographic proximity to the supply of domestic food is not enough to ensure access to food. Urban regions have greater access to food, in part because they are better connected to national and international markets, and able to source food from multiple locations, whereas in more remote rural regions, there may be few alternatives to local production, due to limited connections to other food sources. Urban regions also tend to be richer, which provides them with the income to purchase food even at times of shortage, when higher prices ration demand. Finally, rural regions tend to rely on the few varieties of food that can be locally produced, and production may be difficult to increase due to limited land or an inability to modernise production methods. In addition, the volume of the local food supply may also be highly variable, leading to a higher frequency of food insecurity episodes in rural regions.

In most countries, the supply of agricultural land is fixed or declining. This means that increases in output have to come from improved productivity. Meanwhile, population has grown, and shifted towards higher calorific intake, as developing and emerging countries grow economically. Demand for the food supply is projected to increase by 50% in the next two decades (Figure 1.2). Since the 1960s, the global arable land surface has only increased by 9% (Pretty, 2008), with population growth of more than 110%. Competing demands for farmland, including urban conversion and the increasing production of non-food crops, such as textiles and biofuels, further complicate the picture. Consequently, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) stresses that close to 80% of future increases in food production will have to come both from intensification of production in low-yield regions, and from innovation in all regions, but particularly in those where yields are already high and likely to stagnate.

Environmental concerns, including natural resource deterioration, soil and water degradation (SDG 15) and climate change (SDG 13), also pose great risks to agricultural yields – which have already plateaued in many countries after steady increases throughout the 20th century (Grassini, Eskridge and Cassman, 2013). There are multiple causes for yield decline or increases in yield variability. Several climate change models suggest that the effects of changes in global temperatures and rainfall intensities will be experienced differently across the world, but crucially, that developing regions are likely to experience some of the most adverse effects, both in terms of average yield and variability in yield

over time. Research to improve agricultural productivity, except in the case of a few large crops, has been a low priority in recent decades. Traditional farming practices in some rural regions can also contribute to low output and high variability in output if soil fertility is depleted due to erosion, failure to maintain nutrient levels or the adverse consequences of monoculture. "Simply put, poor farmers have passed on their suffering to the land through extractive practices. They cultivate marginal soils with marginal inputs, produce marginal yields, and perpetuate marginal living and poverty" (Lal, 2004).

Figure 1.2. **Agricultural land per rural inhabitant in low- and middle-income countries by region**



Note: Consistent data for Europe and central Asia only available from 1992.

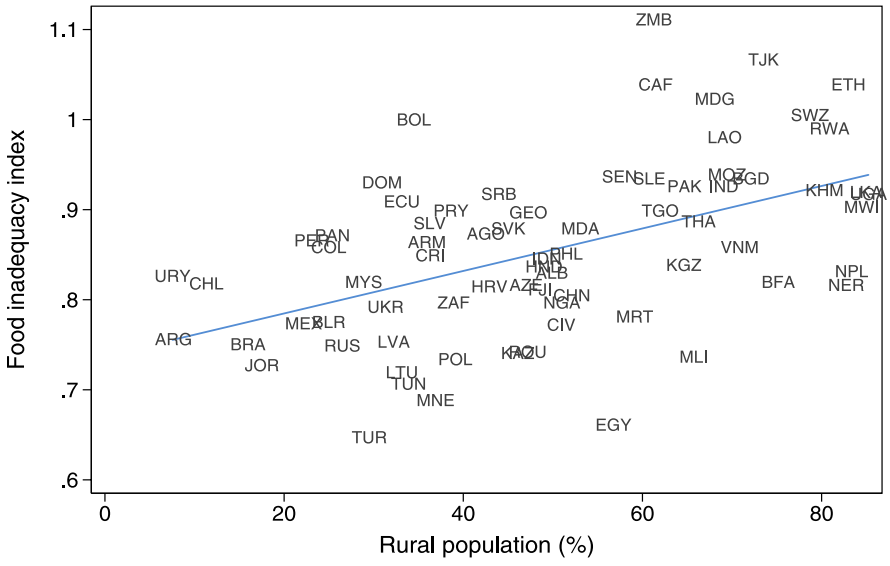
Source: Own elaboration based on World Development Indicators, http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators.

The geographical unevenness of these effects is worth re-emphasising. Countries with larger rural populations, in general, tend to be more food insecure (Figure 1.3). Considerable variation in agricultural yields exists across many regions, many producing well below their potential (Tilman et al., 2011). Linking farms into globalised production and supply chains, and helping to disseminate new, more productive practices, thus becomes necessary to meet future demand. To a great extent, this implies the use of more capital-intensive, more sophisticated farming practices involving new technologies. Agricultural modernisation inevitably leads to farm consolidation and the release of labour, which creates a clear employment problem for current small farm operators and farm workers. These points to the need for broader rural development initiatives that can provide a more diversified regional economy in rural areas, to absorb these released workers. This has been the experience of OECD countries over the last 100 years, as they increased agricultural output, reduced the number of farm workers and increased the financial well-being of farm households to close to, or even above, the level of their urban population.

Agricultural modernisation and a failure to address broader approaches to rural development only serve to push ever greater numbers of the rural poor and food insecure

into urban regions. The trouble is, however, that many cities are simply unable to absorb current rates of natural population growth, let alone more rural emigration. Thus, although a great deal of focus is placed on reducing the ills of rapid urbanisation – including overburdened social services, expanding slums, pollution, crime, poverty and hunger – a greater emphasis is also needed on rural areas to stem the tide of rural-urban migration. This means developing many more employment opportunities, including in new non-agricultural industries, with an emphasis on jobs attractive to the rural youth – those most likely to leave and most needed to rejuvenate rural areas economically and demographically (OECD, 2006).

Figure 1.3. **Rural population and food supply adequacy**



Note: The food insecurity index is the inverse of the Food and Agriculture Organization's Average Dietary Energy Supply Adequacy (ADESA) indicator.

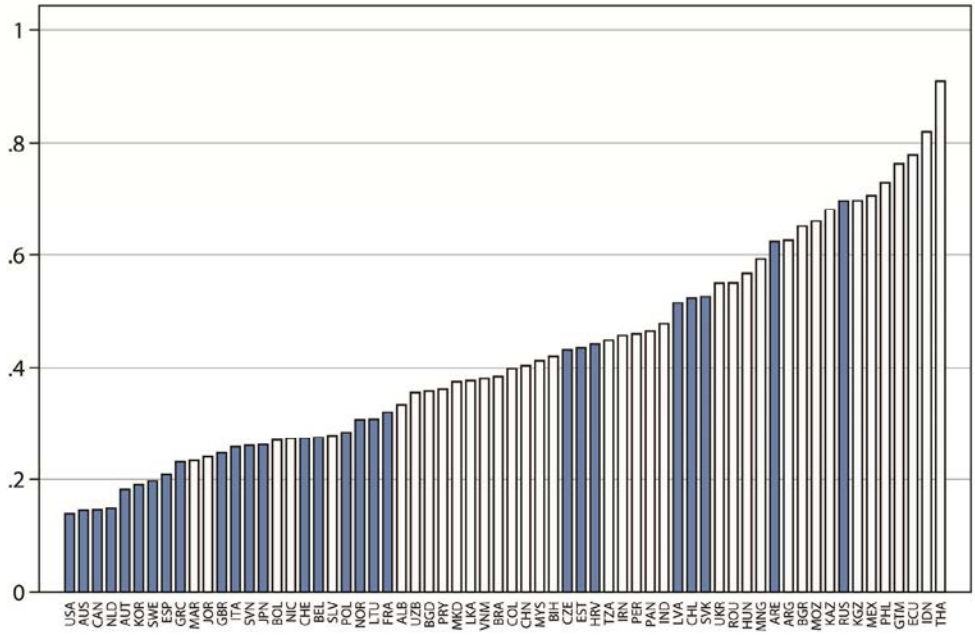
Source: Own elaboration based on World Development Indicators, http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators; FAOSTAT.

Rural poverty has, however, shown signs of improvement in recent decades – as is well documented in progress reports concerning the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Yet, even allowing for the general progress made in reducing poverty, the persistence of strong pockets of rural poverty ought to keep rural development high on national and international agendas (Dercon, 2009). It is also possible that the scale of these issues is underestimated. Between 1993 and 2001, for example, estimates suggest that 100 million fewer people were classified as rural poor. Over the same period, estimates of the urban poor increased by 50 million (Ravallion, Chen and Sangraula, 2007). It is certainly conceivable that some portion of the fall in rural poverty could simply be the result of rural-urban migration, representing a displacement of the issue to urban areas. In this respect, tackling the causes of rural poverty at their source could be all the more significant for addressing poverty in broader terms.

Regional disparities in food security and nutrition and poverty

Traditionally, regional disparities in FSN and poverty have been construed in terms of the global North and South or across an urban-rural dimension. However, recent data highlight a new element within these global figures: the highly uneven geographical distribution of incomes, food security and poverty *within* countries. As illustrated in Figures 1.4 and 1.5, sub-national income disparities are not only at their highest in developing countries, they have also tended to widen in recent decades. On the first point, the right-hand side of Figure 1.4 indicates a concentration of LMICs with the widest levels of territorial inequality. Of the 20 LMICs with the highest levels of regional disparities, only 5 have levels of GDP per capita in excess of USD 10 000 (Bulgaria, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Mexico, Panama). Those middle- and high-income countries with high levels of regional disparities tend to be located in Central and Eastern Europe – including Croatia, Latvia, the Russian Federation and the Slovak Republic – all having undergone post-socialist transitions. Others include Chile and the United Arab Emirates, both natural resource-dependent countries, but with economic activity highly concentrated in metropolitan regions – Santiago, Abu Dhabi and Dubai, respectively. By contrast, of the 20 countries with the lowest level of internal disparities, almost all are high-income OECD member countries. The few LMICs with relatively low disparities tend to be small economies, such as El Salvador or Nicaragua, to fall into the upper middle-income bracket (as in the case of Jordan), or are more exceptional, as in the cases of Bolivia and Morocco.

Figure 1.4. **Differences in interpersonal and territorial income inequalities among selected countries**

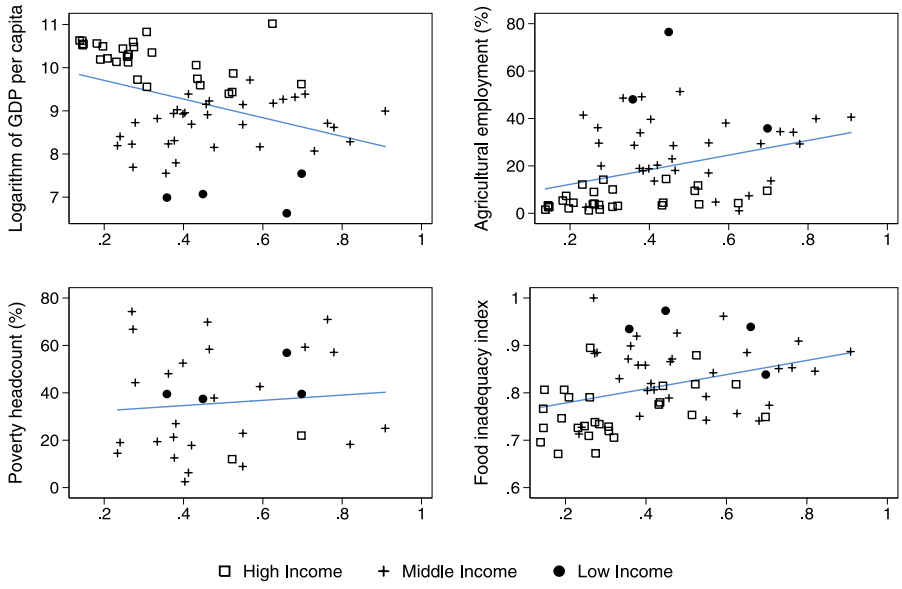


Note: White bars indicate low- and middle-income countries; blue bars indicate high-income countries.

Source: Own calculations based on World Development Indicators, http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators; data appendix in Gennaioli et al. (2014), "Growth in regions", http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10887-014-9105-9.

Figure 1.5 presents additional information on the association of the degree of regional income disparity (based on regional GDP per capita) on the horizontal axis, with four core measures of economic structure and performance – GDP per capita, share of employment in agriculture, household poverty rate and a food inadequacy index that measures the share of households without secure access to food. Countries are grouped by income level – high, middle and low – and a linear trend line is fit to the data to suggest the relationship with higher levels of regional disparity. Note that only a limited number of low-income countries are included in the analysis.

Figure 1.5. **Regional disparities and their association with incomes, agricultural employment, poverty and food security**



Source: Own calculations based on World Development Indicators, http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators; data appendix in Gennaioli et al. (2014), "Growth in regions", http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10887-014-9105-9.

First, the correlation between GDP per capita and its degree of internal spatial disparity is plain when both are plotted against one another in the upper left figure. High-income countries (represented with a square indicator) are mostly clustered in the upper left of the graph (high incomes, low inequalities). The figure does, however, show considerable variation within each income grouping. For example, LMICs like Bolivia, Morocco and Nicaragua (all with levels of GDP per capita below USD 4 000), have levels of regional inequality above, or on par with, several high-income economies, including Belgium, Italy, Japan and the United Kingdom (each with levels of GDP per capita of USD 28 000 and above).

Second, a greater dependence on agriculture is positively associated with higher internal spatial disparities – albeit less markedly so than with levels of per capita GDP. For example, countries where a high percentage of the population is engaged in agricultural employment – including Bangladesh, the People's Republic of China (hereafter "China"), India, Indonesia and Thailand – feature at the top end of our regional inequality scale. Countries with low agricultural employment tend to be clustered in the bottom left of the figure, indicating lower levels of regional inequality.

Third, the data suggest that the degree of regional income disparity appears to be only weakly associated with poverty levels. While this association is drawn from a small sub-sample of countries, it does suggest that poverty is found in all countries, irrespective of their level of development or the degree of regional disparity in incomes. However, there is a stronger association with regional disparities and levels of food insecurity. Notably, while most upper-income countries are clustered in the low spatial inequality portion of the graph, with low food insecurity, several have considerable regional income inequality and relatively high levels of food insecurity. Both the middle- and low-income countries tend to have both high levels of regional inequality and high levels of food insecurity.

These data largely support the notion that there are regional differences within countries that affect the spatial distribution of food security. They also indicate that the spatial distribution of food insecurity is relevant to low-, middle- and high-income countries, although the territorial dimensions will vary with the stage of development of a specific country and its ability to produce food throughout its various regions. Moreover, given the well-established importance of increasing global food supplies to deal with a growing and wealthier population, it is clear that the historical focus on addressing food insecurity by increasing agricultural output in all countries remains relevant. The agricultural shift from subsistence and semi-subsistence smallholder farming to more modern commercial farming is likely in lower-income developing countries. However, it will be less likely to result in the impoverishment of those squeezed out of farming if a parallel investment in broadening the economic development of rural regions accompanies investments in agricultural modernisation. In particular, public investments in building transport and communication infrastructure, and investments in education and training for the least skilled can facilitate the transformation to an integrated market economy (OECD, 2011).

A territorial approach to food security and nutrition policy

The world produces enough food to feed everyone. Yet, about 800 million people suffer from hunger and malnutrition. This "paradox" – which His Holiness Pope Francis I called "intolerable" when he addressed the delegates of the FAO Conference at the Vatican on 20 June 2013 – is caused by multiple factors. As of now, policies to confront hunger have been based principally on centrally led and short-term relief approaches, with a focus mainly on increasing food production through sectoral policies. The overall result has had only a modest effect on reducing hunger and malnutrition.

There is increasing recognition that territorial approaches provide an appropriate framework to address the structural and emerging issues of FSN, including widening within-country inequalities and disparities in so far as they allow the exploration of the multidimensional, multi-actor and multi-level nature of food security and nutrition. In recognising the diversity of geographic spaces (metropolitan, rural adjacent, remote rural) and their capacity to react to shocks (external and internal), such approaches are also suited to tackling the sources of food insecurity. This involves strengthening local institutions and putting them at the forefront of the battle against food insecurity, to ensure the achievement of FSN in its multiple dimensions (availability, access, utilisation and stability).

This section develops a conceptual framework for a territorial approach to food insecurity and nutrition. It recognises that food availability, access, utilisation and stability can differ significantly across three types of regions – metropolitan, rural adjacent and rural remote. This provides the context for connecting the various forms of

food insecurity to types of regions and for better understanding the importance of policies spatially sensitive to the various dimensions of food insecurity across regions. Crucially, a country's stage of development – lower-income developing through higher-income developed – also influences the territorial dimensions of food insecurity.

Regional diversity and territorial characteristics are increasingly acknowledged as both potential drivers of food security and development and factors responsible for the reproduction of hunger and inequalities. These shape the social, economic, institutional and environmental characteristics, as well as the socio-economic and policy dynamics, of a country's geographic areas. A territorial approach can thus be a helpful entry point from which to explore the complexity of economic and social diversity in a country and to formulate FSN strategies able to respond to diverse needs.

Food security and nutrition is the result of a dynamic interaction of economic, social, institutional and environmental policies. These policies, reflecting the heterogeneity of metropolitan, rural adjacent and rural remote societies, aim to reduce risks, increase rural households' resilience to shocks, promote development and boost livelihoods. Addressing rural poverty and inequalities requires a holistic approach acknowledging the diversity of regional spaces. While a sectoral approach to FSN policy and strategy is necessary, it is not a sufficient condition to impact rural livelihoods and reduce inequalities (between rural and urban areas, across rural areas or across individuals).

FSN is a complex, multidimensional issue. In addition to the availability dimension, there is a need to address the issues of access to food (both economic and physical), the nutritional quality of food (utilisation), and the stability of both the availability and access dimensions in the long run. Other causes of food insecurity are generally attributed to low incomes, unemployment, health, education, nutrition status, natural resource degradation and weak political commitment, which exacerbate vulnerability to risk. As noted by the FAO, fighting rural poverty and food insecurity will require resilient and diversified rural economies that offer employment and income opportunities. Helping small farmers improve farm productivity can help, but in most contexts, it is not enough to lift all rural poor out of poverty (FAO, 2013).

Raising the income of the poor is thus one of the main challenges of ensuring food security and nutrition. The basic requirement for poverty reduction is broad-based development, whose underpinnings include political stability; sound policy at the global, national and sub-national level; strong institutions; well-defined property rights; and good governance (OECD, forthcoming *a*). In addition, territorial capital and assets (natural, human, manmade, organisational, relational and cognitive capital) play a key role in the fight against hunger.

Ensuring food security and nutrition is a global challenge that calls for a cross-sectoral, coherent approach at local, national, regional and international levels. However, interconnectedness between different sectors increases the risk that action in one area may undermine efforts in another. Breaking down the silos that separate policy sectors requires co-operation among political institutions and other stakeholders in promoting cross-sectoral synergies for achieving food security (OECD, forthcoming *a*).

The underlying assumption of this research is that an effective approach to food security and nutrition in rural areas should recognise the multidimensionality of FSN. If food security objectives are to be realised, all four dimensions must be recognised. While agricultural development plays a key role in the achievement of food security in developing countries, a sectoral approach is not enough. Agriculture is an important

activity in rural areas of developing countries, yet its relative weight is generally declining. In Africa and Latin America, 30-60% of rural household incomes are from non-farm sources. Livelihoods of rural communities increasingly depend on identifying and exploiting diverse new local economic drivers, which can be connected with the agricultural sector. This is supported by the evidence that the incidence of poverty is, in general, less severe in off-farm or multi-activity households than in families dependent on agriculture. Many of the world's food insecure people are low-income, small-scale farmers who are not integrated into larger productive networks and are exposed to food price shocks, natural catastrophes and climate change.

There is wide recognition (FAO, 2006; World Bank, 2007; UCFA, 2010; OECD and FAO, 2010) that sector-wise policies are not sufficient to set a sustainable path out of poverty and food insecurity. Cross-sectoral and place-based policies aiming at integrating the agricultural sector with upstream and downstream markets, as well as with non-farm activities, may be potentially more effective for improving rural livelihoods and FSN. Evidence obtained from a series of OECD policy reviews, as well as research conducted by both the FAO and the United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF), suggests that there is need for a shift towards a broader and more holistic approach to FSN and rural development.

The regional dimension of food security and malnutrition

Within-country variability among regions tends to be greater than across-country variability for almost any socio-economic indicator (OECD, 2012). However, within a country, extremes in regional conditions tend to be "averaged out" in constructing the national average measure. A national average can be a somewhat misleading descriptor of how well typical citizens are doing. Where regional variability is high, the national average may be accurate in only a very small number of regions, and the majority either far better or worse off than the average would suggest. This phenomenon is true for basic socio-economic indicators such as per capita income, employment rates, educational attainment, poverty levels, and for hunger and malnutrition levels.

The *OECD Regional Database* provides a comprehensive overview of many socio-economic indicators for member countries at the sub-national level, provided for various regional categories. Diversity at the regional level is the main motive for the OECD's emphasis on territorial policy in the Regional Development Policy Programme. In particular, the programme recognises the distinct differences between highly urbanised regions and rural regions, even in the most advanced industrialised democracies, where there is a high degree of connectivity across regions. Given these regional differences, it is important that development policies of any kind incorporate differences in conditions and opportunities across regions, to ensure that regions of all types benefit and that national welfare is maximised.

Food insecurity and malnutrition fall into this situation, with significant differences in both the frequency and degree of FSN problems across regions. If there are large differences among different types of regions within a country, there would seem to be *prima facie* evidence for a territorial approach to improving food security and nutrition levels. For example, if large urban regions have low levels of food insecurity while rural regions have high levels, there may be grounds for policies that differentiate between urban and rural regions. However, this may be too simplistic an approach.

If the example is pushed further and the regional populations are subdivided by income level, it may appear that that the urban poor are as food insecure as the rural poor. This might suggest that geography is not the issue for FSN policy, but that poverty is. However, deeper analysis indicates that the well-functioning food distribution and marketing system in urban areas ensures that food is available to those with sufficient funds – a true poverty problem. In rural regions, poverty is clearly an issue, but households rely on self-supply, a more limited set of markets for food and limited scope for food imports due to weak transport links. Moreover, strategies to address poverty in urban and rural regions will differ significantly.

This suggests that addressing FSN problems can benefit from a territorial approach for precisely the same reasons that other forms of economic development policy benefit if more carefully tailored support is offered to different types of regions. A large body of literature suggests the best way to address food insecurity and malnutrition is to strengthen food markets and increase household incomes. Thus, strengthening the link between policies supporting economic prosperity and food security is crucial.

A conceptual framework for a territorial approach to food security and nutrition policies

The preceding discussion has highlighted the many interlinked dimensions of FSN as well as its context-specific nature. To date, while most approaches to FSN problems acknowledge the need for extensive rural transformations to compete in the global economy, few factor in provisions to explicitly design pathways that link food security and poverty. The critical issue is that many factors generate, and co-evolve alongside, FSN challenges. Some are environmental conditions that affect the availability and quality of agricultural land; inadequate land tenure systems; limited economic opportunities for growing populations; disparities linked to the remoteness of rural communities; poor policy making and the presence of institutions that exacerbate issues of crime, corruption, clientelism and conflict. A critical question is how to connect efforts to improve agricultural productivity while also promoting new employment opportunities that can provide alternative sources of income and improve the access dimension of FSN.

The most common rural development policies used currently fall into three categories. The first is a single-sector approach, typically agriculturally oriented, that focuses on using a leading sector to pull development forward. The second approach is to try to encourage diversification to create multiple sources of income and employment, largely through small-scale enterprises. A third approach is to concentrate efforts in urban areas and rely on spread effects to pull rural areas along, using spatially blind policies. None of these approaches looks explicitly at the problems and opportunities for specific rural regions, and none has a focus on connecting various policy initiatives into a package that provides a co-ordinated and coherent approach. The remainder of this chapter seeks to outline competing themes in rural development in the form of policies centred on the promotion of single sectors (usually agriculture or primary commodities) and others on diversification (OECD, 2006). Prevailing approaches are considered that adopt spatially blind strategies (i.e. concentrating on sectors or people). This contrasts with the new, territorially sensitive, place-based paradigm, which tries to get to grips with the drivers and inhibitors of growth in a particular territorial setting, and uses this information to define development goals.

Single-sector approaches

Agriculture-centred policies are the archetypal single-sector approach to rural development. Indeed, rural development practice has long been regarded as synonymous with agricultural development in many contexts (Pisani and Franceschetti, 2011; OECD, 2010). Three reasons lie behind this. First, more is known about the promotion of agricultural growth than the promotion of alternative, non-agricultural activities (Valdés and Foster, 2010). Second, the responsibility for rural development has often fallen to government departments responsible for agriculture, farming and related activities (Rojas-Caldelas et al., 2010). Third, in most developing countries, the vast majority of the rural population is engaged in agriculture, and improving farm incomes is often seen as an obvious first step. It is not that approaches based on single sectors in isolation are necessarily ineffective or undesirable, but simply that an approach to development with too narrow a focus is unlikely to recognise the full complexity, externalities and opportunities that affect the development potential of a given region.

However, most rural communities in developing contexts rely upon primary activities – including agriculture, forestry and fishing. According to the most recently available World Development Indicator on the subject, over 30% of global employment is concentrated in agriculture, rising to 38% in middle-income countries and 46% in lower middle-income countries. Ignoring the potential to develop the agricultural sector would be a missed opportunity to make a real difference to food security and rural poverty (Hazell et al., 2010). An expanding agrarian sector can also induce strong urban-rural and forward linkages that can pull non-agricultural sectors with it, increasing both farm and non-farm opportunities in rural areas (Anríquez and Stamoulis, 2007). However, an inevitable consequence of agricultural modernisation is that greater productivity substitutes capital investment for labour and involves larger farms. The supply of food may increase and food prices may decline, but additional efforts will have to be made to introduce new employment opportunities for households leaving agriculture, or food insecurity problems will increase.

Diversification approaches

Where single-sector approaches focus largely on specialisation, diversification approaches emphasise multi-functionality and diversity. This reduces the risks inherent in overt specialisation in rural regions, and helps develop an economic base for future growth. In light of such constraints as a limited supply of agricultural land and the declining potential for agriculture to employ a growing rural population, it has often been argued that farming and the agrarian economy alone will not be able to provide a way out of poverty for a significant proportion of the rural poor (IFAD, 2010; Brooks, Cervantes-Godoy and Jonasson, 2009). This represents the central tenet of the OECD's "New Rural Paradigm" (2006), as outlined in Table 1.2. The New Rural Paradigm, endorsed in 2006 by OECD member countries, proposed a conceptual framework that positioned rural policy as an investment strategy to promote competitiveness in rural territories. This represented a radical change from the typical subsidy programmes of the past aimed at specific sectors.

Table 1.2. **The OECD's 2006 "New Rural Paradigm"**

	Old approach	New approach
Objectives	Equalisation, farm income, competitiveness of rural areas, valorisation of local assets, farm competitiveness	Competitiveness of rural areas, valorisation of local assets, exploitation of unused resources
Key target sector	Agriculture	Various sectors of rural economies (i.e. rural tourism, manufacturing, ICT industry, etc.)
Main tools	Subsidies	Investments
Key actors	National governments, farmers	All levels of government (supra-national, national, regional and local), various local stakeholders (public, private, non-governmental organisations)
Target geography	Dichotomy between urban and rural areas	Focus on the importance of urban-rural linkages

Source: OECD (2006), *The New Rural Paradigm: Policies and Governance*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264023918-en.

Subsequent studies highlight the role of multisectoral approaches, with emphasis on non-agricultural development as "decisive to fight rural poverty" (Ambrosio-Albalá and Bastiaensen, 2010: 9). Two classic rationales for diversifying farming household incomes exist. The first is to mitigate risk associated with output shocks and the seasonal availability of food (Lohmann and Liefner, 2009: 143). The second is to provide an alternative to farming as a source of household income by introducing new activities in rural regions.

To embrace the new FSN and rural policy challenges faced by many countries, innovative governance mechanisms have been developed to enhance co-ordination across sectors and levels of government, as well as between public, private and non-profit stakeholders. Moreover, new policy instruments with a significant territorial and place-based focus are being created to identify and capitalise on rural areas' competitiveness, local assets and knowledge, as well as to tap into diverse potential for development. The OECD has described this evolution as a paradigm shift in rural development policies. The defining characteristics of the 2006 New Rural Paradigm are a focus on places rather than sectors and an emphasis on investments rather than national transfers and subsidies.

Recent work of the OECD builds on the New Rural Paradigm in order to propose a new toolkit for addressing the challenges, while reaping the opportunities, faced by rural areas in developing countries today (OECD, 2016). Challenges include a more demanding competitive international environment, rapidly growing rural populations, increased pressure on limited environmental resources and climate change. Opportunities include advances in information and communications, agricultural, energy, and health technologies that can help address some of these challenges. The toolkit for developing countries stresses the need for multisectoral and multi-level strategies, which should be context-specific. Being focused on developing countries, the toolkit pays particular attention to key development areas such as demography, basic infrastructure and the role of secondary cities for strengthening positive urban-rural linkages. Moreover, enhancing governance and capacity building appear as key factors for the development of any rural or territorial development strategy in developing countries. Indeed, in contrast to OECD member countries, developing countries are characterised by weak institutions, which hinders the establishment of well-functioning co-ordination mechanisms, which further limits the effectiveness of any territorial development strategy.

The OECD's rural policy approach is now evolving – from the New Rural Paradigm in 2006 to the current Rural Policy 3.0 (OECD, forthcoming b), which puts more

emphasis on implementation. The new dimensions in the Rural Policy 3.0 include the recognition of rural and urban linkages, and a general focus on building capacity at the local level in order to encourage participation and bottom-up development strategies. It maintains that a key objective of rural policy should be to increase rural competitiveness and productivity in order to enhance the social, economic and environmental well-being of rural areas. Within this approach, policies should focus on enhancing comparative and absolute advantages in rural communities and should draw on integrated investments and delivery of services that are adapted to the needs of rural areas and benefit from potential complementarities. The Rural Policy 3.0 describes a partnership-driven approach that builds capacity at the local level to encourage participation and bottom-up development. Partnerships between different levels of government, between rural and urban locales, and among rural communities are critical for community and economic development.

Few would question the importance of developing new sectors of employment to offset static growth or decline in agricultural employment as a basis for sustainable development (Dirven, 2011; Reardon and Timmer, 2007; Barrett, Reardon and Webb, 2001; Berdegué et al., 2000). Indeed, for many developing and emerging countries, the rural non-farm sector is already a source of considerable employment. In India, in particular, the rural non-agricultural activities sector employs the largest percentage of people in the country (Reddy et al., 2013). More broadly, studies increasingly emphasise how a growing percentage of rural incomes are now derived from rural non-agricultural employment (Lanjouw and Lanjouw, 2001; Haggblade, Hazell and Reardon, 2007). Approximately 35-50% of employment in the rural developing world now falls within this category (de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2001; Barrett, Reardon and Webb, 2001; Bryceson, 2002; Rigg, 2006), ranging from 34% of rural incomes in Africa to 47% in Latin America, and 51% in Asia (Imai, Gaiha and Thapa, 2013).

In principle, diversification approaches are highly attractive. However, in practice, in rural regions they face significant geographical challenges: long distances, low density and lack of critical mass. Distance from markets increases transport costs for purchased inputs and outputs. Low density increases the cost of commuting for workers and distributing goods and services. Lack of critical mass means small home markets and a small labour force, which limits the number and size of firms. Consequently, while diversification may be able to supplement a primary resource sector, it will typically be unable to replace it.

Approaches to safeguard food security and reduce poverty should recognise the interplay between incomes, skills and socio-economic deficits and the dynamics of employment opportunities in the rural economy (Chawanote and Barrett, 2011). However, despite the growth and development potential of non-agricultural activities, governments and donors have often paid relatively little attention to approaches that explicitly promote non-agricultural opportunities. Considerable scope thus remains to shape the development of non-agricultural activities in the interests of sustainable development and poverty reduction (IFAD, 2010; Babatunde and Qaim, 2010; Chang and Mishra, 2008).

The "spatially blind" paradigm

> "Unless there are spatial barriers that limit adjustment, economists argue that policies to alleviate poverty should focus on poor people, not poor places." (Partridge and Rickman, 2008: 1).

Although the stance of the World Bank has shifted since, the 2009 *World Development Report* prominently advocated the ascendancy of a spatially blind approach to development. The report diagnosed the three D's – density, distance and division – as the foremost impediments to regional development, and proposed the three I's – institutions, infrastructure and integration – as the treatment for each. From this perspective, the principal problem that impoverished rural areas face is a lack of agglomeration related to sparsely populated areas with few connections to more densely settled towns and cities. From this perspective, rural areas face considerable physical, institutional and transactional cost barriers to accessing and engaging in trade with domestic and international markets. The more remote and sparsely populated – where poverty is coincidentally at its highest – the lower the development potential. These are precisely the areas of the world most at risk of facing food insecurity issues. Remote and poorly endowed regions may thus enter into a vicious cycle of underdevelopment and food and nutrition insecurity: lack of agglomeration, poor integration and distance to markets curtails their capacity to develop, and poor development prospects raise the risk of food insecurity, which, in turn, further undermines the potential for development.

"One-size-fits-all" policies are the mainstay of a spatially blind approach. They are designed around the noted 3 I's: institutions (to promote density), infrastructure (to encourage agglomeration) and integration (to reduce division) (World Bank, 2009). The first, establishing sound and effective institutions for development, emphasises the significance of formal institutions, such as legal and regulatory frameworks, for protecting private assets and facilitating market access and trade flows to unlock the agglomeration potential of the country or region (North, 1990; Tabellini, 2010). Second, problems related to distance can be overcome by the building of infrastructure. Infrastructure investments have been a central component of rural development strategies, and development more generally. Infrastructure such as road and rail investments reduces distance between places and promotes agglomeration, reduces transaction costs, and induces flows of labour, resources and capital to regions where higher returns can be yielded. Finally, the importance of integration implies the formation of larger internal markets, which, in part, serve to facilitate the further expansion and densification of urban cores. Thus, in contrast to traditional approaches to development, all components emphasise policy designs geared towards the promotion of further expansion and densification in more agglomerated core regions, with little or no emphasis on increasing the potential for development in peripheral areas.

Economic agglomeration in a spatially blind approach is regarded as a basic step for economic development. If countries want to develop, they must inevitably go through an agglomeration stage during which territorial disparities increase (World Bank, 2009). In the process, greater agglomeration will generate powerful externalities, resulting in higher economic growth, which, in later stages, will spread out first to neighbouring regions before reaching more peripheral areas. However, as was first noted by Myrdal in 1957, the spread effects of urban growth can be offset by backwash effects that pull resources out of rural regions, leaving them worse off.

Large agglomerations clearly generate positive externalities, which are beneficial to firms, sectors and to the region as a whole, but these externality effects may not spread far beyond the urban agglomeration. Consequently, the outcome of greater agglomeration is just as likely to be even greater agglomeration (Rodríguez-Pose, 2010). Any spread effects from the core will thus be insufficient to compensate for the presence of very powerful backwash forces (McCann, 2008). In this situation, a more spatially sensitive balanced growth approach may increase total national well-being by allowing rural

regions to make a positive contribution to national growth. This requires a rural development policy that is compatible with urban development policies, in that it seeks to improve rural-urban linkages, but also recognises that urban policy and rural policy should not be identical, because rural opportunities and constraints are fundamentally different from those in urban regions.

The importance of a holistic approach to food security and nutrition policies

None of the three standard approaches to economic development in rural regions has proven to be satisfactory. This suggests that an integrated approach, as proposed in the New Rural Paradigm, might offer a better way to manage development challenges in developing countries, including FSN issues. Most intermediate and peripheral areas have economic potential which runs the risk of being neglected by a paradigm that favours "one-size-fits-all-policies" in the agglomerated cores of a country (Parkinson et al., 2012). Leaving economic potential untapped is not only pernicious for those places being overlooked, but also for the overall efficiency of policy and for the growth of a country. The discussion of agricultural and diversification approaches is illuminating in this respect. It is clear that there is an important role for both agriculture and non-agricultural activities in the secondary and tertiary sectors for eradicating food security and poverty. Contrary to the one-sided discussions that are typical of the relevant streams of literature, they are both needed for rural development and complement each other. They comprise two important pillars of the rural economy and are strongly inter-connected.

Similarly, urban-rural interactions, including links with local urban towns as well as more major medium and large cities, offer a vital conduit for instigating development, if channelled appropriately (OECD, 2013a). If connections can be encouraged that expand market access and create additional opportunities for enterprise and employment, while also improving access to health care and education, this can instigate positive externalities, build a more diverse portfolio of economic activities and generate employment – while also reducing food insecurity and poverty locally. However, to generate these benefits, it will be necessary to avoid inducing capital flight and skilled migration, by building local assets and resources.

Most importantly, it is critical that economic development strategies be explicitly connected to social development strategies and to FSN concerns. All three issues have clear territorial differences, in terms both of the magnitude of the challenges and the potential approaches to resolve them. Moreover, they are linked policy concerns. FSN is best addressed by improving incomes, education and health care. Workers are more productive if they are not malnourished. Public services, including health care, are more effective if people have incomes and access to nutritious food.

Robust institutions and multi-level governance can help promote policy coherence

Challenges to any FSN and rural development strategy are multifold. The competitiveness and nature of social exclusion in rural areas is conditioned by a variety of factors, many already alluded to, such as levels of urban demand for rurally produced products and services. More specifically, from a policy perspective, effective rural development strategies rely on considerations related to the quality of government, the ability to co-ordinate complementary approaches across sectors – as well as vertically across national and sub-national authorities – and to make provisions for the localised capacity of sub-national governments, including their authority and legitimacy.

Policy coherence for sustainable development (PCSD) can support governments in their efforts to design policies that consider the various dimensions of FSN. It can be particularly useful for identifying synergies and trade-offs and minimising negative spill-overs, including from a spatial perspective. The OECD defines PCSD as "an approach and policy tool to integrate the economic, social, environmental and governance dimensions of sustainable development at all stages of domestic and international policy making".

There is strong evidence that food security and nutrition levels are influenced by territorial capital or assets, including human capital, infrastructure, local institutions as well as natural resources and environment, which vary across geographic areas. This diversity is, however, often overlooked in policy making, which is generally centralised and does not take into account specific local opportunities and issues. Integrated territorial approaches do rely on good, effective governance at multiple tiers of government, but particularly at the local level, to instigate sustainable regional development. The term "good governance" has ascended to the forefront of development debates as they have become increasingly place-based and community-centred (Meso et al., 2006).

Many of these problems are most pertinent to territorial settings that are divided, with significant regional cleavages based on conflict, social movements and structural differences that call into question the accountability and legitimacy of sub-national governments to pursue local goals and priorities (Ambrosio-Albalá and Bastiaensen, 2010). The risk is that low-quality governments – at all levels in fact – have a tendency to push zero- and negative-sum initiatives based on redistribution, rather than more integrated, sustainable and positive-sum modes of development (Bebbington, Abramovay and Chiriboga, 2008). As such, where local institutions are of questionable quality, decentralisation cannot be viewed as a panacea. There are many well-known risks to decentralisation when implemented ineffectively or inappropriately, including corruption and local elite capture of policies (Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2006). A strong role from central governments is, in this respect, essential for the design, co-ordination and regulation of effective policies, particularly at the outset, to compensate for weak local capacities. Strong multi-level co-ordination, interaction and commitment between national and sub-national authorities can then, over time, raise local capacities, which can then incrementally and commensurably increase their own levels of responsibility (De Ferranti et al., 2005).

The fundamental importance of (formal and informal) institutions and capacity building for development strategies is no longer a mystery (Rodríguez-Pose, 2013). What can be done to alter institutional frameworks and cultural conditions is, however, another story altogether. Little is available in the way of strong evidence to show how many institutional forms can be augmented over the short to medium term. They represent, nevertheless, one of the key pillars of a place-based approach to FSN and poverty in developing countries. Informal institutions in particular play a critical role for FSN and its determinants, and include components such as norms, traditions, social capital and culture. Under a spatially blind approach, the importance and context-specific nature of informal institutions is frequently overlooked – due to the partial, incomplete comprehension of institutions in such approaches, which tend to over-emphasise formal dimensions.

Place-based approaches are thus needed to understand, and account for, how institutional and related territorial features can be accommodated in policy practice.

Moreover, institutional reforms play a key role even in the debates between place-based and spatially blind approaches in emerging and developing countries. Spatially blind approaches prefer to promote agglomeration and urban expansion in order to overcome institutional weaknesses inherent in developing contexts. By contrast, place-based proponents counter that "the ability of urbanisation to overcome rather than to exacerbate institutional problems is not at all clear, because it depends on their interactions, which in turn may also depend both on the level of development and also on the existing limited institutional arrangements" (Barca, McCann and Rodríguez-Pose, 2012: 145). A holistic, place-based approach instead allows for the formulation and implementation of policies that aim to utilise and enhance the institutional capacity of a given place (Barc, McCann and Rodríguez-Pose, 2012). This can be achieved through external actors, such as international organisations and donor agencies, via conditionality arrangements, where parts of aid programmes could be made conditional upon appropriate packages of institutional capacity building.

Another key role within the scope of place-based approaches is the ability to establish mechanisms that allow for a combination of long-term strategies and short-term needs. In other words, developmental success stories frequently involve institutions, such as regional development agencies, that are able to go beyond the political pressures of short-term policy cycles and provide greater consistency and autonomy to develop and maintain a more long-term vision or strategy. In the words of Tomaney, "institutions which are separated but linked to the political structures […] allow you to take a long term view", without this and because of "the way in which accountability is instituted, that is the way in which the political class is refreshed and so on […] you are destined towards sclerosis" (interview in Cistulli et al., 2014).

Therefore, given these and the previous considerations, both the strong influence of territorial capital and the key role of institutions (formal and informal), it appears clear that any FSN strategy based entirely on a spatially blind approach – which neglects the highly context-specific nature of FSN – would prove highly ineffective and very likely to fail in addressing any future iterations of MDG 1 on poverty and hunger reduction. A place-based approach that considers the territorial place-specific features of rural regions can establish both the constraints and obstacles to achieving FSN and reducing poverty in a given place. In doing so, it can present possible solutions to improve and tackle these issues, and, by adopting a multi-level governance orientation, integrate these approaches into a macroeconomic FSN policy regime that promises to be much more effective.

Integrating social policies and competitiveness agendas

Traditional policies to address FSN and poverty have tended to follow a decontextualised, individual approach. The limitation of the traditional sectoral and assistance-led approach to food security is not only that it does not address and consider the complexity of the process of development, but it creates, even without the intent to do so, a passive approach to development. Yet, it seems statistically that beyond the peculiar attributes of the people in the territory, the territorial attributes themselves also have some impact in terms of poverty and inequalities. These illustrate the limits of prevailing approaches – based on a national competitiveness paradigm – to issues of FSN and poverty.

By treating populations as recipients rather than pro-active participants in development, opportunities are missed to develop a better understanding of the determinants of local food insecurity, poverty and underdevelopment, and thus to devise more effective policies to remedy these ills. Holistic, territorial approaches offer a different line of attack. Not only do they aspire to extract the utmost from the internal

assets of each and every region, like local firms and regional infrastructure endowments, but they also emphasise the need to develop the softer, more intangible factors within a region, such as its social and institutional fabric. As Barca (2009) stresses, social policies (and therefore also FSN policies) must be place-based, because both the conditions and the well-being of any individual, and the effectiveness of the policy actions to address inequalities, are highly context-specific and influenced by social, economic, cultural and institutional forms of capital typical of their territorial context. Like one weakness of the inequality literature – the treatment of social exclusion at the household level with little regard for the territorial features influencing it – the issue of FSN needs to be addressed beyond the household level and with an eye towards its territorial determinants. In the words of Barca (2009: 36), "[t]he social agenda needs to be 'territorialised', the territorial agenda 'socialised'. The place-based approach to social inclusion should be the result of these two shifts".

In a more general sense, these sentiments reflect a change in orientation from an emphasis on "national" competitiveness to the regional level. All territories have development potential and, as such, policies should be aimed at exploiting each and every region's endogenous potentials. Research by Rodríguez-Pose and Tjimstra (2007) shows that even in sub-Saharan Africa – where it is typical to concede that exceptional solutions are needed to address development issues – there is still clear potential for local economic development strategies to instigate progress. Their specific conclusions for sub-Saharan Africa echo the main thrust of this chapter's argument, that two, rather limited, lines of attack left the territorial dimension as overlooked. First is the tendency for "a combination of macroeconomic stability packages with supply-side sectoral measures applied throughout the continent with little regard for specific local conditions"; and the second, for a prevalence of "piecemeal development projects aimed at guaranteeing the survival of individuals, often in extremely precarious conditions" (Rodríguez-Pose and Tjimstra, 2007: 532.). Community development approaches, in particular, suffer from the latter shortcoming, tending to be disconnected from broader and extra-regional development strategies and institutional frameworks (Mansuri and Rao, 2004). This emphasises the need for approaches that integrate the meso level – i.e. between the national level and the neighbourhood or village level – where there is a patent need for sustained and integrated approaches to maximise the efficacy of relatively scarce development funds.

In terms of socially geared policy instruments, territorial approaches emphasise the importance of investing in hard and soft modes of infrastructure – such as improving the business environment, building social capital, providing public goods, creating and maintaining networks, ensuring the smooth functioning of labour markets, and promoting connectivity through appropriate infrastructure – as opposed to the prevailing preoccupation with packages of subsidies and state aid. In terms of governance processes, the territorial paradigm stresses the need to shift from the typical model based on imperious central government rule towards more even-handed, multi-level governance systems in which different governmental tiers (national, regional and local) and stakeholders (both public and private) are involved in the decision-making process. In a similar vein, policy makers need to target interventions beyond the (arbitrary) borders of administrative jurisdictions and seek to formulate and implement regional development policies over more meaningful functional economic areas.

Food security and nutrition in different regional typologies and stages of development

Addressing food security and nutrition in different regional typologies

The three types of region, irrespective of the stage of national development, have some clear differences in terms of their ability to produce food, their ability to supply food and the territorial development opportunities.

Metropolitan regions

The large population of metropolitan regions, their relatively compact size and competing demands for land result in a low capacity for food self-supply. Food that is produced tends to be of high value and often perishable, such as dairy products, fresh fruits and vegetables, and other specialty crops. Basic commodities, including most meat, grains, and fruits and vegetables produced for processing, are imported. Some metropolitan regions may have a significant food-processing sector, but mainly rely on raw materials from outside the region. While locally produced food is limited in quantity, these regions have good access to a wide variety of imported food, either from other regions in the country or imports from other countries.

Supply of food is rarely a problem in large cities because they have well-functioning food markets that are connected to global suppliers. In developing countries, connectivity to foreign markets happens first in large cities, and these urban agglomerations have the densest networks of connections, largely because markets develop first and in greater complexity in cities. Further, relatively high average incomes mean that food expenditure is a manageable share of household income for all but the poor, so food price increases in times of shortage may be unpleasant, but not threatening. Finally, because city residents tend to be better organised politically and government institutions are based in cities, there is a general tendency for political regimes to ensure that cities are reasonably well supplied with food even in times of national shortages.

For the poor, who may account for a large share of the regional population, food insecurity is a major challenge. The major challenge in large cities, however, involves access to food for those with low and unstable income. Even for the very poor, there is a relatively high likelihood of having sufficient access to food through local relief organisations, because these are easier to organise and operate in an urban setting, where surplus food may be readily available. Thus, in these instances, hunger may be a chronic problem, but may not be immediately life-threatening.

Territorial development opportunities in metropolitan regions are closely tied to the benefits of economies of agglomeration. A growing body of evidence and analysis confirms that, other things being equal, larger cities make their residents more productive (OECD, 2015). In part, this can be explained by the characteristics of the workforce and the firms in cities. Larger cities tend to attract highly educated and experienced residents, who would have high levels of productivity wherever they choose to work and live, and they also attract more productive firms. However, the evidence is now clear that cities themselves can contribute significantly to their residents' productivity. Residents of larger cities are more productive than if they were living in smaller cities due to "agglomeration benefits", the positive productivity spill-overs that arise when highly productive firms and people are brought closer together. Typically, these benefits are created through shared inputs, better "matching" between firms and employees, and mutual learning among firms

and residents (Box 1.1). "Knowledge spill-overs", in particular, are considered critical in explaining the benefits of cities in modern service-oriented economies.

Adjacent rural

These rural regions are characterised by large areas, relatively low population density and a fairly limited range of economic functions. However, they do have relatively strong connections to larger urban regions in the form of: good transport links, access to urban services and considerable market interactions, including supply chain linkages, wholesale and retail functions. While these regions have autonomous labour markets, which means that workers do not have ready access to urban jobs, local employers are connected to urban markets. This can provide greater levels of employment and higher wages than would otherwise be the case. OECD research shows that rates of growth in output, productivity, GDP per capita and population are relatively high, even when compared to metropolitan regions (OECD, forthcoming *b*).

The development opportunities in these types of regions highly depend on their ability to take advantage of the positive complementarities between rural and urban areas (OECD, 2013a). Rural-urban partnerships help achieve better regional conditions. First, such partnerships facilitate the production of public goods that are useful for economic development. Second, rural-urban partnerships make it possible to achieve greater economies of scale in the provision of public services. Partnerships aggregate the limited local resources of rural governments with more plentiful urban resources, to provide services more efficiently to the entire region. Third, rural-urban partnerships help account for cross-border effects of decisions taken by single urban and rural local authorities.

Box 1.1. **Agglomeration economies**

Three main mechanisms work to produce agglomeration economies:

1. Mechanisms that deal with sharing of:

- Indivisible facilities such as local public goods or facilities that serve several individuals or firms. Examples, other than public goods, include facilities such as laboratories, universities and other large goods that do not belong to a particular agent but where some exclusion is implicit in providing them.
- The gains from the wider variety of input suppliers that can be sustained by a larger final goods industry. In other words, the presence of increasing returns to scale, along with forward and backward linkages, allow firms to purchase intermediate inputs at lower costs.
- The gains from the narrower specialisation that can be sustained with higher production levels. Several firms specialise in producing complementary products, reducing overall production costs.
- Risks. This refers to the idea that an industry gains from having a constant market for skills. If there are market shocks, firms can adjust to changes in demand if they have access to a deep and broad labour market that allows them to expand or contract their demand for labour.

2. Matching mechanisms by which:

- Agglomeration improves the expected quality of matches between firms and workers, so both are better able to find a good match for their needs.
- An increase in the number of agents trying to match in the labour market also improves the probability of matching.

Box 1.1. **Agglomeration economies** *(cont.)*

- Delays are alleviated. There is a possibility that contractual problems arising from renegotiation among buyers and suppliers will result in one of the parties losing out to the other party in a renegotiation. However, if the agglomeration is extensive enough, agents can find an alternative partner.

3. Learning mechanisms based on the generation, diffusion and accumulation of knowledge. This refers not only to the learning of technologies, but also the acquisition of skills.

OECD metropolitan regions benefit from agglomeration effects and thus tend to display higher levels of productivity, higher rates of employment and higher levels of GDP per capita than other regions. These benefits, however, are limited by congestion costs, diseconomies of scale and oversupply of labour, among other potential negative elements, and many metro regions have in recent decades tended to underperform national economies.

Source: Duranton and Puga (2004), "Micro-foundations of urban agglomeration economies"; OECD (2009a), How Regions Grow: Trends and Analysis, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264039469-en.

OECD research has identified five key factors as having a positive effect on rural-urban partnerships, based on analysis in 11 case studies (OECD, 2013a):

1. understanding the interdependence of rural and urban areas
2. mutual understanding and the need to act in concert
3. clearly defined objectives
4. representational membership and democratic participation
5. leadership

Among the cases studies, clearly defined objectives, representational membership and democratic participation were important across almost all communities' studies (10 out of 11 and 9 out of 11 respectively). Meanwhile, the most common obstacles to partnership were identified as a lack of private sector involvement (in 5 out of 11 cases) or incentives to partner (in 4 out of 11 cases).

Agriculture typically plays an important role in these regions. It tends to be the dominant land use and can provide a significant share of regional GDP. In more developed countries, the role of agriculture in local employment may be low due to the mechanisation of farming, but the value of agricultural production can be high. Conversely, in less developed countries, agriculture may account for a large share of regional employment but due to limited productivity, the value of production is low. In these regions, development is associated with an increase in average farm size, with increased agricultural productivity and with a declining share of the regional workforce employed in agriculture. Farming that is conducted in this type of region tends to produce far more output than can be consumed by the local population. Because of the strong connections to the adjacent urban area, the surplus production tends to go to the urban region for consumption, processing or re-export.

The local economy of adjacent rural regions is relatively diversified, with multiple sources of income and employment available. This provides not only higher incomes, but more stable incomes, and with good market connections and high levels of self-supply of food, the more extreme forms of food insecurity are of only limited concern. Poverty rates are highly variable across adjacent rural regions, some with relatively low rates and others with high rates. In some cases, urban poor relocate to adjacent rural regions to find

cheaper housing, while in other cases, the poor in adjacent rural regions relocate to urban regions where social support is more readily available. In addition, there may be a higher rate of economic insecurity in rural regions than in metropolitan regions, which leads to periods of high unemployment that expose households to intermittent food insecurity.

Food may be more expensive than in urban areas, except for those items that are produced locally. On average, incomes are lower than in urban regions, so the percentage of income spent on food can be higher. This reflects the fact that there is less competition among food sellers and that transport costs are higher for importing relatively small volumes of food from external suppliers. Local shortfalls in agricultural production have three main effects: 1) less local food is available, so food prices rise as more imports are brought in; 2) the range of available food types is reduced, which affects nutrition; 3) incomes fall for farmers and farm workers, leading to higher poverty and less food being consumed (increasing hunger).

Remote rural regions

These regions are located far from major urban agglomerations, with tenuous connections to urban centres and global markets. They typically cover large areas, with scattered, small settlements and a narrow economic base highly specialised in natural resource production for export. While the natural resource sector may be well integrated into global markets, the rest of the regional economy and society has only weak ties to the external economy and society. These regions tend to be divided into those that are highly dependent on farming as a source of livelihood and those where farming is a minor activity. The farming-dependent regions show a further dichotomy between poorly integrated regions where farming remains either a subsistence or semi-subsistence activity and regions where farming is highly specialised in the production of a major export crop that has little or no food potential, such as cotton, or is limited in its food value, such as coffee.

All three types of remote rural regions are potentially at risk of food insecurity. Those that produce non-agricultural products rely on imported food, and access to food can be limited by transport restrictions, weak connectivity to external markets or by a decline in incomes if the resource price falls. Those that produce a single agricultural commodity for export have the same problem as the previous group. Those that have a subsistence or semi-subsistence agriculture that provides a variety of foods face the problem of supply shocks that can reduce production. Meanwhile, they have few connections to the market economy and little ability to purchase food, even if it can be made available. By definition, subsistence farms tend to produce little more than the household's immediate needs, even when output is close to the expected level.

In remote rural regions, food imports are expensive, due to weak transport links, the limited quantities sold (high fixed costs) and lack of competition among food vendors. Unless incomes are high in the resource industry, the share of food in household budgets can be large even in good economic times. With limited food choices, malnutrition can be a problem even if food is sufficient to meet caloric requirements. In remote rural regions, food supply can be a major challenge, as can access to food. Moreover, because these regions have small populations that tend to be politically disenfranchised, they are not a high-priority constituency for national governments when food insecurity challenges emerge.

Linking food security, the stage of development and territorial differences

As the food security of households is explicitly linked to income (OECD, 2013b), by extension, the stage of development of a country or region will be an important consideration in developing appropriate FSN policy responses. For poor households, food consumption typically accounts for around half of all expenditures, making them particularly susceptible to price increases. Further, in rural areas, many of the households that are food insecure are also involved in agriculture, meaning that food markets have a dual role in providing both income and food for them. The development process for individual countries often involves expanding the role of markets and improving their functioning in several ways: improving framework institutional conditions (including strengthening property rights and the rule of law), and improving the functioning of markets, by improving the availability of information and enhancing competition. These developments, in turn, help provide more predictable and efficient price signals and better allow for the adjustment process to occur. Such developments can benefit both consuming households and agricultural producers. If such market developments are limited or weak, then countries and regions are, in turn, more likely to experience greater levels of food insecurity and malnutrition. The focus on promoting development includes strengthening networks of all types between urban and rural regions, and moving the rural economy from its reliance on subsistence agriculture to a broader range of economic functions that provide higher and more stable household incomes and greater access to purchased food. Other social and cultural factors are also important causes of food insecurity, in addition to the role of markets.

It is important to recognise that food insecurity and malnutrition are problems whose magnitude and consequences vary widely. It is precisely because there are many forms of FSN that it remains a problem in all countries, irrespective of their degree of development or the size of their agricultural sector. But the specific forms of food insecurity and malnutrition can vary systematically depending on the stage of development of a country and by the type of region within a country. In general, the frequency and intensity of food shortages declines as a country develops. This reflects better-functioning markets that are able to move food from region to region and higher levels of income that allow families to purchase enough food to survive. Similarly, Sen is famously quoted as saying that famines – the most severe form of food insecurity – do not occur in functioning democracies (Sen, 1999). His argument is that elected governments face electoral pressures, including criticism from the press, which prompts them to act to offset food shortfalls.

If famine is the most severe form of food insecurity, acute or severe hunger is the next most significant form. While not directly life-threatening, acute hunger leads to weakness that can impair the ability to work or study, affect the physical development of children and increase the adverse consequences of various diseases. Acute hunger is also accompanied by malnutrition because not only is the quantity of food inadequate, but the composition of the food available may be lacking in the specific attributes of a proper diet. Acute hunger is strongly associated with low incomes, whether in the form of earned income, some share of farm production or self-supply. And chronic hunger tends to reduce earning potential, because it is debilitating and restricts the ability to work.

Minor or chronic hunger and periodic hunger remain relatively common among the poorest in all countries, and can be more common in periods when food is expensive or scarce and when incomes are low and employment rates fall at times of economic crisis. What distinguishes the two is the duration of the event. Chronic hunger persists for an extended period, while periodic hunger is episodic and can be caused by seasonal food

shortages, bouts of unemployment or when food prices rise. At times of periodic hunger, individuals may not be able to consume all the calories they need and are almost certain to have an unbalanced diet that can lead to longer-term adverse health consequences if food remains in short supply.

Finally, malnutrition refers to a diet that while providing sufficient calories for human survival does not provide the appropriate nutrients and other requirements to meet human needs. Increasingly, malnutrition is associated with obesity. It may reflect poor food choices made either out of necessity (the available mix of food is inadequate, or some foods are too expensive) or it may reflect poor choices by individuals (lack of understanding or concern with a balanced diet).

For OECD countries, famine has not been a problem in the recent past. It is rare for severe hunger to affect a large share of the populations of OECD member countries. However, chronic hunger and malnutrition remain significant issues in OECD countries. In most developing countries, even those with low income, famine is a rare phenomenon. When famine now occurs in the world, it largely reflects either a failed state where civil war or other conflict has destroyed both the economy and the ability of governments to respond to major food shortages (Gráda, 2010). However, severe hunger remains relatively common in many lower-income countries, as does chronic and episodic hunger and malnutrition.

Tables 1.4 and 1.5 provide a stylised perspective on how the various forms of food insecurity can be associated with the three standard OECD regional types. Table 1.3 examines the relationships for a lower-income developing economy where there are clear differences in the degree of market penetration and the role of market income between urban and more remote rural regions. Table 1.4 presents a typical high-income OECD country where market forces are relatively strong everywhere, but rural regions continue to face problems of food availability and access due to distance, density and lack of critical mass. This can lead to more truncated local economies, greater vulnerability to income and employment shocks, more limited and costly access to public services, and higher transport costs.

Table 1.3. **Forms of food insecurity in a low-income developing country**

Forms of food insecurity	Type of region		
	Metropolitan	Adjacent	Remote
Malnutrition	Common among those with lower incomes, whether due to financial constraints, limited choices or bad nutritional choices	Very common – diet can be limited in quality and quantity due to high reliance on locally produced food	Very common – diet can be limited in quality and quantity due to high reliance on locally produced food
Minor hunger	Common among the very poorest – low-income	Common among the very poorest – low-income Farm families of limited resources are regularly exposed	Common among the very poorest – low-income Farm families of limited resources are regularly exposed
Severe hunger	May exist on a seasonal basis or in a period of low income	May exist on a seasonal basis or during periods of low income	May exist on a seasonal basis or during periods of low income Hunger can be exacerbated by weak market connections that limit food imports
Famine	Extremely rare	Rare – mainly due to civil disruption	Less rare, but not common – due to civil disruption or natural disaster that blocks imports

Note: The forms of food insecurity described in the table are qualitative descriptions based on the literature, not statistical ones.

Source: Own elaboration.

The metropolitan column of Table 1.3 suggests that the most debilitating forms of food insecurity – famine and acute or severe hunger – are not common in large urban regions of lower-income countries. However, less acute forms of food insecurity – minor or chronic hunger and malnutrition – are common among the poorer urban population. In adjacent rural regions, the relatively high level of connectivity with the market economy of nearby urban regions and the existence of good transport infrastructure allows food imports in almost all periods. With a fairly strong local economy, most people have sufficient earned income to ensure that acute hunger is rare, even though there may be significant intervals of chronic hunger if the regional economy declines. In remote rural regions, food insecurity can be common, including periods of acute hunger. This largely reflects a weak rural economy that offers a narrow range of employment opportunities and is subject to considerable income instability. When markets for food, labour and other items are limited in scope and transport infrastructure is weak, households become isolated from buffering mechanisms and can face periods of hunger and extended periods of malnutrition.

Table 1.4. **Forms of food insecurity in a high-income developed country (OECD)**

Forms of food insecurity	Type of region		
	Metropolitan	Adjacent	Remote
Malnutrition	Common among the poor – due to low incomes, lack of choice (food deserts) and bad choices	Common among the poor – due to low incomes, lack of choice (food deserts) and bad choices	Common among the poor – due to low incomes, lack of choice (long transport distance) and bad choices
Minor hunger	Common among the very poorest – low income	Common among the very poor – low income limits purchases Farm families of limited resources can be exposed	Common among very poorest – low income limits purchases Farm families of limited resources can be exposed
Severe hunger	Rare	Rare	Rare
Famine	Extremely rare	Extremely rare	Rare – politically generated

Note: The forms of food insecurity described in the table are qualitative descriptions based on the literature and not statistical.

Source: Own elaboration.

The columns of Table 1.4 correspond to the columns of Table 1.3, but the main difference is that the incidence of the various forms of food insecurity is lower, especially for rural remote regions. Arguably, the process of economic development involves expansion of the market economy and increasing access to employment and earned income that makes it consistently possible to purchase food. Income diversification, coupled with other aspects of development, such as improved government service provision (in terms of health, education and sanitation, for example), are all critical elements in improving food security (OECD, 2013b). In Table 1.3, these benefits were in place for most urban households, but were limited in rural remote regions. By contrast, in OECD countries, market integration has largely occurred in all regions. One aspect of this is that self-supply plays a minor role in almost all households, and the prevalence of food markets makes restricted access to food an income problem and not an availability problem. Thus, food security concerns are in all regions highly correlated with income levels, not just for individual households, but also at the community level.

The range of food varieties and the level of food prices can vary considerably between richer and poorer communities. In rich communities, the presence of people with high incomes induces greater competition among food retailers and thus, more variety

and lower prices. Conversely, in poor communities, low household incomes lead to few providers of food and limited choices at high prices. This problem is exacerbated by the high share of income spent on food in low-income households and the competing needs of buying food and paying for other major household expenses such as rent, health care costs and transport to work.

Integrated policies to address food security and nutrition

Policies to address FSN depend strongly on the ability to increase the availability of locally produced food, to encourage stronger connections to import food and to increase incomes to allow greater access to food. All three can be seen as components of a broader economic development strategy that has an explicit food dimension. Importantly, the basic principles for defining a territorially based food security programme should follow the framework of the OECD New Regional Policy.

For lower-income countries in both types of rural regions, increasing the availability of locally produced food can provide some useful food availability improvements. However, the main benefit of increasing the supply of locally produced food is that it improves the incomes of farm households, and can allow them to move from a subsistence form of agriculture to one that is integrated into markets. With greater market income, the family has income to buy other goods and services and to deal with seasonal shortages of food. Higher levels of farm income make it potentially possible to expand into other sectors, including retail, services and rural manufacturing, and to improve trade flows into and out of the region. In short, bringing farmers deeper into the market economy can offer both food security benefits and help achieve broader rural development goals.

Increasing access to imported food is vital for all types of regions, since a broader range of food sources offers both greater certainty that food can be obtained and increases competition among potential suppliers, which can lead to lower prices for imported food. For the poor, lower-priced food offers an important benefit, given that a higher share of their income is spent on food. Increasing access to external food supplies requires improvements in transport infrastructure, strengthening of external market relations and improvements in local incomes. Physical connectivity improvements can lower the cost of shipping food, which lowers its local price, and can also improve the response to food shortages, making temporary supply interruptions uncommon. Creating a strong network between external food providers and local retailers is also important to ensure a responsive system that operates with efficient prices. Finally, higher local incomes are needed to create the incentive to construct a food supply system with strong linkages to external markets. While it may be possible to provide emergency food relief through NGOs or governments in regions with low incomes, there will be no incentive for traders to establish markets that are linked to external suppliers without the possibility of being able to profit from strong sales.

Higher incomes for both food producers and for other residents in a region are vital for addressing food insecurity and malnutrition in all its forms. In market economies, "effective demand" rations goods and services to those with the capacity to pay for them. Over time, higher incomes are signals to increase the supply of goods, including food, since they lead to higher prices, which in turn lead to decisions to increase production. In urban regions in particular, the main factor in FSN problems is low income that limits access. However, in rural regions, low incomes result not only in a lack of access to imported food, but, in the case of farm households, deter investments that could increase

the local supply of food. Clearly, the best way to increase local incomes is by expanding opportunities for employment, whether self-employment or wage employment. In this respect, broad rural development strategies linked to agricultural development strategies, where appropriate, can lead to greater food security and to a region's improved economic performance.

The role of policy: Towards a territorial approach to food security and nutrition

In the last few decades, greater awareness of the changes affecting emerging and developing economies, and their rural regions, have led to renewed attempts to formulate more effective development strategies. A clear convergence is emerging in which more holistic, territorial approaches to FSN and rural development have become a bigger part of the discussion (Schejtman and Berdegué, 2008). This growing acceptance of territorial, place-based approaches can be seen as a response to growing recognition of the diversity of FSN and poverty challenges globally, nationally, and, importantly, across regions. Development policies should more fully account for heterogeneous characteristics across territories and communities. This implies mobilising the local endogenous potential of places, actors and activities, and building broader and deeper linkages beyond the boundaries of the system (Ambrosio-Albalá and Bastiaensen, 2010). Territorial approaches place the functioning of institutions (formal and informal) at the core of development initiatives and require strong local participation and representation in the policy process. This calls for strong vertical and horizontal co-ordination in the formulation of local priorities.

This new conjuncture requires policy responses that are multidimensional in character, principally in three key areas. First, addressing FSN requires an approach that views the term comprehensively, taking into account the four dimensions of availability, access, utilisation and stability. Second, there is a need to integrate agendas for both competitiveness and social inclusion at the level of economic regions, to target these issues in the most inclusive and efficient ways possible. Third, these policies should be spatially integrated, allowing sub-national authorities to be pro-active in the design and delivery of development strategies, but in ways that do not ignore the importance of multi-level co-ordination and the regulatory role of central governments.

In short, this means broadening the focus of contemporary economic development strategies beyond urbanisation to include local economic development in rural regions, with a strong emphasis on understanding the interconnections among urban and rural regions. One of the principal virtues of a territorial approach to development is that it can be applied to virtually every territory, regardless of initial conditions. Thanks to its bottom-up nature, it may then generate social and economic benefits.

The linkages between food insecurity and malnutrition and conventional economic development objectives are strong and flow in both directions. A food-insecure population results in a workforce that has difficulty in carrying out its tasks, and children who have difficulty in learning. Similarly, in the absence of a strong and diversified local economy with good connections to other markets, the local populations will have difficulty in purchasing food. In many cases it will be difficult to move emergency food supplies into the region, because transport connections and market links are weak. Moreover, the four key challenges for implementing a spatially nuanced policy to address food insecurity and malnutrition are precisely the challenges facing efforts to implement a bottom-up regional policy. This requires identifying local impediments and opportunities for growth and engaging the local population as key actors in bringing about change.

Table 1.5. **The territorial approach to food security and nutrition policy**

	Traditional (old) approach to food security and nutrition	"New" territorial approach to food security and nutrition policy
Objectives	Providing relief to citizens suffering from food insecurity and malnutrition	A sustainable development solution to food insecurity and malnutrition
Key target sector	Increasing food production and improving productivity of (small-scale) agriculture	Various sectors of rural economies (i.e. rural tourism, manufacturing, ICT industry, etc.)
Main tools	Subsidies – (e.g. conditional cash transfers)	Investment in development opportunities (knowledge pooling, piloting, policy complementarities between social and competitiveness agenda)
Key actors	National governments and donor agencies	All levels of government (national, regional and local), various local stakeholders (public, private, non-governmental organisations), international co-operation
Target geography	Urban and rural areas are addressed by different policy approaches and are often disconnected.	Recognises and capitalises on the benefits of urban-rural linkages

Source: Own elaboration.

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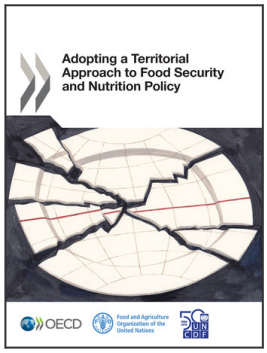

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