

**QUADERNI DEL DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE
ECONOMICHE E SOCIALI**

**INNOVATIVE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT THEORIES
AND POLICIES FOR FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY**

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Serie Rossa: Economia – Quaderno N. 92 maggio 2013



**UNIVERSITÀ CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE
PIACENZA**

Innovative Regional Development Theories and Policies for Food and Nutrition Security¹

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Abstract

The pressing nature of the issue of hunger and food insecurity, the first United Nations Millennium Development Goal, the fact that this MDG is far to be achieved by 2015 and the growing consensus around the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the traditional approaches to tackle it, suggest that new approaches to food and nutrition security (FNS) policies and strategies should be explored, developed and implemented. In particular, the inadequacy of past policies suggests that there is a need to shift from one-size-fits-all, entirely top-down and sectoral-based approaches to integrated, context-specific and place-based approaches which would allow to capture and include the complexity of development, the importance of territorial endogenous development potential, the key role of both national and sub-national actors and stakeholders through the principle of multi-level governance in the policy-making process. The place-based approach to development policies, which the OECD defines as the new regional development paradigm, is built and developed on the basis of these key principles and concepts. This paper tries to explore and analyze the extent to which a place-based approach, which so far has been applied and implemented mainly in developed countries and in few cases in developing countries (eg. Cambodia) to address more generally the issue of development, could represent an effective and beneficial policy approach to tackle the issue of food insecurity. This research question is addressed both through a comprehensive literature review on food and nutrition security and on the innovative regional development approaches and paradigms, and by interviewing some of the main experts in terms of food security, place-based/territorial approach and its critique, namely the spatially-blind approach. The result of the research is a conceptual and policy framework for the place-based approach to food and nutrition security, which highlights the rationale, potential effectiveness and key concepts characterizing this innovative approach and tries to identify its potential limitations and ways to strengthen it. It is finally suggested that this territorial dimension should be more reflected in food and nutrition security policies and strategies.

Keywords: Food and Nutrition Security; Place-Based Approach; Regional Development Policies.

1 – Introduction

Food insecurity is one of the most pressing and pending issues that International Organizations, National and Regional Governments, Civil Society are facing nowadays. The goal of halving the number of undernourished people from nearly 850 million in 2000 to 420 million in 2015 is not on track: in 2010 more than 900 million people were still food insecure and the food price spike in 2011 contribute to increase this number (FAO, 2011). This unacceptably high proportion of undernourished people stresses the need for different and more effective approaches to address the food insecurity issue and more generally the issue of development in developing countries.

¹ **Acknowledgments.** This paper is the result of the research conducted for the MA Regional Development (Research) Dissertation at the Centre for Urban and Regional Development (CURDS) under the supervision of Professor Andy Pike.

The author acknowledges the support of the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Agrisystem Doctoral School, and of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

The need for different development approaches and policies is stressed by many authors (Easterly, 2002; Rodrik, 2005, Pike et al, 2006; Rodríguez-Pose, 2011; Barca et al, 2012) and International Organizations (OECD, 2006, 2009 and 2010; European Commission, 2009; World Bank, 2009). In particular there is a growing recognition that in order to increase the effectiveness of development policies it is necessary a shift from one-size-fits-all solutions to context-specific policies and strategies (Rodrik, 2005; Pike et al, 2006; Barca, 2009; OECD, 2009; Barca et al, 2012). Rodrik's main conclusion, based on the analyses of, first, the so called Washington Consensus policies and approaches and then particularly of the World Bank Report "*Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform*" is that this Report "warns us to be skeptical of top-down, comprehensive, universal solutions - no matter how well intentioned they may be. And it reminds us that the requisite economic analysis - hard as it is, in the absence of specific blueprints - has to be done case by case" (Rodrik, 2005, p. 986). According to Rodríguez-Pose (2011), "despite some progressive adaptations, development strategies and policies across the world have remained firmly anchored in top-down, centrally planned, often supply-driven, technocratic policies, whose impact on economic development has been, more often than not, questionable" (Rodríguez-Pose, 2011, p. 85).

With regards to regional development theories and policies, given this strong and widely recognized need for new regional development paradigms and approaches, in the last few years some relevant publications have been developed both by International Organizations, mainly the OECD (2006), and Academia, eg. Pike et al. (2006). These publications started to identify the need for an integrated, territorial or context-specific approach as one of the main pillars of a new regional development paradigm in antithesis to one-size-fits-all and to traditional sectoral approaches.

In addition to these theoretical and conceptual progresses, in the last three years there has been a growing effort by International Organizations (OECD, EC, World Bank, UNCDF, CAF) to try to apply these new paradigms into policy practice, generating a debate on development interventions. In 2009 and in 2010, five highly influential reports rethinking regional development policy interventions were published: the *Barca Report* for the European Commission (2009), two OECD publications, namely *How Regions Grow* (2009) and *Regions Matter* (2009), the World Bank *World Development Report* (2009) and the report *Desarrollo Local: Hacia un Nuevo Protagonismo de las Ciudades y Regiones* by the Corporation Andina the Fomento (2010). Although these influential reports address similar issues related to development policy interventions, they reach very different conclusions in term of policy approaches (Barca et al, 2012), generating a debate on the so called place-based versus spatially-blind approaches.

The key concept emerging from these OECD publications (2009 a, b) and from the Barca Report (2009) "is the place-based development approach, what the OECD calls the "new paradigm of regional policy", which has been experimented within various parts of the world in the past two decades. Its objective is to reduce persistent inefficiency (underutilisation of resources resulting in income below potential in both the short and long-run) and persistent social exclusion (primarily, an excessive number of people below a given standard in terms of income and other features of well-being) in specific places" (Barca, 2009, p. xi). This approach stresses the importance of geographical context and its specific and unique economic, social, cultural and institutional features for development, while, on the contrary, the World Bank Report advocates for spatially-blind policies, "policies that are designed without explicit consideration to space" (World Bank, 2009, pag. 24).

This paper focuses on innovative regional development theories and policies for food and nutrition security (FNS). The links between FNS and regional development will be defined both on the basis of already existing works and publications, in particular Espindola et al (2005), which identifies the determinants of FNS at meso level, through the interviews of some of the main experts on this topic and through the effort and attempt to apply and to link these new regional development paradigms (OECD 2006 and 2009 a,b; Pike et al, 2006, Barca, 2009 and 2012) to the issue of food insecurity.

In this paper FNS, according to FAO definition and other relevant literature analyzed (Zezza and Stamoulis, 2003; FAO SOFI, 2011; Annoni et al, 2012), is considered as a multi-dimensional issue,

which refers to availability, access, nutritional quality and stability of availability and access. In addition, the issues of hunger and malnutrition include “low incomes, inequalities in access to productive assets, unemployment, low health education and nutrition status, natural resource degradation, vulnerability to risk and weak political power. Therefore, in addition to agriculture, several other sectors play a vital role in food insecurity reduction” (Annoni et al, 2012)². The approach to FNS developed in this paper stresses both the need to address it through a multi-sectoral and integrated territorial approach and the inadequacy of traditional entirely top-down and sectoral approaches.

Another key concept arising from the place-based approach that will be applied to the issue of FNS is the recognition that all regions are characterized by development potential and for this reason the objective of development intervention should be to promote growth in all regions (OECD, 2009a; Barca et al, 2012). “And regions should promote their own growth by mobilising local assets and resources so as to capitalise on their specific competitive advantages, rather than depending on national transfers and subsidies to help them grow” (OECD, 2009a, p. 13). This approach based on the development and exploitation of territorial assets is also advocated by Camagni (2009a, 2011), who argues that regions should focus their competitiveness and sustainability policies and strategies on the valorisation and exploitation of the territorial capital.

These new development paradigms and in particular the territorial dimension of development policies appear to be relevant to address the food insecurity issue in developing countries. At the same time, in order to apply these concepts to FNS, it is necessary first and foremost to build a strong and solid theoretical and conceptual framework for the territorial approach to FNS.

With regards to the general framework of the work, Section II explains the research method, the design of the interviews and the selection of the interviewees. Section III introduces the issue of FNS, explaining its definition and its dimensions, the current FNS situation and the policy responses by the international organizations. Section IV presents and analyzes the innovative regional development paradigms with a strong focus on the place-based approach, its critique by the spatially-blind approach and the place-based counter-critique. Section V establishes and explains the links between territorial approaches and FNS, highlighting and discussing its rationale and its potential effectiveness. Finally in the conclusions, the conceptual and policy framework for the place-based approach for FNS is presented and the potential limitations are discussed.

2.1 – Aims of the work and research question

Given the above considerations, which highlight both the emergence of new paradigms and approaches to development and in particular the need to identify and develop new approaches to address the issue of food insecurity, the objective of the paper is to apply these new regional development paradigms, in particular the place-based approach to development policy, to FNS. The main goal of the research is to build a solid theoretical, conceptual and policy framework for the place-based approach to FNS policies.

The research question the paper aims to address regards the potential applicability, effectiveness and relevance of the place-based (territorial) approach to face and tackle one of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, namely the issue of FNS. Through a comprehensive literature review, it has been possible to verify that the place-based approach is increasingly implemented in development policies, mainly in developed countries (OECD, EC) and more recently also in developing countries (UNDP *ART Initiative*, UNCDF *Cambodia Local Development Outlook*) and in some cases even to address more specific issues, eg. the UNDP Initiative *Territorial Approach to Climate Change*. Apart from a recent FAO Initiative (2011), *The Territorial Perspective of Food Security Policies and Strategies*, and some cases in Latin American countries, the application of the

² FAO International Scientific Symposium on Food and Nutrition Security Information, Rome, 2012.

place-based approach to the issue of FNS is still rather unexplored, both by Academia and by International Organizations.

The aims of the paper are first of all to explain the rationale for a territorial approach to FNS and to establish the links between territorial development and FNS highlighting the importance of the territorial dimension for this issue. Once these links are established, the research focuses on the application of the place-based approach to the issue of FNS. The study also considers the different position of the World Bank, the so called spatially-blind approach, advocated by the World Development Report (2009) and it tries to identify some potentially relevant concepts and ideas for FNS, with the overall goal of integrating these insights into the place-based conceptual framework.

In order to strengthen this theoretical framework, in addition to an extensive review of the relevant literature, some of the main international experts in term of place-based approach were interviewed to further analyze the potential benefits and limitations of this approach for FNS. Moreover, some experts in term of "spatially-blind approach", in particular the World Bank experts and authors of the WDR, are interviewed in order to discuss the potential usefulness of their approach for FNS.

2.2 – Methods and research design

Geography is a broad field, which includes physical geography, human geography, economic geography, etc., and therefore it embraces a wide range of different research methods (Clifford et al, 2010). Both qualitative and quantitative methods characterize Geography and often an integration of the two (mixed methods) is used to address a research question (Clifford et al, 2010). According to Clifford et al, (2010) the research design is a process and it is the result of a series of decisions regarding the research question, the methods, data collection and elaboration, the potential limitations and obstacles to the research, ethical issues and the presentation of the results. "The decisions flow from our knowledge of the academic literature, the research questions we want to ask, our conceptual framework, and our knowledge of the advantage and disadvantages of different techniques" (Clifford et al, 2010).

In order to address the specific research question of this paper, in addition to a comprehensive literature review, a qualitative approach (semi-structured interviews) has been used to further develop and strengthen the main findings of the literature review. The use of such interviews will be helpful in understanding through the views and ideas of the main experts in terms of regional development and FNS the links and potential effectiveness of the proposed approach.

The rationale for choosing this method to further develop and strengthen the theoretical framework is related both to the strengths of interviewing (Hay, 2010; Clifford, 2010) and to the fact that these new paradigms, in particular the place-based approach, are very recent and still need to be further investigated. In addition, the application of these paradigms to the issue of FNS is still unexplored and the literature on this is very poor. According to Hay, the main strengths and reasons for using interviews, which support and justify the application of this method within this research, are i) "to fill a gap in knowledge that other methods, such as observation or the use of census data, are unable to bridge efficaciously, ii) to collect a diversity of meaning, opinion and experience. Interviews provide insights into the differing opinions or debates within a group, but they can also reveal consensus on some issues" (Hay, 2010, p.102).

In the case of the place-based approach to FNS, as explained above, there is a gap in knowledge on the application and potential effectiveness of this innovative regional development paradigm to FNS and the insights, opinions and suggestions from the main experts in term of place-based polices on the benefits and limitations of this approach to FNS appears to be crucial in order to focus the research on the main and most relevant aspects of this approach. "One of the main strengths of interviewing is that it allows you to discover what is relevant to the informant" (Hay, 2010, p. 103).

In this study, semi-structured interviews are used to further address and investigate the research question. The choice is due to the fact that semi-structured interview are characterized by “some degree of predetermined order” (Dunn, 2005, p.80), as the questions and the discussion points are formulated before the interview on the basis of the literature review and knowledge of the topic, but it allows for flexibility in the way the interviewee addresses the questions and in the way the discussion is managed and organized (eg. it is not mandatory to address the questions in the predetermined order, other relevant points can be identified during the discussion, etc). This flexibility is relevant for this research because it allows the experts not to narrowly focus on the specific questions identified or to answer in a close and too synthetic way, but they can express their concepts and ideas in an extensive and flexible way, which contributes to enrich the collected material and allows the researcher to identify the most relevant points to be address in the study.

In addition, the use of the interviews allows to triangulate the main findings of the literature review through a direct discussion with the main authors and policy-makers on the research topic and to benefit from their insights where the literature is rather poor, namely on the application of the new regional development paradigms to FNS. This mixed methods approach is also suggested by Valentine: “Often researchers draw on many different perspectives or sources in the course of their work. This is known as triangulation. ... researchers can use multiple methods or different sources to try to maximize their understanding of a research question” (Valentine, 2005, p. 112).

The candidates selected for the interviews represent the main international experts and the key informants with regard to the place-based approach and its potential application to FNS. The interviewees have been identified after undertaking a comprehensive literature review on the research topic. Accordingly to Cameron (2005) and Clifford et al. (2010), the interviewees, both from academia and from international organizations have been selected on the basis of their seminal papers and policy documents and publications. Usually the interviewees for semi-structured interviews are selected “on the basis of their experience related to the research topic” (Clifford et al, 2010, p.108). The group of experts includes both university Professors, the ones that mostly contribute to the emergence and definition of the place-based approach, and experts from international organizations, the ones who lead the debate on place-based vs spatially-blind approaches to development (OECD, EC and World Bank) and other experts who launched relevant initiatives related to place-based approach and FNS (FAO, UNDP, UNCDF and Rimisp).

On the basis of these criteria, the following experts have been identified and interviewed:

- **Giovanni Camilleri**, International Coordinator of the UNDP ART Global Initiative (*Articulation of Territorial and Thematic Networks of Cooperation for Human Development*) on the Territorial Approach to Development with a focus on developing countries. Geneva.
- **Vito Cistulli**, Senior Policy Officer, Coordinator of the initiative on Territorial Perspective of FNS Policies and Strategies, United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Rome.
- **Nicola Crosta**, Head of Knowledge, Policy and Advocacy, United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) and responsible for the UNCDF Local Economic Outlook in Cambodia. He was the Coordinator of the OECD New Rural Paradigm. New York.
- **Lewis Dijkstra**, Deputy Head of Unit, Economic and Quantitative analysis, European Commission, DG Regio. Brussels.
- **Jose Enrique Garcilazo**, Head of Unit - Rural and Regional Programme Regional Development Policy Division, Directorate for Public Governance and Territorial Development, OECD. Paris.
- **Indermit Gill**, Chief Economist of the Europe and Central Asia Region (World Bank) and Director of the *World Development Report 2009: Reshaping Economic Geography*. Washington.
- **Philip McCann**, Special Adviser to Johannes Hahn, EU Commissioner for Regional Policy and Professor at the Department of Economic Geography, Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen.

- **Andrés Rodríguez-Pose**, Professor of Economic Geography, Department of Geography and Environment, London School of Economics and IMDEA.
- **Alexander Schejtman**, Rimisp Senior Research Fellow on rural development and on the Political Economy of Food Systems and Food Security. Santiago, Chile.
- **John Tomaney**, Professor of Regional Development, Director of the Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies (CURDS), Newcastle University.

A list of questions and key discussion points were identified before the interview (Annex 1). The first part of the interview aimed at addressing the key issues related to the place-based approach (spatially-blind in the case of the interview with Indermit Gill) such as definition, meaning, rationale, debate on place-based vs spatially-blind approaches, the role of institutions, etc, while the second part at investigating the potential usefulness and effectiveness of the place-based approach for FNS in developing countries, how to shift from a sectoral to a territorial approach in addressing this issue and the potential limitations of the place-based approach for FNS. The flexibility characterizing semi-structured interviews allowed to slightly modify the questions depending on the specific work and publications of the different participants.

The interviews have been undertaken directly or by skype depending on the location and availability of the interviewees, the interview with Indermit Gill was by phone. All the interviews were recorded, transcribed and shared with the interviewees in order to have their feedback and their consent to use the material for the research. The choice to record the interview allowed the researcher “to focus fully on the interaction instead of feeling pressure to get the participants’ words recorded in the notebook” (Clifford et al, 2010, p.110).

In terms of ethical issues, confidentiality is assured to all the interviewees. The transcriptions of the interviews were first shared with the experts for their feedback and approval before using it for this research. The consent to quote/cite the name, position and organization of the interviewees was asked to each participant.

3 - The issue of food and nutrition security.

Food and nutrition security is defined by FAO as “*Food and nutrition security exists when all people at all times have physical, social and economic access to sufficient and safe food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active, healthy life, coupled with a sanitary environment, adequate health services and care*”³. According to FAO the issue of FNS is a four-dimensional concept that includes the following dimensions: (i) availability of food; (ii) access to food; (iii) nutritional quality; (iv) stability of availability and access.

FNS represents one of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, in particular the MDG1, Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger, target 1C “halve between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger” (United Nations, 2010, p.9)⁴. Despite this Goal, about 925 million people were still food insecure in 2010 and the food price spike of 2011 has thrown an additional 44 million people into hunger (SOFI, 2010). Figure 1 shows a slight decrease in the number of undernourished people from 2009 to 2010. Despite this decrease, the number of undernourished people is higher than in the Seventies and higher than it was in 1996, when the hunger-reduction target was established at the World Food Summit. The 98% of undernourished people are concentrated in developing countries which, as shown in Figure 2, have a proportion of undernourished of 16%.

According to Figure 3, the highest levels of undernourishment (very high: 35% and above) is mainly concentrated in central Africa. From this map it is possible to notice that developing countries are characterized by strong disparities in terms of undernourished people. Moreover, as stressed by FAO (2011), the level of disparities in terms of food security and poverty is increasing both at national and

³ FAO Division of Nutrition and Consumer Protection (2011)

⁴ United Nation (2010) The Millennium Development Goals Report

sub-national level, in addition to the North-South divide, the geographical distribution of disparities in FNS and poverty is increasingly assuming a patchy distribution cutting across all countries (FAO, 2011)⁵.

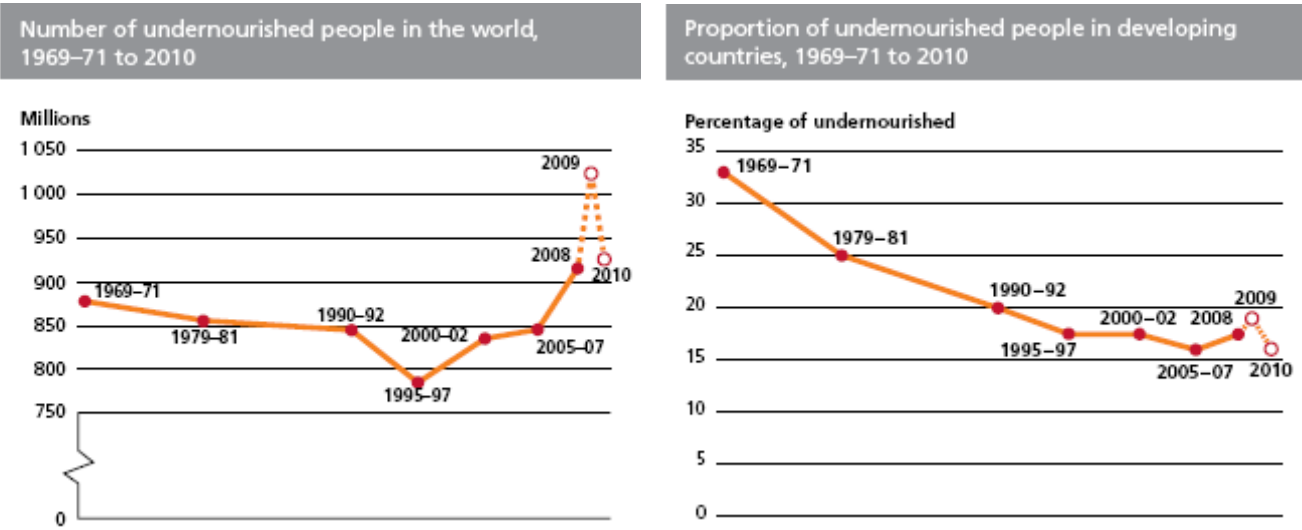


Figure 1-2: Number of undernourished people in the world (1969-71 to 2010) and Proportion of undernourished people in developing countries (1969-71 to 2010). **Source:** FAO, SOFI 2010.

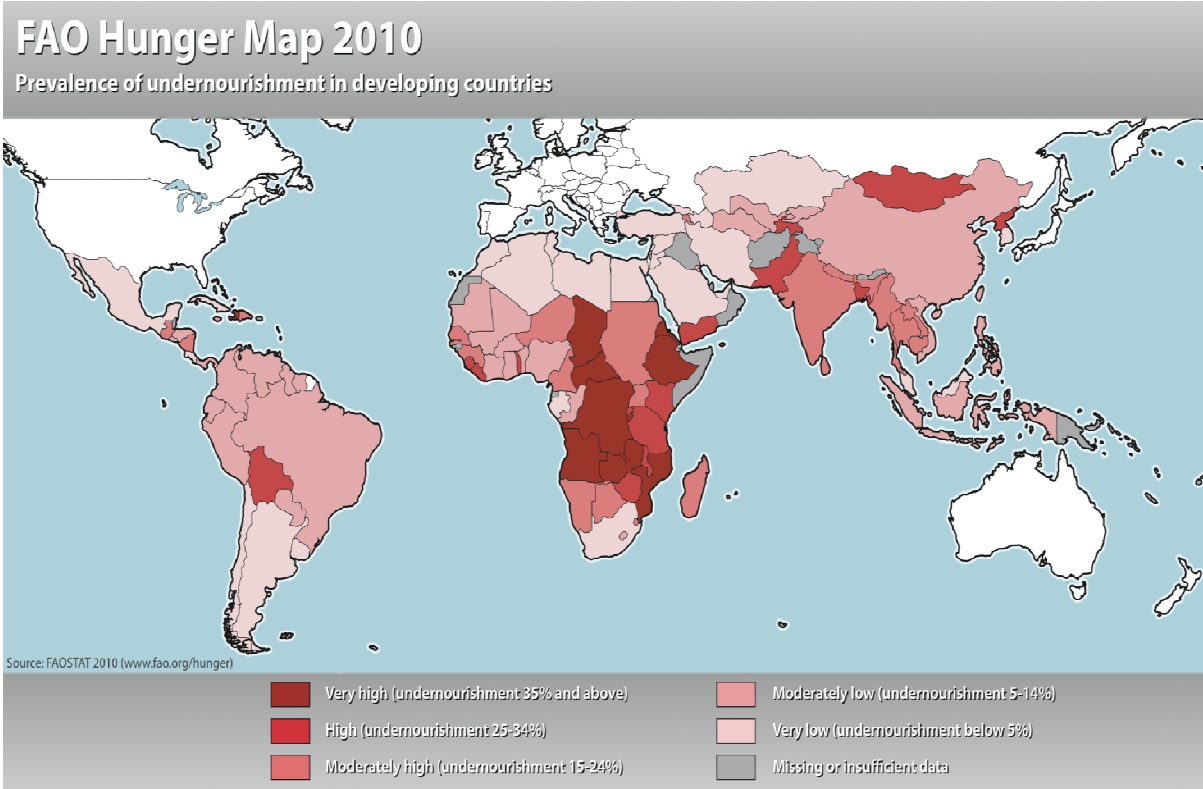


Figure 3: FAO Hunger map 2010. **Source:** FAOSTAT 2010.

⁵ FAO Expert Workshop on the Territorial Perspective of Food Security Policies and Strategies, Rome, 2011.

On the basis of these considerations and with regards to the policy responses, the local and regional dimensions assume a growing importance in addressing the FNS issue. This implies that the territorial dimension should be reflected in FNS policies and strategies and therefore there is a need to develop context-specific and differentiated approaches that would allow to capture all the differences related to the area-specific determinants of hunger and food insecurity. The inadequacy of one-size-fits-all approaches and the need for context-specific interventions are also stressed by FAO, both regarding FNS policies, “it must be recognized that each country is unique in many respects. In order to take account of different situations, each country should analyse its own circumstances and engage in policies appropriate to those circumstances. Country-specific experimentation along these lines should be encouraged” (SOFI, 2011, page 33) and more specifically regarding the impact of world food prices “the report emphasizes that the impact of world price changes on household food security and nutrition is highly context-specific” (SOFI, 2011, page 4).

In order to respond to the 2008 food price crises many initiatives and actions were established at the global level to encourage concerted responses to food insecurity: of the High Level Task Force on the Global Food Security Crisis (HLTF) in April 2008, the L’Aquila Food Security Initiative (ASIF) in July 2009, the Global Agriculture and Food Security Programme (GAFSP) at the G20 meeting in September 2009, the reform of the Committee of Food Security in November 2009. Among these actions, the Updated Comprehensive Framework for Action (UCFA) developed by the High Level Task Force on the Global Food Security Crises in 2010 represents the main United Nations initiative which addresses FNS. The UCFA was prepared with two main aims (twin-track approach): i) respond to the food price crisis and identify immediate actions to support the vulnerable people ii) define long-term responses to increase resilience to food insecurity. The UCFA is based on the twin-track approach and it describes all the actions and outcomes at Country, Regional⁶ and Global level. The main priorities of the UCFA are environmental sustainability, gender equity, the determinants to improve nutrition and the needs of vulnerable population. It recognizes that in addition to States, which play a key role in addressing FNS, many other actors can contribute to promote FNS. (UCFA, 2010).

The UCFA also mentions the local and regional dimension of FNS: “it is understood that actions taken will be adapted to national and local conditions, will take into account initiatives to address global climate change and poverty reduction, reflect the need for long-term sustainability and avoid unplanned environmental changes. They need to be agreed on and taken forward jointly by the principal stakeholders, including national governments, civil society, and the private sector, with representation from the communities most affected by food and nutrition insecurity” (UCFA, 2010, p.19), but this dimension seems to be more declared than really reflected in the strategies and policies to address FNS, as in the UCFA main framework and proposed interventions it is rather neglected.

Other important initiatives on the FNS issue which address the sub-national dimension and recognize the need for an integrated approach are the Brazilian Programmes *Zero Hunger* (2003) and *Territories of Citizenship* (2008): the first one in the policy actions and recommendations states that these actions should be implemented through an integrated approach, otherwise none of them will be effective and that there is a need to overcome the separation and dichotomy between the economic and social dimensions which “lead to wealth concentration and poverty and then manage “social” policies to attenuate the latter”. (Graziano Da Silva et al, 2011, p. 21). The Territories of Citizenship programme stresses the importance of focusing intervention on decentralized local systems, both to increase participation and to achieve a higher effectiveness in the results.

Moreover, the FAO Thirty-first Regional Conference for Latin America and the Caribbean acknowledges that “territorial approaches are gradually becoming the rule in rural development strategies and are leading to a redefinition of the rural world in favour of a concept of spatial continuum and an integration of markets, social networks, institutions and culture, bringing together the urban and the rural. With this shift, rural development is now identified with territorial

⁶ According to the United Nations, the term Regional refers to the supranational level.

development and no longer with a strategy for the agricultural sector or with social policies focusing on vulnerable groups living in rural areas, disconnected from the dynamics of the whole area”. (FAO Thirty-first Regional Conference for Latin America and the Caribbean, 2010, p.5). In addition, a CEPAL Report (2005) proposes that food and nutrition security (FNS) should be addresses through rural local development (RLD) strategies, local development strategies applied to rural areas and it highlights that “some of the guiding considerations for territorial development are perfectly adaptable to RLD/FNS” (Espindola, 2005, p.67).

In conclusion, there seems to be a growing consensus on the importance of territories, territorial development and multi-sectoral and integrated approaches, context-specific interventions to address FNS (Stamoulis and Zezza, 2003; FAO, 2010; SOFI, 2011; Graziano da Silva, 2011, Annoni et al, 2012), but these dimensions and approaches are rarely concretely included and reflected in FNS policies and strategies. Therefore, on the basis of this recognition, this paper will try to contribute to fill this gap by first identifying which are the innovative regional development paradigms and then by applying them to FNS and by assessing its potential effectiveness for FNS policies and strategies.

4 – The emergence of new approaches to regional development.

4.1 – New regional development paradigms.

Over the last few years there has been a growing debate towards the need to formulate, develop and apply new development paradigms to regional policy. This debate has brought to the emergence of new approaches to regional development which have been proposed by both international organizations and academics. “The failure of traditional top-down policies, together with the challenges generated by globalization, has led to a serious rethinking of local and regional development by practitioners and academics” (Pike et al, 2006, p. 16)

These new approaches are based on the recognition that traditional policies, mainly developed around two axis, namely infrastructural endowment and top-down industrialization policies, are no longer sufficient to face the new challenges of development and globalization (Pike et al, 2006). The key concepts characterizing the new regional development paradigms are summarized in figure 4.

	Old paradigm	New paradigm
Problem recognition	Regional disparities in income, infrastructure stock, and employment	Lack of regional competitiveness, underused regional potential
Objectives	Equity through balanced regional development	Competitiveness and equity
General policy framework	Compensating temporally for location disadvantages of lagging regions, responding to shocks (e.g. industrial decline) (<i>Reactive to problems</i>)	Tapping underutilised regional potential through regional programming (<i>Proactive for potential</i>)
– theme coverage	Sectoral approach with a limited set of sectors	Integrated and comprehensive development projects with wider policy area coverage
– spatial orientation	Targeted at lagging regions	All-region focus
– unit for policy intervention	Administrative areas	Functional areas
– time dimension	Short term	Long term
– approach	One-size-fits-all approach	Context-specific approach (place-based approach)
– focus	Exogenous investments and transfers	Endogenous local assets and knowledge
Instruments	Subsidies and state aid (often to individual firms)	Mixed investment for soft and hard capital (business environment, labour market, infrastructure)
Actors	Central government	Different levels of government, various stakeholders (public, private, NGOs)

Figure 4: New Regional Development Paradigm. **Source:** OECD, 2010.

According to OECD (2010) and Tomaney (2010), “in response to poor outcomes, regional policy has evolved, and continues to evolve, from a top-down, subsidy-based group of interventions designed to reduce regional disparities, into a much broader family of policies designed to improve regional competitiveness” (Tomaney, 2010, p.11). Therefore, on the basis of this new paradigm, the objective of regional policies is now the promotion of competitiveness and equity, based on the recognition that potential for growth exists in all regions and that development strategies and policies should focus on endogenous local assets and unexploited territorial potential.

One of the key pillars characterizing this paradigm is a shift from a sectoral approach to development to an integrated, multi-sectoral and comprehensive approach. By recognizing that all territories have a potential for development and can contribute significantly to the overall aggregate growth, policies should target not only lagging regions (old paradigm) or main cities (spatially-blind approach), but all regions. “The aim is to maximize national output by encouraging each individual region to reach its growth potential from within” (Tomaney, 2010, p.11), moving beyond the consideration of regional policy as a zero-sum game (OECD, 2010; Tomaney, 2010). One of the main innovations introduced by the new paradigm regards the approach to development policies: the new paradigm, accordingly to the ideas proposed by others influential authors, eg. Rodrik (2006), Pike et al. (2006), Barca (2009), stresses the need to shift from a one-size-fits-all approach to a context-specific or place-based approach.

In terms of policy instruments, this approach emphasises the importance of investing in both hard and soft infrastructure, such as business environment, social capital, networks, labour market, infrastructure, rather than an approach based on subsidies and state aids. In terms of governance and actors involved in the development process, the new paradigm stresses the need to shift from a model based on the prominent role of the central government towards a multi-level governance system in which different levels (national, regional and local) and stakeholders (public, private, etc.) are involved in the decision-making process. A further assumption of this new paradigm regards the unit of intervention: policy-makers should look beyond the borders of administrative regions and consider functional economic areas in formulating and implementing regional development policies and strategies.

In line with to the objective of competitiveness and the focus on endogenous development characterizing this new approach, Camagni stresses the importance of promoting territorial competitiveness for a regionalized development strategy and proposes the concept of territorial capital (Camagni, 2009; Camagni and Capello, 2011). The author suggests that the issue of territorial competitiveness – which should be understood on the basis of the concept of competitive advantages developed by Porter and the “absolute advantage” principle by Smith rather than the Ricardian “comparative advantage” principle - must be at the centre of the policy agenda for local and regional governments and that these governments should identify, formulate and develop their development strategies and policies relying on the exploitation of the territorial assets and potential, which can also be defined as territorial capital. “Territorial capital may be seen as the set of localized assets – natural, human, artificial, organizational, relational and cognitive – that constitute the competitive potential of a given territory” (Camagni, 2011, p.61). The assets composing the territorial capital of a given area can be tangible and intangible, and they can be public, private or both private and public. The concept of territorial capital is crucial because it allows to increase the efficiency and improve the productivity of the activities taking place within that territory (Camagni, 2009). Therefore regional development policies and strategies should be designed on the basis of the place-specific territorial capital characterizing a particular region, enhancing the existing territorial assets and trying to exploit the ones which are still latent or untapped (EU, 2005; Camagni, 2011).

According to Pike et al. (2006), embracing a local and regional development approach to face the challenges of globalization and overall development can lead to significant advantages both from a social and economic point of view. In terms of social benefits, it allows to empower local societies, to promote dialogue between local stakeholders and it enables local actors to develop a more proactive role with regards to the decision-making process of their own territory. Moreover, this approach

enhances and promotes transparency and accountability in the local institutional framework. From an economic point of view, “local and regional development strategies, because of their goal of embedding economic activity in a territory and making any economic activity located in it dependent on the specific economic conditions and comparative advantages of that place, generate sustainable economic growth and employment in firms more capable of withstanding changes in the global economic environment” (Pike et al., 2006, p.19). On the other hand, a local and regional development approach presents also some potential disadvantages, in particular, given the involvement of many different local stakeholders, it is very demanding in term of time invested in the policy formulation process and the short-term success of the strategy is not guaranteed. In addition, it might be more subject to the vested interest of local elites and the involvement of local actors does not represents a guarantee of successful development policies and strategies.

An innovative and forward-looking approach to regional development should also re-consider the overall objectives of development: in order to face the new challenges, there seems to be a growing consensus that an undifferentiated focus on economic growth is no longer sufficient and that tackling social and territorial inequalities, the costs of which are increasingly evident, should be one of the main objectives at the centre of policy agenda (Pike et al., 2011). In addition, the approaches to address inequalities and poverty should not neglect and overlook that these processes are characterized by a strong spatial dimension: “place effects play a part in producing inequalities and exclusion” (Pike et al, 2011, p. 628).

4.2 – The place-based approach to development policies.

Among the new paradigms to development policies, the most debated, discussed and innovative is the place-based approach. The wide debate about the usefulness and effectiveness of a place-based or territorial approach to development policies and its critique, namely the spatially-blind approach proposed by the World Bank, emerged in 2009 following some key reports, in particular the Barca Report (2009), two OECD publications (2009a⁷, 2009b⁸), the World Bank World Development Report (2009), and it has intensified in subsequent years through many publications, debates, conferences, etc. This debate has been very important because it contributes to develop the area of policy implementation which has been poorly addressed and narrowly anchored to the economic based model for decades (Barca et al, 2012).

These two different and contrasting development policy paradigms – place-based and spatially-blind - are characterized by some common key pillars, namely the importance of geography, agglomeration and institutional reforms for economic development, but they reach different policy conclusions and advocate two competing approaches to policy interventions: the spatially-blind approach argues that the policy focus and aim should be “persons rather than places”, while the place-based approach suggests that the focus and aim of polices should be “persons within places” (Polish Presidency, 2011). *“The main difference of the place-based approach from the policies targeting people, in particular subsidies, is that you try to target the conditions, the structural conditions that enable the process of development in certain places that are suffering from poverty and that are characterized by some development gaps. This is the fundamental target of the place-based approach”* (Author’s Interview, Garcilazo, Head of Unit - Rural and Regional Programme, OECD, 2012).

The place-based or territorial approach⁹ was lunched by both the OECD (2009 a and b) and by the EU through the Barca Report (2009). *“I see place-based approach as on the one hand responding to a dominant orthodoxy, mainly associated with the World Bank, but on the other hand emerging from a long experience of the study of regional development, building upon a series of insights that have been developed over time about what works and what doesn’t, linked closely to development theories,*

⁷ How Regions Grow (OECD, 2009)

⁸ Regions Matter: Economic Recovery, Innovation and Sustainable Growth (OECD, 2009).

⁹ In this paper, accordingly to Barca (2009), the terms place-based approach and territorial approach will be used as synonyms.

development and evolutionary economics and evolutionary economic geography, institutional approaches to the thinking about the economy” (Author’s Interview, Tomaney, Director of CURDS, Newcastle University, 2012).

With regards to the rationale for a place-based approach to development policies, this new paradigm emerged first of all as a reaction to the traditional top-down, supply-side, sectoral and “one-size-fits-all” solutions which characterized many development policies and strategies in the past decades which brought to imbalance policies and to a relevant rise in territorial and social inequalities (Pike et al, 2006; Barca et al, 2012). These policies often neglected integrated, multi-sectoral, bottom-up approaches and the strategies were mainly based on state-aid, financial support and subsidies (Barca et al, 2012) resulting in a strongly assistance-led approach to development. According to Barca et al (2012), the area of development policy has not registered relevant innovations and improvements for decades and has not followed and addressed both new theories and the new territorial structures, designing and formulating very similar development strategies (Chien, 2008, Barca et al, 2012). These approaches are increasingly considered inadequate to face and address the new challenges posed by globalization (Pike et al, 2006; OECD, 2009 a and b; Barca, 2009; Barca et al, 2012). The economic geography of places has been enormously modified by modern globalization: these changes and the impacts of globalization should be considered and reflected in development policies and strategies (Barca et al, 2012).

The impact of globalization has also led to a renewed consideration and attention on the role of space and to the emergence of new factors of development, such as human capital and innovation, agglomeration and distance, the relations between institutions and geography, the role of history and the concept of path dependency, which also derived in the development of new disciplines, namely Endogenous Growth Theory, New Economic Geography, Institutional Economic Geography and Evolutionary Economic Geography (Barca et al, 2012). According to Rodriguez Pose (2011), through the process of globalization the importance of space and territories and their interactions for development increased. At the same time, on the basis of the agglomeration process and cluster creation, people, ideas, capital and goods are increasingly grounded, attached and concentrated in particular places (Markusen, 1996; McCann, 2008; Rodriguez Pose et al, 2008; Barca et al, 2012). Therefore, “globalization has made space and place more rather than less important. The unique aspects of a locality and the ability to create and strengthen a comparative advantage are at the hearth of economic development and success” (Barca et al, 2012, p. 136).

According to the Barca Report (2009), a place-based or territorial policy intervention aims at addressing two main objectives: the efficiency objective (economic dimension), namely increase income and growth, and the social inclusion objective (social dimension), namely reducing inequalities.

The economic rationale for a place-based approach to development is supported first of all by the OECD work (OECD 2011 a, b, c), by Barca (2009) and by Barca et al. (2012). The main conclusion of the these OECD publications is that “economy as a whole can reach its total output frontier by developing places of different size and densities, because it is the performance of the urban and regional system as a whole which is critical rather than just the cities at the top of the urban hierarchy” (Barca et al, 2012, p. 140). Moreover, according to the Barca Report, economic theory supports the idea that a place-specific policy intervention from outside can be needed to overcome two different typologies of failures: a government and a market failure. A policy intervention may be required when a particular place or territory is unable to exploit its potential (inefficiency) or is characterized by strong inequalities, as a consequence of an institutional lock-in, when a weak institutional regime is in place due to corruption, lack of capacity, institutions captured by local elites, etc, or when, according to the path-dependency principle, a weak institutional system undermine the possibility of having solid and efficient institutions even in the future (Barca, 2009). Moreover, a place-based intervention might be required in relations to the decisions – private or public – related to agglomerations. “Agglomerations are always the result of public as well as private decisions, the former consisting of the design of institutions which are tailored to places” (Barca, 2009, p. xi). These decisions are

characterized by a high degree of risk related to the poor information about the potential efficient or inefficient effects of agglomerations, or might be subject to private pressure. A place-based intervention ensure a “cautious approach under which public intervention with a territorial impact are made visible and verifiable and submitted to scrutiny together with the initiation of a process whereby everyone is given the opportunity and the information to participate and to voice their dissent” (Barca, 2009, p. xi).

The economic rationale and benefits of a place based approach were also stressed both by Rodríguez-Pose and Dijkstra during the interview: *“The rationale behind place-based approach is fundamentally that in a place-based approach you believe that there is economic potential in every territory and that their economic potential very often gets lost because it is untapped. The aim is to maximize the returns of interventions, of economic interventions, of any given territory and as a result, in aggregate term, of any given country or continent”* (Author’s Interview, Rodríguez-Pose, Professor of Economic Geography; London School of Economics, 2012). *“The more you have differences inside the country the more there is a need to differentiate your policies across the territory. The benefits of having a place based policy is that you capture externalities, basically every policy decision you take in a particular sector has impacts on other sectors, if you take those into account and adjust for them, the efficiency of your policy goes up, if you do not, you are not going for the most efficient approach”* (Author’s Interview, Dijkstra, Deputy Head of Unit, Economic and Quantitative Analysis, EC DG Regio, 2012).

With respect to the social rationale, the specific place where people live and the community they interact with influence both the nature of social disparities and the success or failure of policy interventions. “In the inequality literature, this fact is generally recognized only as regards to immediate group within which an individual lives – the household. However, the circumstances and well-being of individuals are also influenced by the wider territorial community with which they interact, including its natural and cultural resources and public institutions” (Barca, 2009, p. 32). Moreover, a weak institutional framework represents one of the main causes of social inequalities and both formal and particularly informal institutions are strongly context-specific (Barca, 2009). In addition, places have a strong influence on the effectiveness of policies aiming at reducing inequalities, the success of any sectoral policies is strongly dependent on other sectoral policies being implemented in a particular territory. Finally, a place-based approach has the capacity to mobilize local actors, involve local stakeholders and increase participation and consensus in policy interventions to reduce inequalities (Barca, 2009).

A place-based development policy is defined as “a long-term development strategy whose objective is to reduce persistent *inefficiency* (underutilization of the full potential) and *inequality* (shared of people below a given standard of well-being and/or extent of interpersonal disparities) in specific *places*”. (Barca, 2009, p. 5). The key concepts characterizing the place-based approach developed by Barca are inspired by the OECD new regional paradigms. In particular, this concept is based on the idea that interventions should be designed through an integrated approach with a strong focus on places given the fundamental role played by local knowledge and preferences, considering the highly context-specific nature of both the economic and social dimensions (Barca, 2009). *“A place-based approach is where in the thinking and the analysis of any policy you explicitly take the geographical, territorial and institutional dimensions seriously and you try to think about the extent to which institutions, governance, interact with geography, with economic geography, which may themselves be part of the obstacles to development, but also the possible solutions to improve development”* (Author’s Interview, McCann, Prof. Economic Geography, University of Groningen, 2012).

Therefore in the place-based approach, space or geographical context, defined in term of its social, cultural and institutional dimensions, is critical for the design and implementation of development policies (Barca, 2012). Moreover, the concept of knowledge plays a key role for interventions: in order to exploit untapped territorial potential to address both the efficiency and equity objectives, new knowledge generated by the interaction between local institutions, both formal and informal, and external actors (policy-makers working at higher administrative levels, etc.) is a key factor to face and

overcome the persistent underutilization of the territorial capital or the protracted inequalities (Barca, 2012).

With regards to the debate on whether is geography or institutions more critical for development, the place-based approach argues that it is the interaction between institutions and geography that really matters. This generates some important implications, in particular i) it proposes an alternative approach in the organization of space in promoting development to the World Bank model built around the promotion of agglomerations, big cities, mega urban regions and it recognizes that all regions have a potential and can provide a substantial contribution to aggregate growth and to the output frontier of the economy (OECD 2009, Barca, 2012), ii) the development path of now-developed countries should not be interpreted and considered the only possible solution and model to reach long-term development, there are other possible pathways, “different territories may follow different development paths depending on a combination of time-space factors which are impossible to ignore” (Rodríguez-Pose, 2011, p.86).

Another key concept characterizing the place-based approach regards the issue of inter-regional convergence. Unlike the traditional approaches, arguing that convergence should be obtained, on the one hand by removing market barriers through a spatially-blind approach or, on the other hand through redistribution, the place-based approach does not consider convergence a primary policy objective. The place-based approach should be considered as a development-led approach and the main aim of development policies should be the promotion of development in all territories through the exploitation of their potential (Barca et al, 2012): “if convergence is to be promoted, this is to be done by development rather than by redistribution” (Barca et al, 2012, p. 146).

One of the main factors that support the adoption of a place-based approach to development policies is represented by institutions, both formal and particularly informal. Institutions are considered critical both for the economic objective and for the social objective and the context-specific nature of institutions is one of the three main pillar on which Barca’s place-based approach focuses. In some cases they can represent one of the main drivers of development, while in others institutional lock-in are one of the main obstacles to an efficient utilization of local potential and to social inclusion. Moreover, they play a fundamental role to ensure the multi-level governance mechanisms advocate both by Barca and by the OECD. According to Barca, it is the interaction of economic and political decision and institutions which determines the full capacity or potential of any given territory, the achievement of which represents the economic (efficiency) objective of a place-based approach, (Barca, 2009).

“The combination of formal and informal institutions in space results in different institutional set ups and ways in which institutions operate and function in every territory, creating an institutional environment which is unique to every city, locality, region or country. In particular, it is the informal institutions which tend to shape this unique environment”. (Rodríguez-Pose, 2011, p. 87). Informal institutions, such as culture, history, conventions, norms, customs, traditions, informal networks, identity, trust, etc, are highly context-specific and play a critical role for the valorisation and exploitation of the territorial potential and in promoting development (Rodríguez-Pose, 2011). Therefore, Rodríguez-Pose suggests that institutions should be considered an endogenous factor embedded in a specific territory and not exogenous and that every development policies which neglect this factor in the strategy formulation (eg. spatially-blind policies which usually tend to consider only the formal institutions) might be highly ineffective.

4.3 – The spatially-blind approach and counter-critique by place-based approach.

In contrast with the place-based development paradigm, the spatially-blind approach has emerged following the World Bank World Development Report “Reshaping Economic Geography” (2009). According to the WDR, density, distance and division are the three main geographic dimensions of development. “Understanding the transformations along the dimensions of density, distance and

division helps to identify the main market forces and the appropriate policy responses at each of the three geographic scales – local, national and international” (WDR, 2009, p.7).

On the basis of this development model, the most important dimension at local level is density. Distance to density (between best performing and lagging regions) is the most important one at national level and development policies should aim at reducing firms and workers distance from density of economic activities, mainly through labour mobility and investment in infrastructure to reduce transport costs. Finally, at international level division is the most important dimension: North America, Northeast Asia and Western Europe are the most integrated regions, while the other regions which are not characterized by the concentration of economic activities are divided. These divisions, in addition to borders which are difficult to penetrate and differences in terms of both currencies and regulations, constitute stronger obstacles to development than distance (WDR, 2009).

Moreover, the spatially-blind approach proposes a development model based on the benefits related to agglomeration and spillover effects generated by the investment on and promotion of mega cities. “Rising densities of human settlements, migration of workers and entrepreneurs to shorten the distance to markets, and lower divisions caused by differences in currencies and conventions between countries are central to successful economic development” (WDR, 2009, p. 12).

The Report advocates for spatially-blind (or people-centred) policies, meaning “policies that are designed without explicit consideration to space” (World Bank, 2009, p. 24). According to this publication, too much emphasis has been given to spatially-target interventions in recent years and one of the main aims of the report is to reshape and rebalance the debate on development policies. “*With regards to the policy approaches, so far there has been too much focus on places, while the focus should be on people, in this way there would be a different approach to policy. It is very important to keep the objective of policies realistic and it should be recognized that growth is spatially unbalanced*” (Author’s Interview, Gill, Chief Economist of the Europe and Central Asia Region and Director of the WDR 2009, World Bank, 2012).The WDR is based on the assumption that development is not evenly spread and economic growth is unbalanced, “to try to spread it out – too much, too far, or too soon – is to discourage it” (Gill, 2011, p. 30), it represents a way to reduce prosperity, not poverty.

	Country type		
	Sparsely populated lagging regions	Densely populated lagging regions in united countries	Densely populated lagging regions in divided countries
What policies should facilitate	Labor and capital mobility	Labor and capital mobility Market integration for goods and services	Labor and capital mobility Market integration for goods and services Selected economic activities in lagging regions
Policy Priorities			
Spatially blind “institutions”	Fluid land and labor markets, security, education and health, safe water and sanitation	Fluid land and labor markets, security, education and health, safe water and sanitation	Fluid land and labor markets, security, education and health, safe water and sanitation
Spatially connective “infrastructure”		Interregional transport infrastructure Information and communication services Local roads	Interregional transport infrastructure Information and communication services Local roads
Spatially targeted “incentives”			Incentives to agriculture and agro-based industry Irrigation systems Workforce training

Figure 5: calibrating regional development policies. **Source:** World Bank, WDR, 2009.

The spatially-blind approach argues that governments have more powerful instruments than incentives to places. It proposes an approach based on the concept of integration between leading and lagging

regions through three different types of interventions depending on the level of development and constraints to development of a country (figure 5): i) spatially-blind institutions, ii) spatially connective infrastructure and iii) spatially target incentives. According to the WDR policy-makers should focus their efforts on the interactions between lagging and fast-growing regions. Within this context “migration is not seen as a failure of policies but as a measure of a desire of people to improve their lives and those of the children” (Gill, 2011, p.30). Therefore, spatially target interventions, which the WDR conceives as forms of incentives to agriculture, agro-industry irrigation systems, etc., are considered as the third step (least and last) of interventions to be used only in particular situations, when there are cultural, historical, linguistic constraints to development, and following the other two proposed interventions, spatially-blind institutions and connective infrastructure (Gill, 2011).

The place-based counter-critique, first of all, stresses the fact that a place-based approach should not be understood and misrepresented as incentives given to firms to relocate to specific areas or an approach which focuses on places rather than on people, “it is an approach aimed at persons living in given places, with the aim to make them free to choose whether to stay or go and where to go” (Barca and McCann, 2010, *vox*), characterized by the complexity and key ideas already described in the previous part of the paper.

Moreover, the place-based approach experts (Garcilazo et al, 2010; Rodríguez-Pose, 2011; Barca et al, 2012) are very critical with regards to the main concepts and theoretical assumptions characterizing the spatially-blind approach, in particular:

- the adoption of a Rostovian linear and a-historical view of development, which according to the place-based approach is unrealistic and ignores that the combination of time-space factors determines different development path for different areas;
- the benefits of a model based on the effects of agglomeration related to the promotion of mega-urban cities: evidence highlights that backwash effects are more likely than spillover effects (Rodríguez-Pose, 2011);
- the assumption that migration is costless, while place-based experts agree that migration implies relevant social, political and transaction costs (Rodríguez-Pose, 2011; Barca et al, 2012);
- the World Bank concept of institutions, which includes only the formal institutions and neglects the role and importance of informal institutions with their highly context specific nature for development (Rodríguez-Pose, 2011).

In conclusion, “the problems associated with ignoring the interactions between geography and institutions, of confusing correlation with causality, of adopting a linear and a historical view of development, and of ignoring the importance of place, signal why spatially-blind strategies may be inadequate to address what are fundamentally heterogeneous development problems across space” (Barca et al, 2012, p. 146).

5 - A place-based approach to food and nutrition security.

5.1 - The links between food and nutrition security and territorial development.

In order to apply and assess the effectiveness of the place-based approach to the issue of FNS, it is first and foremost important to explain which are the links between the FNS issue and territorial development. This paragraph aims at explaining and clarifying these links.

A key document which is used to support the effort in explaining these linkages is the CEPAL Report¹⁰ by the Espindola et al. (2005). On the basis of this report, figure 6 describes the structural determinants of poverty, hunger and malnutrition. According to the authors, malnutrition should be

¹⁰ Espindola et al (2005) Poverty, Hunger and Food Security. CEPAL social policy paper series, N. 88.

considered a direct consequence of both hunger and weaknesses in terms of health, education and sanitation. Hunger is determined by a lack of “entitlements”, which are understood as access rights, which are also the determinants of poverty, and therefore are strictly related to the access dimension of FNS (Espindola et al, 2005). From a more detailed analysis of this figure, it is possible to notice that the structural factors and determinants of FNS are characterized by a strong territorial dimension. This includes juridical and institutional organization, the structure of production and the power structure: these factors, in particular the institutions, are strictly linked to a particular geographical space. It also includes ideology, values and customs, which are obviously very place-dependent and are defined by the literature as informal institutions (Martin, 2003; Rodríguez-Pose, 2011).

STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS OF POVERTY, HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION

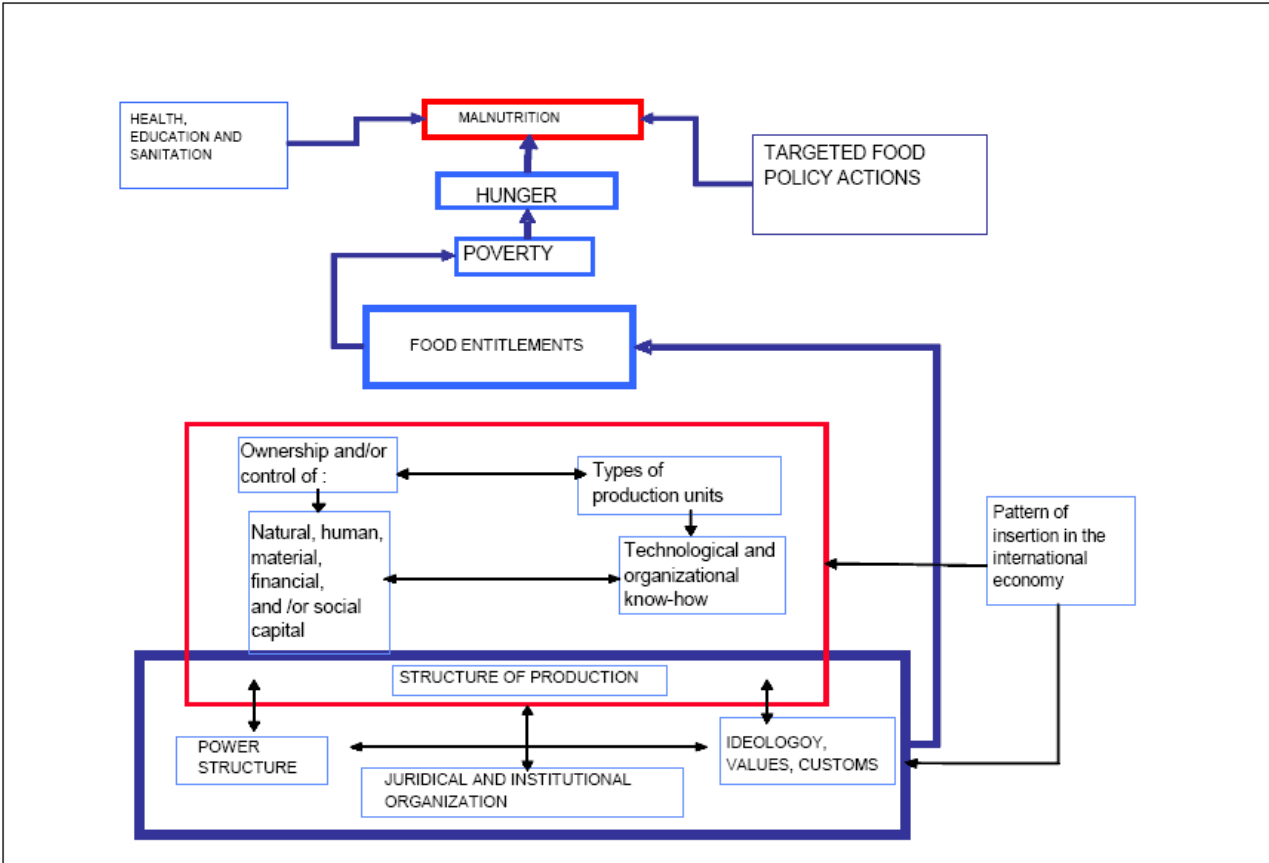


Figure 6: structural determinants of poverty, hunger and malnutrition. **Source:** CEPAL, 2005.

The links between FNS and territorial development are even more evident in the part of the figure describing and considering the natural, human, material, financial and social capital as structural determinants of FNS. These factors can be directly connected and linked with the Camagni argument of territorial capital, described as “the set of localized assets – natural, human, artificial, organizational, relational and cognitive – that constitute the competitive potential of any given territory” (Camagni, 2011, p.61), introduced by the OECD in 2001 and re-launched by the EC in 2005. The CEPAL Report also stresses the importance of the macroeconomic factors for FNS and their influence on the territorial determinants are acknowledged in this figure (pattern of insertion in the international economy) and separately addressed in the Report.

These linkages are also stressed by CEPAL in terms of policy interventions. By identifying the policy measures needed to address FNS at macro, meso and micro level, the CEPAL paper argues that “at the meso level, the most important factors are the territorial rural development policies adopted for food

and nutritional security (TRD-FNS policies), which take as their starting point, or, if preferred, are structured around local development policies” (Espindola et al, 2005, p. 17).

The Report argues that direct transfers to people are useful in the short term in response to emergency situations, but in addressing structural determinants they necessarily need to be integrated into medium and long-term development strategies. It also stresses the need to better integrate FNS objectives, instruments and strategies with local development policies, as also suggested by an European Commission Report (2003). According to the CEPAL Report, one of the main mistakes in FNS policies has been to consider and identify food policy with agricultural policy and therefore reduce the issue of FNS to the availability and supply of agricultural products. This misleading identification can undermine the effectiveness of FNS policy for three main reasons (Espindola et al., 2005):

- the first reason is that a growing and often predominant part of the aggregate value of the goods composing the food pattern derives from non agricultural sectors;
- secondly, due to the linkages of the agricultural sector with the other sectors (sector providing factors of production, inputs and sectors receiving agricultural products, agro-processing, etc.), these sectors shape and influence the functioning and the performances of the agricultural sector;
- finally, aggregate availability of food products is not the only dimension of FNS and by addressing only the agricultural sector, the other dimensions will be neglected.

In addition to this, the functioning of the food system is also strongly affected by the features and the relations of the social agents defining the different socio-economic, technical and production relations and responsible for the different activities and interrelated sectors composing it: the food system should be considered as a social system and the role of the social agents should not be neglected in the design of policies to address the FNS issue (Espindola et al, 2005). Weak linkages between the agricultural sector and other sectors (industry, services, etc.) may contribute to undermine the efficiency of response to FNS policies as well as bad infrastructure, an under developed agro-processing sector, or high transaction costs in the food chain. Again, neglecting these factors limits the effectiveness of FNS policies and strategies. *“Food patterns are characterized by many local and traditional attributes, there is a high degree of identity elements in the food system. If you design policies that takes into account these attributes you will improve both quality and nutritional aspects and the pattern of use, in terms of health, etc., taking into account the problems that comes from those levels”* (Author’s Interview, Schejtman, Senior Research Fellow, Rimisp, 2012).

Moreover, according to Stamoulis and Zezza (2003) both rural and urban development should be key components of FNS policies and strategies as well as “to strengthen linkages between farm and non-farm sectors and promote participation by the poor in the non-farm activities” (Stamoulis and Zezza, 2003, p.39).

5.2 – A place-based approach to address the food and nutrition security issue.

Given the strong links between FNS and territorial development described in the previous section and the potential ineffectiveness of FNS policies and strategies which neglect local and regional dimensions, it seems to be relevant and potentially effective to both address the territorial dimension and to apply the new regional development paradigm, namely the place-based approach, in the formulation of FNS strategies in developing countries.

First of all, both the economic and social rationale for a place-based approach explained in the Barca Report appear to be very relevant also for addressing the FNS issue.

The economic rationale stresses that a place-based intervention may be justified by three different market or government failures, namely i) weak economic institutional framework due to the vested interests of local elites, ii) institutional lock-in, meaning underdeveloped and weak formal and

informal institutions also as a consequence of path-dependency. “A path-dependent process or system is one whose outcome evolves as a consequence of the process’s or system’s own history” (Martin and Sunley, 2006, p. 399) and iii) increase transparency and verifiability of public decisions regarding agglomerations. Particularly the first two arguments are extremely relevant for the FNS issue. Both through the interviews and through the literature review, it has been possible to verify that one of the main limitations undermining the development process and FNS in developing countries is a weak institutional system, due to corruption, lack of capacity, local elites influence, etc. In addition, formal and particularly informal institutions are characterized by a high degree of path-dependency and can be considered carriers of history, which can generate a vicious circle preventing to overcome an institutional trap even in the future, “the less a place has effective institutions, the less likely it is to have them in the future and to be able to exploit its productive potential” (Barca, 2009, p.22). Moreover, according to the CEPAL Report (2005) the two main pillars of FNS policies should be production systems and institutions. Therefore, a place-based intervention might be extremely important to overcome these institutional weaknesses, both formal and particularly informal, in highly food insecure regions.

The social rationale for place-based policies can also be directly connected to the issue of FNS. According to Barca, social policies (and therefore also FNS policies) must be place-based because both the conditions and the well-being of an individual and the effectiveness of the policy actions to address inequalities are strongly place-dependent and influenced by the social capital, economy, natural and cultural resources, institutions characterizing the territorial context in which the individual lives. The inequality literature usually suggests to address the issue of social exclusion at household level, neglecting the above described territorial features influencing it. This argument can be applied also to FNS which is an issue strictly interrelated to inequalities and social exclusion and which is usually addressed at household level and the territorial dimension is often overlooked.

This was also stressed by Schejtman during the interview “*it seems statistically that beyond the peculiar attributes of the people in the territory, the territorial attributes themselves have also some impact in terms of poverty and inequalities, beyond the particular characteristics of the inhabitants*” (Author’s Interview, Schejtman, Senior Research Fellow, Rimisp, 2012). Barca stresses that usually traditional policies have followed a *de-contextualised individual approach*, while at the same time the place-based approach should avoid the mistake to apply a *de-personalised place-based approach* and he suggests that the social and the territorial agenda should be better integrated. “A new combination of the social and the territorial agenda is therefore required. The 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” (Barca, 2009, p.36).

The OECD argument that all territories have a potential and that policies should aimed at exploiting the potential in all territories is also very relevant and it is also supported by some empirical evidence. The paper by Rodríguez-Pose et al. (2007) *Local Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa* shows that even in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) there is potential for local economic development strategies, while it has often been argued that SSA requires exceptional solutions to address its development issues. The territorial dimension has been often overlooked in these development strategies. Therefore the paper calls for interventions less based and less focused on exceptional policies and solutions in favour of approaches which consider and try to exploit the place-specific LED potential of these regions. “Development policies in SSA have thus been generally at the two ends of the spectrum: either a combination of macroeconomic stability packages with supply-side sectoral measures applied throughout the continent with little regard for specific local conditions, or piecemeal development projects aimed at guaranteeing the survival of individuals often in extremely precarious conditions” (Rodríguez-Pose et al, 2007, p.532). These policies have been applied at the national level or at the neighbourhood or village level through a project-based approach: therefore the meso dimension and potential has been neglected.

With regards to both the rationale and potential effectiveness of a place-based approach to the FNS issue, almost all the experts interviewed agreed on the usefulness of this approach to address food

insecurity. *“There is strong evidence that food and nutrition security levels are influenced by the territorial capital or assets, including human capital, infrastructures, 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 centralized and does not take into account specific local opportunities and issues”.* (Author’s Interview, Cistulli, Senior Policy Officer, UN FAO, 2012). *“At a small scale, you have problems of food security which depends on land, you have this movement towards renewable energy, you have the use of land which can be used for other uses rather than food, so you have these big challenges in term of the use of land that takes you again into this place-based approach. How do you do efficient land use? You have to look at the places, you have to consider these issues into the whole package of the development of the place, make sure that it doesn’t conflict with other parts, with any taxes and incentives that government might want to develop for the land and so on. It is highly connected with place-based policies”* (Author’s Interview, Garcilazo, Head of the Rural and Regional Programme, OECD, 2012). According to Schejtman, the need to apply a territorial approach to FNS is supported by the recognition that *“in terms of income sources you have that, even in those places which are mostly rural, an important and an increasing part of their income is from non agricultural activities, so you have an increasing amount of employment which is non agricultural”* (Author’s Interview, Schejtman, Senior Research Fellow, Rimisp, 2012).

One of the key pillars of a place-based approach to FNS should be the economic diversification, in particular a shift from a sectoral approach based only on agriculture to a multi-sectoral and integrated approach (OECD, 2006). The need for this shift has been strongly stressed by the majority of the interviewees and it is one of the key concepts characterizing the OECD New Rural Paradigm and more generally the place-based approach. UNCDF in the Cambodia Local Economic Outlook (2010) highlights the importance to abandon the mainstream policy approach to rural development entirely focused on agriculture in favour of an integrated and diversified approach and to build rural development strategies on the basis of territorial potential within and outside agriculture: in order to develop these kind of strategies a place-based approach is pivotal. *“Cambodia’s rural areas hold enormous unexploited potential for economic diversification, and this is largely territorially differentiated (for instance between remote rural regions and rural areas in the plains). This calls for a modern, place-based approach to rural development.”* (UNCDF, 2010, p. 30).

Moreover, in order to perform a more effective integrated territorial approach and exploit and untapped the local potential, it is fundamental to avoid a common mistake: *“for a strategic approach to rural development to be effective it is critical not to incur in two ‘classical’ policy mistakes: a) first, ‘agriculture’ should not be considered synonymous with ‘rural’, nor agricultural policy as synonymous with rural policy. This means that rural areas should be assessed in terms of their needs and potential across different sectors”* (UNCDF, 2010, p. 29).

Within this process of economic diversification and modernization of the rural economy to address and tackle the food insecurity issue, a place-based approach is again considered pivotal in order to formulate and implement effective policies and strategies. *“If you think about modernizing the rural economy, that largely means that you have to become more capital intensive, that you need to use better machines, start working with critical mass, that also means that you need to deal with some of the people that lose their jobs and for that you need to provide them with an alternative, you need local training methods, you need linkages between the agriculture with other sectors in your region, otherwise you might not be able to do this transition towards modernization because if people feel that they are just losing their jobs and there are no other opportunities for them, you will face rejection. You need a place-based approach for the modernization of the rural economy.”* (Author’s Interview, Garcilazo, Head of the Rural and Regional Programme, OECD, 2012).

According to Camilleri (UNDP) a territorial approach to FNS is important because it allows to address and capture the complexity of development and integrate the FNS issue within the whole process of development of a region and it also allows to avoid to create a dependency and assistance attitude in the areas of intervention. *“The limit 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 will, a passive approach to development, in many countries people say that food comes from international cooperation. Moreover, food coming from international cooperation in many cases don't facilitate the work of farmers because the costs of food is zero, food is free, so you destroy the local economy of the young farmers that are in many case the first workers after a war or after a crises" (Author's Interview, Camilleri, International Coordinator of the ART Global Initiative, UNDP, 2012).

In addition, the FNS issue itself should be integrated within the whole picture of the process of development of an area by International Organizations addressing it. *"Food security should be considered part of the whole development process of an area, integrated with the social, the environmental, the economic dimensions, in this way you are providing not only something that is concrete (food security), but you are also providing a vision of development that is positive, that is dynamic, that is proactive, that is aware about the need to work together, not only between sectors, but also between the different actors managing the different sectors"* (Author's Interview, Camilleri, International Coordinator of the ART Global Initiative, UNDP, 2012).

The usefulness of a place-based approach to FNS is also stressed by Crosta: *"when we talk about food security what I am seeing is that this approach makes even more sense, it is a very good demonstration of the validity of place-based approaches because food security is cross-sectoral by definition, it is related for instance to climate issues, to environmental issues, to geographical issues. So I think it is pretty easy to understand why you can not have only a sectoral approach or an entirely spatially-blind approach, think about food security in terms of the access to food or access to water, or again of climate conditions, of climate change, of floods, these are all aspects that have an influence on the food security level of a territory, you need to formulate policies that are adapted to these conditions of the places"* (Author's Interview, Crosta, Head of Knowledge, Policy and Advocacy, UNCDF, 2012).

5.3 – The importance of formal and informal institutions.

Both according to the literature and mainly to the interviewees, one of the key pillars and most critical issues for the implementation of a place-based approach to FNS in developing countries are institutions, both formal and informal. In particular the latter play a critical role for FNS: as explained by Schejtman and by figure 6, the determinants of FNS include components such as traditions, values of the places, habits, culture, social capital. Neglecting these factors may strongly undermine the effectiveness of FNS policies and interventions. The importance of informal institutions and their highly context specific nature is also stressed by Rodríguez-Pose (2011), who is very critical and sceptical regarding the potential effectiveness of the spatially-blind approach due to the partial and incomplete understanding of institutions proposed by the WDR which equates them with just formal institutions and completely overlooks the importance of the informal ones.

This idea related to the strong place-specific nature of institutions is also supported by Rodrik (2005), who criticizes the mainstream approach to institutional reforms in developing countries proposed mainly by the World Bank, IMF, WTO, based on a "heavily biased towards a best-practice model" (Rodrik, 2008, p.2). By supporting his argument through examples from different developing countries, the author proposes the concept of "second-best" institutions and argues that in order to achieve effective institutional reforms in these countries a second-best mindset is required, meaning an approach that considers the context-specific nature of market and government failures and the complications of implementing best-practice institutional reforms. "Best-practice institutions are, almost by definition, non-contextual and do not take into account these complications. Insofar as they narrow rather than expand the menu of institutional choices available to reformers, they serve the cause badly" (Rodrik, 2008, p. 10).

Moreover the role of institutions and institutional reforms plays a key role even in the debate between place-based or spatially-blind approaches in developing countries. The spatially-blind approach proposes the agglomeration and urban expansion argument in order to overcome institutional

weaknesses characterizing developing countries (Barca et al, 2012). In contrast, Barca et al (2012) argues that “the ability of urbanization to overcome rather than to exacerbate institutional problems is not at all clear, because it depends on their interactions, which in turns may also depend both on the level of development and also on the existing limited institutional arrangements” (Barca et al, 2012, p. 145). The place-based approach would instead allow to formulate and implement policies which aim at utilizing and enhancing the institutional capacity in place. (CAF, 2010; Barca et al, 2012).

Given the key role played by institutions for implementing an effective place-based approach to FNS and more generally to promote development and given the widely recognized institutional weaknesses in developing countries, particularly at sub-national level, as also stressed by Cistulli (FAO) and Camilleri (UNDP), institutional capacity building becomes a key policy action and objective and the efforts of international organizations are increasingly focusing on it. As highlighted particularly by Dijkstra, McCann and Rodríguez-Pose, this can be achieved by external actors, such as international organizations, donor agencies, etc. through conditionality, part of the aids programmes could be conditioned to institutional capacity building.

According to Tomaney, another key role of institutions for the place-based approach is that in the places which can be considered successful examples in the implementation of long-term development strategies, a fundamental common characteristics seems to be the capacity to establish a sort of mechanisms which allow to combine long-term strategies with short-term needs, in particular institutions such as RDAs, etc, that go beyond the short-term policy cycle and allow to develop and maintain a long-term strategy. These mechanisms can be identified with “*institutions which are separated but linked to the political structures which allow you to take a long term view*” and “*you need to have that because that is the way in which accountability is instituted, that is the way in which the political class is refreshed and so on. If you don’t have that, you are destined towards sclerosis*” (Author’s Interview, Tomaney, Director of CURDS, Newcastle University, 2012).

Therefore, given these and the previous considerations, both the strong influence of the territorial capital and the key role of formal and informal institutions and their highly context-specific nature on FNS, it appears clear that a FNS strategy entirely based on a spatially-blind approach which neglects all these factors and determinants, would be highly ineffective and it is very likely to fail in addressing the MDG1. A place-based approach which considers that these territorial place-specific features can constitute both the constrains and obstacles to reach FNS, but they can also represent the possible solutions to improve and tackle this issue, integrated with the macro-economic FNS policies through a multi-level governance principle, would therefore be a more effective approach.

6 – Conclusions

The paper, after having explained the aims, the research question and the research design, in section III described the issue of FNS, the four dimensions composing it, the severity of the food insecurity and the unresolved MDG1 and finally the policy actions and interventions by the International Organizations, highlighting the lack of a territorial dimension in the Updated Comprehensive Framework for Action. Section IV presented the new regional development paradigms, in particular the place-based approach launched by the OECD and by the Barca Report in 2009, analyzing also its critique, the spatially-blind approach and the place-based counter-critique, both through the literature and through the interviews. Finally Section V tries to establish a link between the FNS issue and this new regional development paradigm, analyzing the rationale, the potential effectiveness and the main components of a place-based approach to FNS, arguing the potential ineffectiveness of an entirely spatially-blind approach, which neglects the importance of context-specific constraints and potential solutions and tangible and intangible territorial assets for FNS and strengthening the argument through the interviews of the main experts both from Academia and from International Organizations.

The main finding of the research is that context really matter, probably as highlighted by some of the interviewed experts even more with regards to the FNS issue than others given the place-specific nature of many of its determinants, and plays a critical role in formulating and implementing effective

FNS policies and strategies. Therefore, FNS decision-makers should recognize the importance of this new territorial development paradigm, namely an integrated place-based approach, which effectively addresses the complexity and the multi-dimensional, multi-sectoral and multi-actors nature of hunger and malnutrition: this should be reflected - and not only acknowledged - in FNS policies and strategies. The analysis highlighted a general and wide consensus around the ineffectiveness and inadequacy of sectoral-based one-size-fits-all solutions and approaches both for development policies and particularly for the FNS issue.

More generally, this paradigm shift, as argued by the OECD (2011), is also highlighted by Obama's strategy "Developing Effective Place-Based Policies for the FY 2011 Budget". "This paradigm shift was most recently illustrated by US President Barack Obama's decision in 2009 to engage in "an interagency process focused on investing in what works by evaluating existing place-based policies and identifying potential reforms and areas for interagency co-ordination". The White House directive made clear that "place-based policies leverage investments by focusing resources in targeted places and drawing on the compounding effect of well co-ordinated action. Effective place-based policies can influence how rural and metropolitan areas develop, how well they function as places to live, work, operate a business, preserve heritage, and more. Such policies can also streamline otherwise redundant and disconnected programs" (Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies, The White House, 11 August 2009)". (OECD Regional Outlook, 2011, p. 171).

In addition to the key concepts discussed in the previous sections and summarized in the table 1, Camilleri (UNDP) suggests that International Organizations should play a role of "facilitators", they should support the country in the elaboration of its own diagnosis both at national and sub-national level, mainly through capacity development, in order to reach a common and shared diagnosis of the territory, instead of one different diagnosis for each International Organization, each one with its own criteria, its own calendar and its own technical approach.

The research also highlights that the place-based approach in general and its application to FNS in particular may present some potential limitations. The main one, on which also the majority of the interviewees agree, is that a territorial approach requires time and it is effective in the medium and long-term. The issue of FNS, as seen in the previous sections, not only requires medium and long-term solutions to address the structural determinants, but it also needs short-term interventions to address emergency situations. This is also highlighted by Gill "*There are issues that policy-makers can be "patient" about, such as spatial equalization of production and more specifically spatial equalization of production per square kilometre; this could even never happen and there are issues that policy-makers can be "impatient" about: per capita consumption, basic services (education, security, health, etc.) and even more impatient about, such as poverty and Food Security*" (Author's Interview, Gill, Chief Economist of the Europe and Central Asia Region and Director of the WDR 2009, World Bank, 2012). Therefore, according to the twin-track approach, a territorial approach should be integrated with short-term interventions to address emergency and temporary situations, but avoiding the mistake to use this emergency interventions in the long-term to address the structural determinants of FNS, which would create a passive and dependency attitude towards development (Camilleri, 2012; Cistulli, 2012).

Moreover, another risk and potential limitations would be to consider the territorial approach as the unique solution or paradigm to the issue of FNS: "*it can not be a stand alone paradigm, it has to be integrated and combined with other approaches to get the most appropriate mix of policies able to address both the causes of and the local opportunities to reduce food and nutrition insecurity*" (Author's Interview, Cistulli, Senior Policy Officer, UN FAO, 2012) and "*not everything has to be place-based*" (Author's Interview, Garcilazo, Head of the Rural and Regional Programme, OECD, 2012). In particular, with regards to the debate between place-based vs spatially-blind approaches, the majority of the interviewees agree that this is a false dichotomy, that both approaches have their rationale and their place and that they are not one the alternative of the other. In some cases an integration of the two approaches might be the most effective policy intervention. "*In many cases the question is: do you need a place-based approach to implement some of the spatially-blind policies?*"

Most people would argue that you do.” (Author’s Interview, Garcilazo, Head of the Rural and Regional Programme, OECD, 2012).

PLACE-BASED APPROACH TO FOOD SECURITY: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	
Problem recognition	Territorial and social inequalities, lack of competitiveness and unexploited territorial potential have a strong influence on Food Security
Policy Objective	Competitiveness and Equity (economic and social objectives)
Economic Objective	1 - Overcome institutional weakness and lock-in through an external place-based intervention and through capacity building, strong recognition of the importance of both formal and particularly informal institutions
	2 - By recognizing that every territory has a potential, maximize the returns of interventions of any given territory and as a result, in aggregate term, of any given country or continent
Social Objective	Recognition that context really matter for inequalities and food security, which are usually addressed only at household level: territorialized the social agenda and socialize the territorial agenda
General Policy Framework	Value and exploit territorial potential (expressed and latent) to reduce Food Insecurity
	Shift from and assistance-led to a development-led approach
Approach	Shift from an undifferentiated, one-size-fits-all to a place-based, context-specific approach
	Shift from a project approach to a programme and planning approach
	Food Security defined as a multi-dimensional concept, but usually addressed through a sectoral, mainly agricultural based approach: shift from a sectoral to a multi-sectoral territorial approach
	Aids to address food security provided on the basis of a "conditionality principle", in particular for institutional capacity building, etc.
	Diversification of the rural economy through a place-based approach which will allow in particular to provide alternatives and avoid rejection during the diversification process
	Emergency interventions and actions have to be used to address emergency issue, not structural conditions and determinants, otherwise they create dependency
"Entry point"	National Planning System
Time horizon	Long-term approach with short term assistance intervention for emergency situations, Integrate the twin-track approach with the territorial approach
Institutional Settings	Create and generate institutional mechanisms that would allow to overcome the policy-cycle (eg. Regional Dev. Agencies, etc)
Role of International Organizations	Role of "facilitators", support and advise the territories to develop their own diagnosis, integrating the interventions with the other IO activities.
Instruments	Shift from subsidies and state aids which contribute to create dependency to investment in territorial capital, tangible and intangible assets
Actors	Bottom-up multilevel governance approach, without neglecting the role of the central state
Unit of intervention	Functional areas

Table 1: conceptual and policy framework for the place-based approach to food and nutrition security.

An interesting interpretation of this debate is provided by Rodríguez-Pose. He argues that spatially-blind policies in reality are place-based policies, but partial place-based policies, which just focus on

main cities and therefore leave a lot of potential untapped within the country: the goal should be to integrate these policies within the framework of a place-based approach. “They are a type of place-based policies which will ultimately be more beneficial for a significant share of large city dwellers, but not necessarily for the rest of the population. We therefore need people-based development policies which, without rejecting their needs for cross-fertilisation and integration with what is known as a spatially-blind approach, put individuals at the centre” (Rodríguez-Pose, 2011, p.88).

In addition, a further potential limitations of the place-based approach which, according to Tomaney, should be addressed and improved, regards the role of the state. *“The weakness is that it doesn’t really address the role of the state in economic development, both in a positive and in a negative sense”* and *“I would say that the state has to remain critically important in the provision of infrastructure, in the provision of services and so on, in ways which are necessary if those place-based approaches have got a chance of working. And I think that in much of the debate around place-based approaches that has not been sufficiently discussed or acknowledged”* (Author’s Interview, Tomaney, Director of CURDS, Newcastle University, 2012).

These potential limitations and particularly the integration of the place-based approach with other approaches, should be considered in the implementation of such policies and further research is needed to overcome these weaknesses.

In conclusion, on the basis of both the literature and the interviews, a place-based approach to FNS policies and strategies, strengthen by the consideration of the above potential limitations, could represent an effective way of tackling the issue of food insecurity. As highlighted in this paper, there seems to be a growing recognition of the potential effectiveness of this approach, but this is seldom reflected in FNS policies and strategies. In particular, a stronger focus on the territorial approach to FNS within the framework of the Updated Comprehensive Framework for Action and particularly the integration of the place-based approach with the twin-track approach might represent a powerful, more effective and long term strategy to address the food insecurity issue.

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Annex 1: example of questions for the interviews.

Semi-structured interview, about 45 minutes.

Questions:

- 1 Place-based vs spatially-blind policies:** what do you mean by place-based/territorial approach? What is the rationale for a place-based approach? How this approach should improve the effectiveness of development policies?
- 2 Spatially-blind (or people-centred) policies: debate with the World Bank:** what is the World Bank position (spatially-blind approach)? How do you explain this distance between OECD/EC and WB approach?
- 3 Role of governance and institutions.** Different role of institutions in the place-based and spatially blind approach. Where are more critical? Especially in developing countries characterized by weak institutions, how can a place-based approach be implemented?
- 4 Effectiveness of the place-based approach for Food and Nutrition Security.** Do you think that this place-based approach could be also useful to address the issue of FNS in developing countries? If, so why and how? What are the main differences between the application of the place-based approach in developed and in developing countries?
- 5 How to shift from a sectoral based (usually agricultural) to a territorial approach to FNS policies?** One of the key concept characterizing this new regional development paradigm is the shift from a top-down sectoral based approach to a bottom-up territorial approach: how can policies shift from a sectoral to a territorial approach?
- 6 Which are the main limitations of the place-based approach, in particular with regards to the FNS issue? Do you see any potential integration with the spatially-blind approach?**