Good Food Security Governance:
The Crucial Premise to the Twin-Track Approach

Background paper

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1 Introduction

"Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development"
(Kofi Annan)

Even the best-intentioned policy-makers and planners are subject to extensive political constraints: electoral concern, the necessity to strike deals with opposition parties, or to favor certain constituencies[1].

The need for global governance of food led to the creation of FAO in 1945. These last 66 years have seen a massive growth in food output and quality (See graph; FAO, 2011[2]), enabling a 40% rise in food intake per person for a population that has swollen from 2.5 billion to almost 7 billion[3]. Yet, global food and nutrition security has deteriorated and continues to represent a serious threat to national and international peace and security[4]. The total number of undernourished people in 2010 was estimated at 925 million, higher than it was 40 years ago, and in the developing world the prevalence of undernourishment stands at 16 percent[5] (See graph; SOFI 2010).
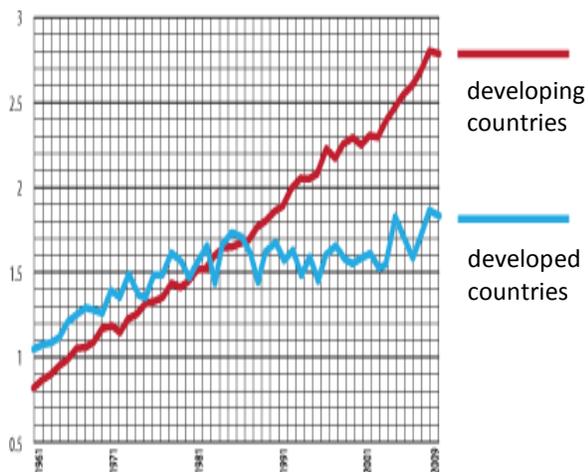

Figure 1: World production of major crops, 1961-2009, billion tons

developing countries

developed countries
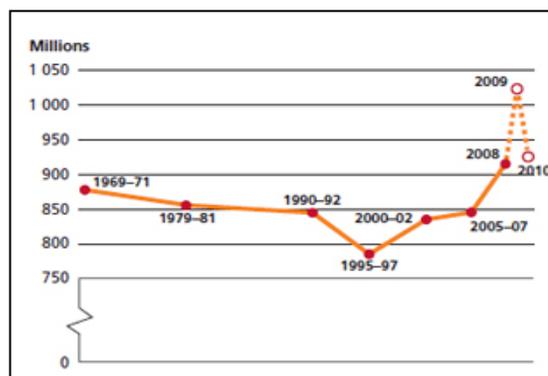
Figure 2. Number of undernourished

Continuing food insecurity remains one of the defining challenges of our time. Despite decades of technical and prescriptive efforts, despite numerous commitments at international, regional and national level to reduce undernourishment (e.g. MDG 1 or World Food Summit Goal) a lack of concrete achievements has been recognized by donors, partner countries and academics alike. Measured against the goal of reducing the number of hungry and undernourished people, the food security policies achievements so far are mixed at best.

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[1] Adapted from A. Alesina, Blanchard, O., Gali, J., Giavazzi, F. and H. Uhlig, 2001. D*efining a Macroeconomic Framework for the Euro Area*, Monitoring the European Central Bank 3, CEPR.
[2] FAO 2011. *Save and Grow: A policy makers guide to the sustainable intensification of smallholder crop production*.
[3] De Haen, H., Mac Millan, A., 2010. Towards global governance of food security. *Rural* 21 – 05/2010, pp.7.
[4] World Summit on Food Security (WSFS) Secretariat, 2010. *Global governance of food security*.
[5] FAO. 2010. *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Addressing food insecurity in protracted crises.* Rome.

Food insecurity is caused by a complex interplay of factors, some outside the direct control of governments; but there is now a growing recognition that institutions, rules and political processes play an important role in enabling or constraining particular pathways to sustainable agricultural production growth, increased food and nutrition security, and better livelihoods and wellbeing for all.

FAO's twin-track approach provides a conceptual framework for addressing food security, which involves enhancing agricultural productivity and promoting rural development while facilitating direct access to adequate, safe and nutritious food for the most needy. *Good governance* of food security, underpinned by principles such as responsiveness, accountability and transparency, participation and equality has the potential to ensure that food security programmes designed along twin-track approach are effectively implemented, to the greatest benefit of those who mostly need them.

However, the term "good governance" is both complex and ambiguous. There is not, as yet, a commonly agreed definition of this concept. Apart from the universal acceptance that it is important, differences prevail in respect of theoretical formulations, policy prescriptions and conceptualization of the subject itself. Those addressing the subject have produced a wide array of definitions. Some are very broad while others narrowly focus on public sector management issues. Good governance is treated both as a means to an end (e.g. sustainable and equitable economic development) and as an end in itself (e.g. as ensuring political stability, security and wellbeing). Depending on the context and the objective sought, governance is qualified as "good", "democratic" or "responsible", and said to include: political pluralism, the rule of law, an efficient and effective public sector, legitimacy, effective participation, full respect and protection of human rights, multi-actor partnerships, political empowerment, absence of corruption, sharing of power, equity, sustainability, responsiveness etc. It is employed in varying contexts, with different meaning and different degrees of precision. In addition to development of the concept of good governance at the country level, it has also found resonance at the international and global level. At this level, the concept raises questions around coordination, mandates and competences, steering and accountability, transparency and participation in complex networks of governing actors operating at international and regional levels.

In the food and agriculture area in general, and within FAO in particular, the concept of good governance is increasingly applied at *sector* level (e.g. land governance, fisheries governance, forest governance, governance and standards in trade; governance in food safety; governance of plant genetic resources). More recently, the term "food security and nutrition governance" also appeared, without however, being clearly defined. A debate is therefore needed to clarify the concept of "food security governance", explain its boundaries and its relation to concepts of a similar nature, notably the right to food, and governance and availability, access, stability and utilisation. It is also needed to review the tools that have been developed to implement these concepts, learn how they have been used, whether and how they can foster "good food security governance", and identify gaps that can be closed by future work.

This background paper starts with a short overview of the origins of the concept of governance, and its various definitions as they have emerged in the field of development, and of its understanding and use within FAO (Section I). It then addresses the relationship between good governance, food security and the right to food, and proposes a working definition of the concept of "good food security governance" (Section II). The last section proposes the supportive framework for analyzing and understanding good food security governance, and gives a brief overview of issues in food security policy cycle that have a clear governance dimension or that are affected by political economy factors (Section III).

2   The concept of "governance": origins and definitions

The concept of governance[6] is a very old one; it can be traced in the works of Aristotle, who referred to good governance to describe a state ruled by an ethical and just governor.

In its original, 'common' interpretation, the term "governance" had a much narrower meaning, i.e. the action or manner of conducting affairs of state. It was often used in an overlapping sense with 'government'[7]. In recent times, "governance" has been used increasingly to define the process of decision-making and implementation (or non-implementation) of decisions, the way power is distributed and exercised within a society in a variety of contexts, such as corporate governance, international and global governance, national governance and local governance.

Despite the unprecedented momentum in the usage of the term, and unanimity on its importance for human development there is no, as yet, universally agreed definition of governance. In the last few decades, attempts to relate concerns with governance, politics and institutions to the challenges of development, environment, and poverty have blossomed. Equally numerous are approaches to define governance; they are highly varied, reflecting diverse institutional, political, historic, social, economic and cultural contexts. The following sections do not attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of various definitions; its aim is to point out the broad agreement on the meaning of the concept of governance as it emerged in the field of development.

2.1   Governance in development

In the development field, the concept of governance achieved prominence at the end of the 1980s and beginning of 1990s with the recognition that development policies were failing in part because insufficient attention had been paid to political and institutional processes and outcomes. It highlighted the importance of government's efficiency and effectiveness for economic performance and

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[6] In strictly linguistic terms the word "governance" relates to a governing activity, while the word "government" relates to bodies who exercise the governing activity.

[7] Brautigam, 1991. Quoted by C.Béné, A.E. Neiland, 2006. *From Participation to Governance. A critical review of the concepts of governance, co-management and participation, and their implementation in small-scale inland fisheries in developing countries*. WorldFish Center/CGIAR, p.6.

development interventions[8]. It appears that the term was introduced by the World Bank (WB) that established a link between the quality of a country's governance system and its ability to pursue sustainable economic and social reforms. It used the term "governance" to describe the need for institutional reform and a better and more efficient public sector in Sub-Saharan countries[9], if the WB's programmes of adjustment and investment in that region were to be effective. While the approach certainly applied a critique of what the WB's regarded as widespread corruption, inefficiency of public administration and lack of accountability, the use of the term "governance" instead of "government" aimed at avoiding to having been seen as interfering in the sovereignty of the states in question.

Later, the WB provided a specific definition relevant to its own purposes[10], and endorsed "*good governance*" as a core element of its development strategy. However, while recognizing the importance of the political dimensions of governance, the Bank interpreted the concept restrictively, arguing that the first aspect – whether a government is democratic or not - falls outside its mandate[11]. As a result, it focused on the second and third aspects that are the capacity of the state government to formulate and above all, implement financial and economic policy, putting in place an "enabling environment that fosters private investment"[12]. Thus developed, the concept included five key dimensions: public sector management, organizational accountability, the rule of law, transparency in decision-making and access to information. Related regional banks, such as the Asian Development Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the African Development Bank adopted similar language.

In practice, the assessment of good governance aimed at measuring the *economic* performance of the states and their institutions from outside, without a direct involvement of those concerned in the country (in the sense of creating counter-power able to oppose the policies or establishing accountability mechanisms in order to guarantee feedback to the citizens). It was based on economic factors and focused on the output, both of private entities and public institutions. Good governance soon became "a condition for receiving aid"[13].

It has been argued that through the promotion of such a concept of good governance, without the principles of inclusiveness, participation or equality included, some governments have been affected in their capacity to strike a fair balance between private and public interests, which may have contributed

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[8] Seminar on good governance practices for the promotion of human rights, Seoul, 15-16 September 2004, Background paper, para. 3 (HR/SEL/GG/SEM/2004/BP.2).

[9] World Bank,1989. *World Bank Report on Sub-Saharan Africa: From crisis to Sustainable Growth*.

[10] "Governance encompasses a) the form of political regime; b) the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development; and c) the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies and discharge functions" (see: World Bank, 1994. *Governance. The WB Experience*, at vii; available at http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1994/05/01/000009265_3970716142854/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf)

[11] Id., p. 14.

[12] WB, 1989, cit. note 9.

[13] Carbone, M., 2010. *The European Union, good governance and aid effectiveness: in search of a role in international development*. 4th Annual Conference of the GARNET network on Food Security and Sustainable Development: Challenges for the Governance of International Relations, Rome 11-13 November 2009. P. 4.

to a weakening of democratic principles, and to an increased inequalities within states and globally[14]. Such critiques were also fuelled by evidence that top-down state-led approaches, in practice, rarely worked out as intended.

In the academic world the concept quickly evolved from state-centric to a society-centric concept, designating "the sum of interactions between civil society and governments. It is thus a word that clearly has a relational dimension in which the key questions focus on how civil society and government inter-relate, and how that inter-relationship might be changed in ways that foster better governance"[15]. It was defined as the "participative manner of governing that functions in a responsible, accountable and transparent manner based on the principles of efficiency, legitimacy and consensus for the purpose of promoting the rights of individual citizens and the public interest, thus indicating the exercise of political will for ensuring the material welfare of society and sustainable development with social justice"[16]. It was said to refer to "sustaining coordination and coherence among a wide variety of actors with different purposes and objectives"[17]. Such actors were said to include political actors and institutions, interest groups, civil society and private sector.

In 1994, the "Agenda for Development"[18] submitted by UNSG Boutros Boutros-Ghali to the General Assembly stressed the important role of good governance in development while stating that *democracy* is "inherently attached to the question of governance"[19]. Democracy is described as the only reliable means to achieve improved governance[20]. A broadening of the concept of good governance occurred in the following years, with its increased use by a range of other international actors and organizations (notably, by the UNDP, OECD and the EU). These focused also on a *political* dimension of governance, and integrated government legitimacy, government accountability, its competence, protection of human rights and other democracy elements within the concept. In line with such broadening of its definition, the concept has been qualified by some as "democratic" governance such as UNDP and EU.

This new emphasis has been facilitated by a parallel process: the adoption by international agencies, of the human development perspective associated with the writings of Amartya Sen, Mahbud-ul-Haq and Marta Nussbaum[21].

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[14] Frey, K., 2008. Development, good governance and local democracy. *Brazilian Political Science Review (Online), Vol. 2, n. 2:, p.6;* STEPS Centre, 2007. *Understanding Governance: pathways to sustainability*, STEPS Working Paper 2, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex p.8; Venice Commission, 2011. Stocktaking on the notions of 'good governance' and 'good administration'. Document CDL-Ad(2011)009, p. 4.

[15] C. Béné, A.E. Neiland, 2006., cit., p. 5.

[16] S. Munshi, 2004. Concern for Good Governance in Comparative Perspective. *In* Munshi, S. and b.Paul Abraham (eds), *Good Governance, Democratic Societies and Globalization, New Delhi, Sage Publications.*

[17] J. Pierre, 2000. *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering and Democracy,* Oxford University Press.

[18] An Agenda for Development, Report of the SG, 6 May 1994, A/48/935, para. 125;

[19] Id. para. 120

[20] Id. para. 128.

[21] Human development puts people at a central stage by asking what is it that people can do or be that makes them satisfied (and happy) with their lives. In contrast to the economic growth paradigm, production is no longer the centre of human life. Instead, it is human *capabilities* and *freedoms* that play a fundamental role. The goal of

The World Bank itself soon aligned with this new approach; a more recent contribution by the WB to governance debate concerns indicators for measuring governance. Initially developed by D. Kaufman of the WB Institute at the end of the 1990's, the WorldWide Governance Indicators Project emphasizes six dimensions of governance (see Box 1, which gives some examples of recent definitions of governance by international organizations).

Box 1. Some definitions of governance

The UN Development Programme
Democratic governance means that: people's human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected, allowing them to live with dignity; people have a say in decisions that affect their lives; people can hold decision-makers accountable; inclusive and fair rules, institutions and practices govern social interactions; women are equal partners with men in private and public spheres of life and decision-making; people are free from discrimination based on race, ethnicity, class, gender or any other attribute; the needs of future generations are reflected in current policies; economic and social policies are responsive to people's needs and aspirations; economic and social policies aim at eradicating poverty and expanding the choices that all people have in their lives.
UNDP, Human development Report. 2002. Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World.

The European Commission (2003 definition)
Democratic governance includes "respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms (including freedom of expression, information and association), support for democratization processes and the involvement of citizens to an independent justice system, access to information, a government that governs transparently and is accountable to the relevant institutions and to the electorate, human security, management of migration flows, effective institutions, access to basic social services, sustainable management of natural and energy resources and of the environment and the promotion of sustainable economic growth and social cohesion in a climate conducive to private investment".
Commission of the European Communities, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the Euroepan Parliament, the European Economic and social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Governance in the European Consensus on Development. Towards a harmonized approach within the EU, COM(2006)421 final, 30 June 2006, paragraph.1.1.)

UNESCO
Governance describes the institutions, rules and norms through which policies are developed and implemented – and through which accountability is enforced.
UNESCO, 2009. Overcoming inequality: why governance matters. Education for All. Global Monitoring Report, Oxford University Press, p. 128.

Commission on Global Governance
Governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest.
Our Global Neighborhood, The Report of the Commission on Global Governance 1995, Chapter 1.

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human development is well-being which can be reached by allowing people to freely develop their capabilities. As such, the objects of development are people themselves and not the sum of people's economic activities and its economic value (Nussbaum, M.C. (2000). Aristotle, Politics and Human Capabilities: A Response to Antony Arneson, Charlesworth and Mulgan, *Ethics,* 111(1):102-128.). Quoted in: A. Kalfagianni, *Ethics and politics on human development,* available at:
http://zunia.org/uploads/media/knowledge/isa08_proceeding_2535511256933001.pdf

UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
According to UNESCAP, which *inter alia* monitors progress of, and provides advice to, countries pursuing the UN MDGs, "good governance has 8 major characteristics. It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society".
UNESCAP, 2009, What is good governance? Available at:
http://www.unescap.org/pdd/prs/ProjectActivities/Ongoing/gg/governance.asp *(last visited, August 2011)*

The UN Commission on Human Rights
According to the Commission, the foundation of good governance is "transparent, responsible, accountable, and participatory government, responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people /.../ Good governance practices may vary from society to society and determining and implementing such practices rests with the States concerned".
The role of good governance in the promotion of human rights, Commission on Human Rights Resolutions 2000/64, 2003/65 and 2004/70.

World Bank Project on World Governance Indicators
Governance   is defined as the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes a) the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; (b) the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and (c) the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them. This definition motivates six core dimensions of governance: Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism, government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law and Control of Corruption.
 WGI "Methodology and analytical issues". Available at:
http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/reports/2010/09_wgi_kaufmann/09_wgi_kaufmann.pdf

International Monetary Fund
Governance is a broad concept covering all aspects of the way a country is governed, including its economic policies and regulatory framework, as well as adherence to the rule of law.
Factsheet - The IMF and Good Governance, 2011. Available at:
http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/gov.htm

DFID
According to DFID, a "virtuous cycle of governance" is based on a) *Capability, i.e.* the extent to which leaders and governments are able to get things done, and to perform functions such as providing stability, regulation, trade/growth, effectiveness and security; b) *Accountability, which* describes the ability of citizens, civil society and the private sector to scrutinise public institutions and governments and hold them to account to ensure transparency, free media, rule of law and elections, and c) *Responsiveness that* refers to the extent to which public policies and institutions respond to the needs of citizens and uphold their rights, including human rights/liberties, access to basic public services, pro-poor policy, equality, regulation and corruption.
Loughhead S, 2009 "DFID's Approach to Governance: Importance of Accountability and Transparency", Presentation to Governance and Transparency Fund workshop, 24th February

While there is not a universally accepted definition of "good/democratic governance", there is a relatively broad agreement on a number of its key components:

- Governance refers to the *activity or process* of decision-making and implementation;
- It holds a meaning broader than "government"[22];
- It articulates how interests are accommodated and power is exercised in a society;
- It includes formal and informal rules[23]; and
- The quality dimensions of governance include accountability, participation, transparency and the respect for the rule of law.

These four are those dimensions that are most often quoted in various definitions of governance. The authors and organizations that promote the concept of "democratic governance" also include other dimensions such as protection of human rights, gender equality and fairness, and responsiveness (see above, Box 1). As these dimensions gain relevance in a society, its governance evolves into good/ democratic governance.

The ultimate desired outcome of "good" or "democratic" governance can be considered a society in which political processes translate the will of the people into the public policies, and establish the rules that efficiently and effectively deliver services to all members of society[24].

Having said that, it should not be forgotten that achieving good/democratic governance is contextual; what works in one setting may not necessarily work in another. *How* specific governance challenges have been resolved cannot be isolated from the contextual factors that made particular achievements possible. The particular socio-economic, legal and political conditions of each country will facilitate or constrain progress towards good/democratic governance[25].

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[22] In the broad sense, a 'Government' consists of the institutions responsible for making collective decisions for the whole society (legislative, executive and judicial power); although government is key, other actors usually are, and need to be, involved in decision-making and implementation; interactions within and across them are equally important, and many issues involve multi-level action across multiple scales

[23] In addition to formal, statutory rules, in many countries non-statutory, customary rules influence the way decisions are made and implemented in a given society.

[24] Crouch and Winkler, 2007. Quoted *In* UNESCO, 2008. *Education for All Global Monitoring Report, 2009*. *Overcoming inequality: why governance matters*. Oxford University Press, p. 129.

[25] ODI, 2006. *Governance, development and aid effectiveness: a quick guide to complex relationships*. ODI Briefing Paper, March 2006, p. 1.

2.2   The concept of "governance" within FAO

FAO provides technical assistance and policy advice at country and global level, and an international platform to negotiate treaties and agree global standards and guidelines on food and agriculture issues. The organization is also a source of knowledge and information. It provides vital statistics, assessments and projections for crops, livestock products, forestry, fisheries and aquaculture, covering production, utilization, trade, stocks and prices together with information on the natural resources base of land, water and biodiversity, that are used by public and private decision-makers.

Good/democratic governance is of crucial importance in furnishing an enabling environment and effectively implementing agricultural policies leading to increased food security and sustainable development for all. In order to be effective, policy instruments and actions for achieving food security require stability, the respect of the rule of law, administrative capacity, and strong and capable civil society.

Several FAO documents recognize the relevance of "good governance" for increasing food security, eradicating poverty and promoting sustainable development, and call upon member states to improve and strengthen governance across sectors that influence the achievement of food security and the right to food[26]. They do not however, provide a definition of this concept. The lack of a clear definition and meaning of the concept of governance - either 'good' or 'democratic' - makes its analysis and measurement more difficult. Also, different actors and governments may have different appreciation of what "improving governance" is all about.

Within FAO, governance issues seem to be addressed at _sector level,_ and there is an increased effort within the organization seeking to refine the concept of good governance in various sector interventions. The reason for this approach may be the fact that governance challenges for different sectors vary considerably.

The efforts to apply the governance lens are most advanced in the natural resources sector. A number of documents analyzes and discusses relevant sector issues from governance perspective, and strive to identify how applying governance lens can improve the implementation and effectiveness of the reforms[27]. Terminology, the number and content of the governance quality dimensions however, may differ from one sector to another. For example, the recently adopted "Framework for assessing and monitoring forest governance"[28], developed by FAO and the World Bank-managed Programme on Forests (PROFOR), is based on generally accepted pillars and principles of "_good_ forest governance" (see Box 2). On the other hand, the CFS-led Intergovernmental Negotiations on Voluntary Guidelines on the

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[26] See for example, 1996 WFS Plan of Action, Objective 1.1., Objective 3.5b, Declaration of the WFS: five years later, para. 5; The Right to Food Guidelines, Guideline 1.3.

[27] See for example, FAO. 2009. _Towards improved land governance_, Land Tenure Working Paper 11; PROFPR/FAO, 2010. _Framework for Assessing and Monitoring Forest Governance_.

[28] FAO, 2011. Available at: http://www.fao.org/climatechange/27526-0cc61ecc084048c7a9425f64942df70a8.pdf It provides countries with a comprehensive checklist they can use to identify and address problems in governance of forest resources, and ensure that efforts to reduce emissions from deforestation and forests degradation are properly managed.

Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security aim at establishing a number of general principles of "*responsible* tenure governance" valid for land, fisheries and forests, and providing guidance on *how to improve* the governance of tenure of all three resources[29].

In plant protection and crop production and food safety sector, governance seems to be understood mainly as referring to a regime, or a sum of the rules and regulations (i.e. technical standards) used to *manage* a given issue. In these fields, the focus is put on the implementation and enforcement of internationally agreed standards at the country level. Some of the main international instruments affecting the governance of agriculture include the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture, the Chemicals Agreements (Rotterdam, Stockholm, Basel) and the Codex Alimentarius. While some dimensions of "governance" are taken into account in these instruments and in relevant sector interventions (e.g. participation, transparency and accountability, inclusiveness), there is no, as yet, any instrument aiming at analyzing the relevant sector issues from governance perspective.
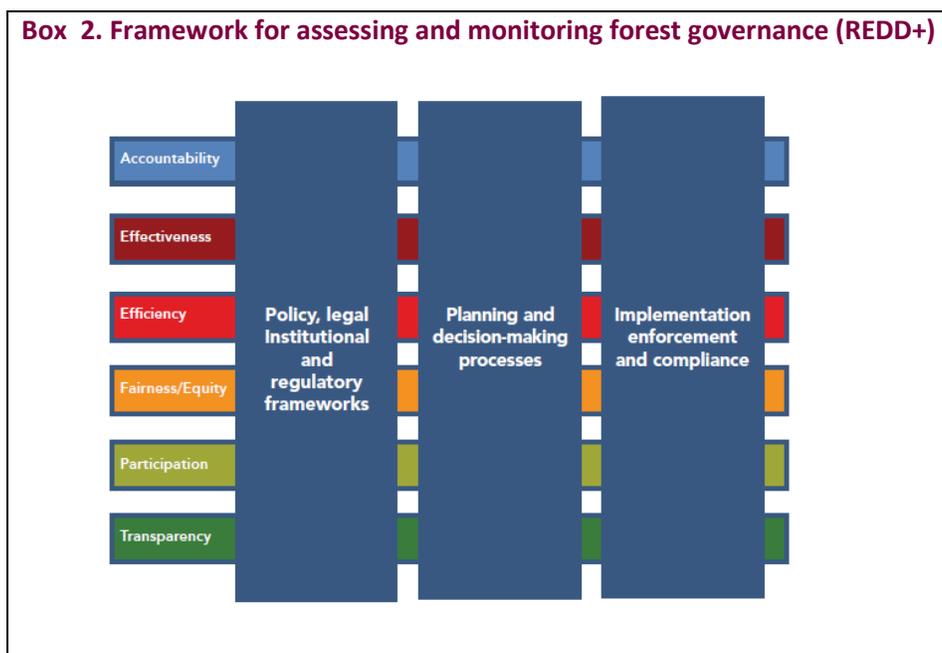
Box 2. Framework for assessing and monitoring forest governance (REDD+)

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3 Good governance, food security and the right to food. Conceptual linkages

The goal of achieving food security for all is at the heart of FAO's work and activities: all people, at all times, should have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life[30].

This definition divides the food security issue into four pillars: the *physical availability of food*, where the production, distribution and trade of food are involved; the *economic and physical access to food*, where the issues of poverty reduction and food prices, and access to natural resources and inputs play the most important role; and the *food utilization*, which relates to the way the body makes the most of various nutrients in the food, and involves the proper quality of food and food safety. The fourth pillar relates to *stability* of the other three dimensions over time. For food security objectives to be realized, all four pillars must be fulfilled simultaneously. For this to happen, FAO has developed a twin-track approach as a conceptual framework (see Box 3).

Box 3. A twin-track strategy to reduce hunger and poverty

A twin-track approach is required for rapid success in reducing hunger and poverty:

(a) create opportunities for the hungry to improve their livelihoods by promoting development, particularly agricultural and rural development, through policy reform and investments;

(b) ensure direct and immediate action against hunger through programmes to enhance immediate access to food by the hungry, thereby increasing their productive potential.

FAO. 2003c. *Anti-Hunger Programme: a twin-track approach to hunger reduction: priorities for national and international action.* Rome (also available at ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/006/j0563e/j0563e00.pdf .

At the same time, the efforts have been made within the organization to provide support to countries wishing to adopt a human rights based approach to food security. The Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security (Right to Food Guidelines), adopted by the FAO Council in 2004, recommend policy and legal action as well as coordinated institutional frameworks to address the cross-sectoral dimensions of the right to food. According to the Right to Food Guidelines, good governance should be promoted as an essential factor enabling sustained economic growth, sustainable development, and the eradication of poverty and hunger (Guideline 1.3).

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[30] 1996 World Food Summit.

3.1   Good governance and food security

In the past few years, different nomenclature related to food security and governance emerged, such as "governance of food security", "food security governance"[31] or "good governance for food security"[32]. The first two terms are most often used interchangeably in relation to the need to improve "global governance"[33] of food security notably, by reforming the global structures or architecture dealing with food security (HLTF, the Global Partnership for Agriculture and Food Security, the L'Aquila Food Security Initiative, and the move to reform the FAO Committee on Food Security (CFS) to become the central coordinating body on food security at the global level - see Box 4). While the concept of governance as applied at the country level focuses on the *activity of governing* (see above), global governance regimes traditionally focused on the *outcomes*: adoption of rules and formulation of principles (standard-setting), information creation and exchange, and possibly, dispute resolution and provision of technical assistance. It is becoming increasingly recognized however, that also global governance regimes should comply with a number of principles[34] of "good governance", such as, effectiveness, participation and inclusiveness, transparency, subsidiarity and collective action.

Box 4. Improving global governance of food and nutrition security

"Rome principles for sustainable global food security" as part of the World Summit on Food Security Declaration (2009) underline the need to "Foster strategic coordination at national, regional and global level to improve governance, promote better allocation of resources, avoid duplication of efforts and identify response-gaps." (Principle 2)

The CFS has been reformed and is now constituted as the foremost inclusive international and intergovernmental platform to work towards the elimination of hunger (http://www.fao.org/cfs/cfs-home/en/) and to be a central component in the evolving Global Partnership for Agriculture, Food Security and Nutrition. The CFS reforms are designed to focus the Committee's vision and role on the global coordination of efforts to eliminate hunger and ensure food security for all. This includes supporting national anti-hunger plans and initiatives; ensuring that all relevant voices are heard in the policy debate on food and agriculture; strengthening linkages at regional, national and local levels; and basing decisions on scientific evidence and state of the art knowledge. The reformed committee has already begun work on several important topics, including the voluntary guidelines on responsible governance of land, forest and fisheries tenure.

In the words of CFS, "effective food security governance will require integration and coordination among countries, organizations and other stakeholders at both the local and global levels. Policies need to be fully

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[31] M.A. Mohamed Salih, 2003. Food security governance: implications for the ACP countries. In: *The Courier ACP-EU*, no. 197 March-April 2003, p.24

[32] EU/RBA. 2011. Statement of Intent by the European Union-Rome Based Agencies on Programmatic Cooperation on Food Security and Nutrition mentions.

[33] The concept of "global governance" dates back to early 1990s. It is largely understood as referring to the system of international/global cooperation and coordination for dealing with global issues (e.g. climate change and international trade); a "global decision-making", involving nation states, international organizations and civil society actors (See Our Global Neighborhood. The Report of the Commission on Global governance, 1995).

[34] Our Global Neighborhood, Report of the Commission on Global Governance, *Oxford University Press, 1995*; UNDP Report on Human Development.

> integrated into national development priorities and strategies including social protection programmes. They should also be considered in the context of global and regional issues such as climate change negotiations and trade agreements. Food security governance programmes should be coupled with accountability mechanisms and strengthened linkages with financial institutions so that resources are channeled where they are needed most".
> CFS Information Note. Available at:
> http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/cfs/Docs0910/InfoNote/CFS_General_Info_Note_EN.pdf

Another strand of debate uses these terms referring to the question of governing food security issues at the country level.

This is also the focus of the Workshop, and thus of this background paper. In fact, while improving global food security governance is important and necessary, because the national governments are still playing the dominant role in the food security sector and governance deficits are most severe at the national level, urgent action is needed at the country level[35]. It is up to the state to ensure public goods (and food security can be considered as a public good), as well as to regulate, coordinate and facilitate how these may function in practice as other actors also take a role in providing it (e.g. traditional authorities, NGOs or private sector). A proactive regime of food security governance operating at the national and local levels, under democratic conditions, will contribute significantly to reshaping national food policies and transforming them into food security policies[36].

3.2 Good governance matters for accomplishing twin-track approach to food security

As mentioned in the introduction to this paper, while issues of technical support for resources management and allocation and service delivery are unquestionably important, the continuing food insecurity is predominantly rooted in aspects of poverty, power and inequality, and good governance is recognized as playing an essential role in dealing with them. Of course, quality dimensions of good governance do not in themselves ensure that food security is governed well; nor do they guarantee sustainable development of sectors affecting the food availability, accessibility, utilization and stability. Their absence however, severely limits that possibility and can, at worst, impede it.

Genuine government commitment for tackling the complex issue of food security is unlikely to develop where there is not an organized, politically active and mobilized constituency pushing the issue higher on the public and political agenda. If institutions in charge of policy formulation and implementation are not obliged to respond to the needs of the final users and beneficiaries, in particular the politically weak rural population, they will respond instead to better organized groups and institutions having more resources and powers, and that are closer to political elite. The rule of law in a system of transparent and efficient justice that promotes social stability and legal certainty, and thus investment and

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[35] R.L. Paarlberg. 2002. *Governance and Food Security in an Age of Globalization,* International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington DC, 2002, p. 1.
[36] The Courier ACP-EU, no. 197 March-April 2003, p.24.

assumption of risk, is essential precondition for agricultural production and sustainable development[37]. When governance is weak, the powerful are able to dominate the competition for scarce land resources[38].

Deficiency in the rule of law encourages high rates of corruption, and social and gender inequalities. Conflicts are often linked to unequal access to land and other natural resources. Inequalities in access to natural resources and to inputs and services such as seeds, fertilizers or credit strongly limit agricultural productivity. Poor governance diminishes the performance of a given sector institutions and actors, as well as the concrete outcomes of policies. A well balanced portfolio of natural resource, social and economic policies will remain ineffective in the absence of effective systems for service delivery, regulation, control of corruption and underpinning rights[39]. Lack of transparency and information about social assistance programmes, lack of awareness among possible beneficiaries, and wide administrative discretion opening the way to favoritism and discrimination, may lead to failure of such programmes to reach many of those in greatest need. Lack of state capacity to create consistent and enabling policy and legal framework, be transparent and accountable to relevant stakeholders and enforce the rule of law and gender equality on the one hand, and lack of citizen's capacity to hold governments to account on the other are major challenges for many countries with very low level of food security.

By contrast, when governance structures, both formal and informal, abide by the rule of law, exercise their functions in a responsive and equitable manner, and give voice to a wide range of diverse interests, including those of the food insecure and hungry, the resulting activities should be such so as to contribute to improving food security in a country.

Of course, improving the quality of governance is difficult. This is because its assessment can raise fundamental questions related to functioning of a given society in general and to the behavior of government bodies, traditional authorities, and civil society. It opens the question of whose role should it be to promote corrective measures and how far beyond food security should they extend. A related difficulty concerns the nature of the measures needed to improve food security governance as such measures call for identifying the constraints to achieving good governance, and the fact that good food security governance is ultimately dependent on general good governance at national, regional and global levels. Furthermore, relevant enabling policy and legal instruments should be in place to contribute to the good governance of food security; these include related sector policies and laws (e.g. in the area of land, water, labour, social security, forestry) as well as general political framework in a country (e.g. state constitution, legislation on judiciary, administrative framework, human rights).

Yet, failing to address governance issues is likely to exacerbate conflicts over the use of scarce resources, and to contribute to food insecurity. This makes a common understanding and a working definition of

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[37] R.L. Paarlberg, 2002. *cit*. p. 33-35.

[38] D. Palmer, S.Fricska, B. Wehrmann. 2009. *Towards improved land governance*. FAO Land Tenure Working Paper 11, p. 10-11.

[39] M. Robson, 2010. *Agricultural governance and smallholders: Issues in the sustainable intensification of crop production*. Workshop paper. December 2010.

"good food security governance" needed and necessary. It is also needed because several sectors that work on the concept of governance or use it in their work significantly influence food availability, accessibility and utilization and stability. For FAO specifically, having conceptual clarity can:

a) facilitate the governance analysis, and its incorporation in FAO technical work; and

b) assist FAO not only in making its own programmes and projects more effective in practice, but also in enhancing the capacity of member states to assess and improve governance in food security sector, and thus enhance its performance and concrete outcomes.

Finally, member states working to improve their food security governance may find consistent information on good food security governance more useful in their own efforts.

3.3 Defining "good food security governance"

So, how could the "*good* food security governance" be understood?

The following working definition is hereby proposed:

Food security governance relates to formal and informal rules and processes through which interests are articulated, and decisions relevant to food security in a country are made, implemented and enforced on behalf of members of a society.

"Good" FNS governance entails:

- *clear, participatory and responsive* planning, decision-making and implementation across the four food security pillars;
- *efficient, effective, transparent and accountable* institutions*;*
- *the respect for the rule of law, and equality and fairness* in managing and allocating resources and in service delivery;
- *Coherent and coordinated* policies, institutions and actions.

The ultimate quality of food security governance in a given country is determined by its impact on the level of food and nutrition security enjoyed by its citizens.

3.3.1 Good food security governance and the right to food: going parallel or converging ?

The interconnection between good governance and human rights has been made directly or indirectly in a number of declarations and other documents at the international level. Some of the definitions that have emerged in the development field include human rights among the elements of good governance (see above, Box 1). This raises the pertinent question of how good governance and the human right to food relate to each other. Does good governance encompasses the protection of human rights or does it have a separate existence? In order to respond to this question, the following paragraphs will first compare the nature of the concepts, their objective, and then their scope of application, before turning

to linkages between the two. The analysis faces two main challenges: a comparison of two subject matters of a different nature (one is legal, the other political-economic), and the fact that the concept of governance is not a homogeneous one.

Nature of the concept. Good governance as a concept is younger than human rights; as mentioned earlier, it was developed in late 80s, and was largely inspired by economic considerations. Although the understanding of the concept of good governance has significantly evolved over time, there is not as yet a single and exhaustive definition of good governance, nor is there a delimitation of its scope, that commands universal acceptance[40]. In international law it is proclaimed only in non-binding instruments and it has not been given normative content. Despite its use by a range of international organizations, "good/democratic governance" is still largely perceived as an action-guiding tool or a yardstick against which the prevailing governing structure(s) of a given country can be measured *from outside*[41]. Indeed, at the country level, good governance has almost never been used in domestic legal orders, be it the constitutional or legislative level. This lack of a clear legal meaning of the concept can be partly explained by its malleability and its adaptive nature that lends itself to shifting scenarios to which it is applied. Also, politically, the concept has not always been very well received; the conceptual framework and major principles of "good" governance are often associated with those of the developed countries in the Western Europe and the USA. Due to different histories, statehood traditions, cultural and religious norms and beliefs, such values or some of them - although often officially declared in state constitutions and laws - are not genuine to many countries and societies[42].

In contrast to good governance, human rights have been codified in a wide range of international and regional treaties. The right to food has been recognized in several international instruments[43], and most comprehensively in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, art. 11). It is today well-recognized that all human rights – civil and political, economic, social and cultural – are indivisible and inter-dependent[44]. Human rights establish legal entitlements for rights holders and corresponding legal obligations for duty bearers to uphold those entitlements. The international law of human rights and its associated case-law have strongly contributed to clarifying the binding substantial content of human rights in ways that have not been done for the concept of governance. The normative content of the right to food is the human right to "have regular, permanent and free access, either directly or by means of financial purchases, to quantitatively and qualitatively adequate and sufficient food corresponding to the cultural traditions of the people to which the consumer belongs, and which

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[40] UN OHCHR, 2004. Seminar on good governance practices for the promotion of human rights, Seoul 15-16 September, doc. HR/SEL/GG/SEM/2004/BP.2, p. 2.

[41] N. Chowdhury, with C.E. Skarstedt, 2005. *The principle of good governance*. A Legal Working Paper. In: CISDL, Recent Developments in International law Related to Sustainable Development Series; March 2005, Oxford, UK, p.21.

[42] J.Salukvadze.2008. *Good Governance and Natural Resources Tenure in Eastern Europe and CIS Region*, FAO, Land Tenure Working Paper 3, 2008, p.2.

[43] Among others, the UDHR, Art. 25; the CRC and the CEDAW.

[44] Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights, 1993. UN doc. K/CONF.157/23, 12 July 1993.

ensures a physical and mental, individual or collective, fulfilling and dignified life free of fear"""[45]. At the country level, a growing number of national constitutions and framework laws recognize, directly or indirectly, the human right to food[46].

Objective. FS governance aims at ensuring the effective implementation of the FS policies, programmes and projects in practice. The human right to food aims at fully realizing the right to food. Both concepts cover food availability, accessibility, stability, and safety. Both concepts require taking into account general human rights principles such as accountability, participation, transparency, equality and the rule of law. However, as governance as such is not a subject of special international law, states have wide discretion to choose their own ways of dealing with the relevant issues, which can be strongly influenced by political considerations. Realization of the right to food requires states to take steps towards the achievement of food security, recognizing the right to food, and ensuring that food security is achieved in a way that is consistent with human rights principles. Both good food security governance and the right to food are thus concerned with the outcome and the process of achieving the outcome.

The scope of application. The concept of good governance applies to various levels (global, regional, national, local) and goes beyond government to include other actors such as traditional/customary authorities, private and professional sectors, and civil society. Being a non legally-binding concept, the only consequence of the non compliance with its principles seems to be poor performance, ineffective or even dysfunctional institutions, and thus "bad" governance.

Human rights apply to individuals, and in some cases, to groups of individuals. They have been recognized as being universal: every human being is entitled to these rights simply by being human. Governments that have ratified international human rights treaties have the obligation to respect protect and fulfill the guaranteed human rights for all persons under their jurisdiction (see Box 5). Being a *right,* a given human right can be violated and such violations can be the subject of judicial or quasi-judicial remedies.

Box 5. State obligations to respect, protect and fulfill the human right to food	
Obligation to Respect	States parties are required to refrain from taking any measure – through actions, policies or omissions of its own agencies and public officials – that may result in preventing or denying individuals or groups to provide food for themselves.
Obligation to Protect	States parties are required to adopt specific legislative or other measures regulating third parties' activities so as to ensure that they do not negatively affect peoples' enjoyment of the right to food.
Obligation to Fulfill	States parties must take positive measures to facilitate and provide for individuals' enjoyment of their rights. This obligation requires more far reaching measures on the part of the government.

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[45] UN Commission on Human Rights. 2001. 57th session, *Report by the Special Rapporteur Jean Ziegler on the Right to Food,* UN Doc. E/CN.4/2001/53.
[46] See L. Knuth. and M. Vidar. 2011. Constitutional and legal protection of the right to food around the world. FAO. Rome.

Despite the differences, the concepts of FS governance and right to food are strongly related to each other. Evidently, it is in circumstances of good governance that right to food is most likely to be realized. Good governance creates the environment in which human rights are respected, protected and fulfilled. At the same time, the exercise of human rights through participatory processes ensures government accountability and effectiveness. This implies that the two concepts are *sine qua non*, i.e. one cannot exist without the other. The links between human right to food and food security governance include the institutional requirements contained in human rights law, and the state obligations which are necessary corollaries of the rights contained in the international instruments.

Institutional requirements. In addition to relevant laws establishing right to food, adequate political, administrative and judicial processes and institutions are needed to respond to the rights and needs of populations[47]. Most definitions of good governance include reference to the protection of human rights, while human rights refer *inter alia*, to principles of participation, accountability and transparency[48] that are crucial to how they can be realized through development interventions in practice. The requirement of the independent courts is explicitly inscribed in international human rights instruments (e.g. ICCPR, Art. 14). Also, international human rights law requires legality: government authority is legitimately exercised only in accordance with written, public and accessible laws adopted and enforced in accordance with established procedures. The respect for the rule of law implies that any legislation relating to food and nutrition security and the right to food as well as any subsidiary legislation to be adopted for ensuring its implementation must be clear, fair and accessible. It can also be shown that human rights norms require financial accountability and transparency, which has significant consequences for the institutional set-up. This includes the requirement of abstention from and prevention of corruption, and responsibility for an equitable allocation of available resources[49]. Human rights also contain requirements of participation in the exercise of public power at the legislative and executive branch (e.g. UDHR, Art. 21 and ICCPR, Art. 25).

State obligations. While respecting the diversity of beliefs and traditions, the right to food sets limits to and give guidance to process of FNS governance through the threefold set of obligations for states: obligation to respect, protect and fulfill (see Box 5). For example, the state and its agents cannot use arbitrary deprivation of access to food as part of its governance. When regulating food prices and subsidies, the state and its agents must ensure producers a fair price. The right to food also directs the government to achieve certain results: it must ensure that food safety nets are in place for those who are unable to feed themselves.

It could thus be argued that good governance constitutes both a condition and the outcome of the protection of human rights: as the protection of human rights, with democracy, the rule of law,

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[47] OHCHR, 2006. Frequently asked questions on a human rights-based approach to development cooperation, Geneva. Available at: Available at: http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FAQen.pdf

[48] According to OHCHR, " principles derived from human rights standards" or simply, "human rights principles" are the following: universality and inalienability; indivisibility, interdependence and interrelatedness; equality and non-discrimination; participation and inclusion; accountability and the rule of law.

[49] Eide, A., 2011. A note on human rights requirements to good governance, in CDL-AD(2011)009, Annex I, p. 21.

participative civil society, transparent and accountable state administration and its agents, gain importance and relevance in a given society, its governance evolves into *good/democratic* governance. In other words, good governance exist in societies where democratic institutions and processes including transparency and accountability prevail, and where the authorities respect and comply with the full range of human rights[50].

Like the human rights-based approach to development, governance with the strong human rights dimension calls for processes and mechanisms that raise accountability in meeting obligations, and that do not permit trade-offs between development outcomes[51].

4   Analyzing and incorporating food security governance in FAO technical work

Looking at food security issues from a governance perspective offers insights and information that could improve the design of policies, programmes and projects, and provide tools to make their implementation and enforcement more effective. Drawing from the existing experiences[52], this section proposes a supportive framework for analysis and integration of governance approach into formulation and implementation of food security interventions (the Framework), for discussion and possible use by various sectors within FAO, as well as by other organizations that work across the four food security pillars.

In this regard, it must be noted from the outset that the specificity of the *food security governance* is the fact that it includes several governance regimes (related to each of its four pillars), which are not only dynamic in themselves, but also interact in complex ways resulting in a variety of possible patterns of change.

With this in mind, the purpose of the Framework is not to describe the ideal state of "good food security governance", but to provide guidance for analyzing and understanding the shortcomings in the existing governance reality in the food and nutrition security field (or in a specific sector) in a given country; the reasons that determine or influence the implementation (or non-implementation) of decisions, and service delivery; and for integrating good food security governance dimensions in the formulation and implementation of the relevant policies, projects and programmes.

Based on the working definition of food security governance (see above), the proposed Framework is organised around four levels of the policy/programme/project process within a given sector:

- *Policy and legal framework* – vision, goals and priorities, cross-cutting strategies, laws, and programmes, activities for achievement of objectives, 'how', 'who', 'what', 'when';

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[50] Venice Commission, 2011. Cit. p.18-19.

[51] M.L. Mendozar, *Will rights-based governance lead to social harmony in the Philippines?* Workshop paper. p.8

[52] Mainly the REDD+ Framework (FAO. 2010) and the EC Governance analysis framework (EC. 2008. Analysing and Addressing Governance in Sector Operations. Reference Document No 4. November 2008).

- *Coordination and coherence* – between policies, intra- and inter-agencies, between the multiple actors involved;
- *Implementation and enforcement* – institutional capacity, roles and responsibilities, service delivery, accountability and recourse mechanisms;
- *Information, monitoring and evaluation* – assessments, data management, looking at the progress in activities, achievements, as well as impacts.

Of course, in reality policies (programs or projects) are strongly shaped by implementation processes, accountability and participation are intrinsic to the content of policy, and so on. These distinctions are therefore just a convenient way of structuring the exposition, but they do not correspond closely to the reality of the policy process. The Framework visualizes the main elements to take into account when operationalising food security governance (Figure 3) and focuses on two main operational guidelines:

- Look at the context;
- Apply relevant quality dimensions of good FS governance throughout the whole policy/programme/project cycle.

The following seven dimensions seem crucial for good FS governance: efficiency and effectiveness; equality and fairness; accountability; responsiveness; transparency; participation; and the rule of law.

Figure 3. Proposed Framework for analyzing and integrating governance in food security interventions
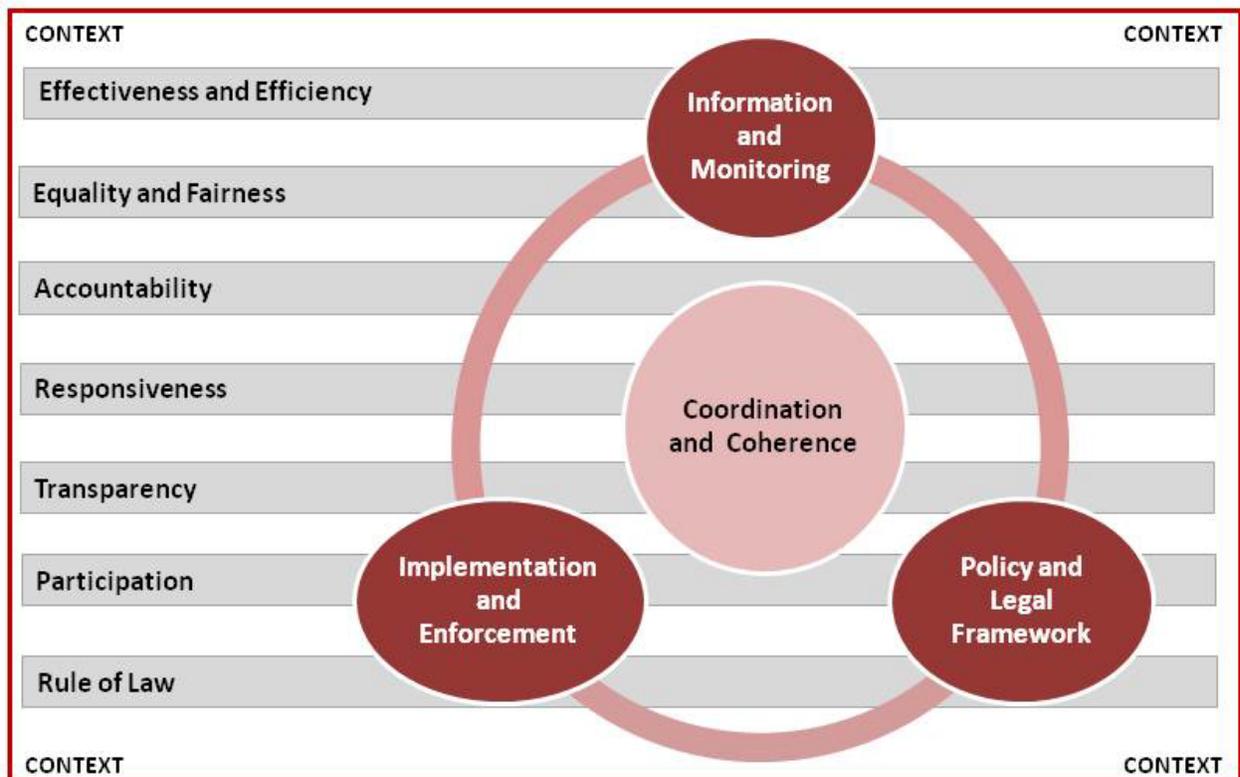
4.1 Looking at the context

Food security planning and policy formulation do not take place in isolation; the critical importance of the socio-economic, legal and political context within which policies are formulated and implemented cannot be overstated. This environment is the source of the demands to which policy-makers must respond. It is also the main source of constraints on what can be done by the policy-makers[53]. Understanding food security governance requires looking at a broad socio-political context in a given country as well as at a more specific political context of food security.

Broad enabling policy and legal instruments in a country influence the formulation and implementation of a comprehensive food security policy as well as of relevant sectoral laws affecting its four pillars. Many of these broad "context" instruments concern general political governance at the country level: democratic functioning of the state institutions, i.e. the effective separation and balance of powers; general public management; the independence of judiciary; the existence and functioning of human rights institutions; and freedom of the media, and are actually beyond the mandate of food security planners. They however, can facilitate or constrain progress towards improved food security governance.

The effective and equitable implementation of food security policies and actions will be influenced by how high it is on the political agenda in a country, as well as by ongoing or planned public sector-wide governance reforms. Political relationships in the macro-environment play a large role in determining which policies have greatest importance and priority, whether or not the government has the capacity to adopt a new policy, and whether it will be able to actually implement that policy. Independent and effective judiciary, human rights institutions and informal mechanisms of dispute resolution are essential to handle complaints and resolve possible conflicts. State resources that could be targeted for food security may be diverted to other areas in which there exist stronger political or personal interests (e.g. military spending); governments may not be accountable for the effectiveness of their performances and not responsive to indications of food insecurity. Looking at these instruments can allow gauging their scope and identifying the likely obstacles to food security policies implementation.

Understanding specific power dynamics in food security governance itself is equally relevant. All countries have governance regimes of agricultural and food security policy which have developed in response to particular historical socio-economic and political challenges. These involve a variety of public and private actors developing and implementing formal and informal rules and procedures to organize and coordinate food production, processing, distribution and consumption at different scales. These regimes have a direct impact on the sufficiency, equity, safety and sustainability of the food systems in which they are imbedded[54]. National–level self sufficiency, or market alone are not sufficient to address food insecurity and guarantee the absence of hunger. In many settings, food insecurity grows

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[53] J.Corkery, A. Land and J. Bossuyt, 1995. *The process of policy formulation. Institutional Path or Institutional Maze?.* European Centre for Development Policy Management. December 1995, p. 12.
[54] See J. Thompson, E. Millstone, 2009. *Agri-food systems governance: an analytical framework*, Working Paper 8, STEPS Centre.

out of social and gender inequality in access to inputs, land and safety nets, feeding programs and extension services. Important governance issues include uncertainty over access to and rights over land and other natural resources, weak food control systems, low quality of service delivery, power relations between service providers, politicians and citizens etc.

The international context also matters. Governing food systems to reduce hunger and malnutrition is becoming ever more difficult, as food security increasingly depends on non-agricultural factors like energy, climate change, biofuels production, trade and finance. Whether a country is member of WTO or not, and whether it has ratified relevant international instruments - in human rights, agricultural, trade or environmental field - will have concrete implications for the formulation and implementation of the food security policy and legal framework. The current debates on food security governance at the global level (see above, Box 3) are also likely to strongly influence the national food security policy-making and implementation.

These "context" factors highlight the challenges of simultaneously achieving the availability, accessibility, utilization and stability of food in an increasingly complex and dynamic environment. Almost invariably tradeoffs will be made between them, leading for benefits for some and sufferings for others. Understanding these factors and formulating food security policy within the context of other commitments will contribute to ensuring that final outcomes are consistent with, and relevant to, broader policy agendas related to poverty alleviation, gender equality, world trade, environmental protection, climate change adaptation and overall economic growth.

It will also help identify the specific actors and stakeholders involved in food production, processing, distribution and consumption at different scales. The focus on "actors and stakeholders" involved is crucial for understanding food security governance and improving it: who are they, what are their powers (i.e. their degree of ability to help or have an impact on a given aspect of food security policy/programme/project), and their interests and incentives for maintaining the situation as it is or for changing it (i.e. their degree of support or opposition to determined goals and objectives). There are a variety of tools for the context analysis and mapping of actors; several of them adopt a power or political economy analysis (e.g. DfID's country governance analysis and DfID's Driver's of Change, Sida's Power Analysis, DGIS Strategic Governance and Corruption analysis, African Development Bank's Country Governance Profile; and the FAO/Rapid/ODI Stakeholder Analysis guide).

Analyzing the specific food security governance context and understanding the relationships and linkages between different actors, alliances within and between the stakeholder groupings, influences and power relations to each other, may be a delicate exercise particularly when it relates to relations between actors of different power or those playing an informal governance role. However, it is needed for understanding how the food security sector is actually governed and to be able to start building networks for improvement and identifying possible policy champions who can foster the process[55].

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[55] See FAO, 2009, *cit.*, pp. 21-22.

It is generally considered that sector governance will be more effective for sector development when there is: an effective *supply* of governance (e.g. where actors in power share information, take decisions within clearly defined framework and allocate resources transparently, are accountable for their actions) and an informed *demand* for effectiveness, transparency and accountability from non-state actors and checks and balances organizations[56].

4.2 Applying quality dimensions of good FS governance

As mentioned above, there are at least seven dimensions that influence the quality of FNS governance - efficiency and effectiveness, equality and fairness, accountability, responsiveness, transparency, participation and the rule of law. The challenge is finding the right mix and form that fit the specific country context, as well as the specific needs of each level of the policy/project cycle, and that will allow progress to be made. In operational terms, these quality dimensions are useful in pointing out mechanisms that allow improving governance without necessarily requiring changes in the state governance system as such.

Table 2 below provides a definition of the suggested seven good food security governance quality dimensions, based on Human Rights principles and the UNESCAP definition of good governance.

Table 1. Quality dimensions of good food security governance

Dimensions	Description
Efficiency and effectiveness	Processes and institutions should produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal.
Equality and fairness	All members in a society should feel that they have a stake in it and are not excluded from the mainstream of society. All groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, should have opportunities to improve or maintain their livelihood and well being. The principle of equality requires that every person is equal before the law irrespective of sex, age, race, color, religion or any other ground. It also includes the need for specific measures aimed at correcting *de facto* discrimination or eliminating conditions that cause or help to perpetuate discrimination in practice as well as measures promoting equality among persons and groups.
Accountability	Decision-makers in formal and informal structures should be answerable to the people they serve for their actions. Accountability cannot be ensured without the rule of law and transparency.
Responsiveness	Institutions and processes should serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe. Governing structures, either formal or informal, should respond to a wide range of diverse interests, including those of the most vulnerable and poor.
Transparency	Timely and reliable information on the decisions and performance of all decision-making structures should be freely and easily accessible by the public. Holders of public office should be as open as possible about all the decisions and actions that they take that may affect people's food security. People must be informed about the decision-making processes and who is accountable and responsible for what.

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[56] World Bank Development Report 2008. *Strengthening governance, from local to global*. Pp. 245-265.

Dimensions	Description
Participation	All men and women should be able to determine their own well-being and participate in the planning, design, monitoring and evaluation of decisions affecting them. Individuals should be able to take part in the conduct of public affairs, including the adoption and implementation of state policies. Such participation should be active, free and meaningful whether it is exercised directly or through intermediary organizations representing specific interests.
Rule of law	The principle is intended as a safeguard against arbitrary use of state authority and lawless acts of both organizations and individuals. Legal frameworks should be adopted and enforced in conformity with established procedures, and be public and accessible to all. No person or body can breach the law with impunity.

4.3 Good governance issues in the food security policy cycle

As previously mentioned, the absence of a linear sequence in the real world of policy formulation has to be recognized. Separating this highly complex and iterative process into four levels facilitates a discussion of the governance dimension of several important food security issues, although some repetition is inevitable. There are certainly many other issues that have a clear governance dimension or that are affected by political economy factors within each of the four levels. In many cases, these are interlinked.

4.3.1 Policy and Legal Framework

Policy making is first and foremost about determining objectives and goals. This means starting with a comprehensive understanding of the current situation and defining what society's needs are in such a way that an appropriate policy response can address. This requires a reliable, comprehensive and disaggregated information base on food (in)security, including knowing who is food insecure, where are they located and what are the causes of food insecurity in the country (see sub-section 4.3.2).

In the absence of democratic functioning of state institutions, rule of law, an active civil society, political opposition, and free media, the policy making does not necessarily *respond* to what is actually needed in terms of improving food security in a country. In many countries, development (and implementation) of government policy agenda strongly depends on the support of political parties, pressure groups and external actors (notably international organizations and bilateral agencies). Internal political considerations may influence the choice of the priority issues that need to be addressed, and the difference between the symptoms and the real causes of a problem may be blurred. Governments may respond not to their population and the neediest, but primarily to their political interests groups. Food security policies may thus be formulated with a view to maintaining patronage networks or guaranteeing political support, rather than to improve food security in a country. Certain objectives may be set that favor only certain agricultural products produced by certain groups in power or close to power. This entails ineffective policies and inefficiency in the use of scarce resources. Ideally, when choices are to be made, a list of realistic options along with all the advantages and disadvantages of

each in terms of the costs, objectives to be achieved and the responsiveness and equality impacts[57]. In practice however, there is likely to be interaction between technical and political considerations, and some technically viable options may be eliminated as politically unacceptable or modified to make them politically acceptable.

In some cases, donors and international organizations may be an influential "stakeholder" in the food security policy process. The push and pull of interests between donors and governments can have a ripple effect throughout policy making and its implementation in practice. Donors' influence raises also important questions about accountability as governments may become more responsive to donors' demands than to their own citizens. Those in turn, do not have any accountability mechanisms allowing them to ask donors to account for the requirements they pose on the governments.

Below the broad policy goals and the broad roles of key actors to be involved come more detailed strategies, action plans, laws, programmes and projects focusing on the steps that may be taken to implement the established goals (e.g. cash transfer scheme, income support law or programme, land law and regulations, and food safety regulations). In fact, one of the important issues in food security policies is a lack of realism about how they will be implemented. Strong analytical content is often followed by weaker, less thorough proposals about institutional and implementation arrangements[58].

Again, and perhaps even more so, political pressures and power dynamics may come to interfere with technical options, and influence the process of identifying and prioritizing specific implementing instruments and activities. Critical questions include:

- Who designs and leads the policy-making process?
- How is the agenda set and by whom?
- How is an issue identified for policy attention?
- Are there pressures for certain issues to be taken up or to keep attention away from certain issues?
- What is the nature of the policy formulation process?
- Do citizens have the possibility to follow decision-making processes, and do they have easy access to comprehensive and reliable information about decision-making processes and their government's activities?
- Is there real political commitment to the policies on food security?
- Is the policy a result of a crisis, of a regular periodic evaluation or review, of a "political" impetus or of pressures from outside?

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[57] A C. Brugère, N. Ridler, G.Haylor, G. Macfadyen, N. Hishamunda. 2010. *Aquaculture planning – Policy formulation and implementation for sustainable development*. FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Technical Paper 542. pp. 25-26. See also, J.Corkery, A. Land and J. Bossuyt, 1995. cit.

[58] C.D. Turner, 2009. *Promoting food security in Lesotho. Issues and Options*. Priority Support Programme Lesotho. Page 14. (available at:
http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/E9E10803C082B1C4C12575FD0037A61D-Full_Report.pdf)

Related issue with strong governance dimension is responsiveness and ownership of food security policy, and ensuring consensus within a society. A good relationship between the government and its people, based on mutual trust and respect, is the basis for a legitimacy of the state action, and effective functioning of institutions. Although changes are happening in practice, in some cases the centralized, top-down approaches still confine policy formulation to a relatively narrow circle of political elite. Good policy making requires involving those outside government and enabling them to communicate their concerns to the policy-makers and give their inputs to policies and programmes that will affect them. Participation and the associated concept of "empowerment" - which is needed for participation to be meaningful - have become key elements in a debate concerning good policy-making, in food security like in other development fields[59].

Throughout the food security policy cycle, participation will serve different purposes, take different forms and be of different strength. In this first level of the process, broad consultations are necessary first and foremost, to gather the views of the experts as well as of those who will be affected, to understand their concerns, and thus design truly responsive policies that fit in the broader societal environment. Participation can contribute to data collection and to the processing and analysis of this data. Second, it will also facilitate getting the widest possible support for a policy/law/programme, foster a sense of ownership and responsibility, and can increase the acceptance of the policy objectives by society – both those who will be affected by it and those that will be called on to implement and enforce it. In this way, it increases the chances of having more equitable and effective policies. It can also enhance the possibility for complementarities between the sectors of intervention.

There is a wide range of participatory methods; not all of them will allow the major stakeholders to adequately give their inputs. More deliberative mechanisms and oral consultation (e.g. roundtables, workshops, public hearings, focus group discussions), including at the local and community level, can contribute to forming opinions, and be an opportunity to recognize the difficulties at the origin of people's food insecurity, including prejudices and discrimination. It may happen however, that actors with the strongest formal or informal say in governance, or on those with the strongest power and resources disproportionally influence discussions, and push for certain food security interventions rather than others. There may also be imbalances among the participants' clusters, which may exclude certain groups (women or ethnic minorities) from taking part in the process, or informal relationships and linkages between various actors and stakeholders, which may undermine setting pro-poor objectives.

Although participation should be sought to its fullest extent, it also brings a number of challenges, and should be balanced with efficiency and effectiveness of governance. Designing and implementing credible and functioning participatory mechanisms involve high financial costs and skills, both on policy-makers' side and participants' side. The additional costs of broader participation are weighted against additional benefits. Time constrains may also exist; if policy formulation must be completed in a relatively short period of time, broad participation by all relevant stakeholders is likely to be

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[59] C.Béné, A.E. Neiland, 2006. Cit., p. 24.

precluded[60]. Also, ensuring effectiveness of policies may require some degree of autonomy of decision-makers (e.g. where certain unpopular economic measures should be imposed on powerful social groups).

While some degree of autonomy may be needed to ensure efficiency and effectiveness in food security governance, this does not deny the need to involve the concerned population and enable them to provide their inputs in the planning process. Critical questions include:

- What participation mechanisms are in place?
- Do they allow reaching all concerned actors and stakeholders?
- Are they appropriate to bridge communication gaps resulting from hierarchies, literacy limitations, and language differences?
- Are all groups equally represented?
- Are there pressures from actors with the strongest formal and informal say in governance, or those with the strongest power and resources?
- What is the real degree of participation: is it genuine with a real possibility for people to give an effective input to policy making or is it just window dressing, passive or even "manipulative"?
- Has sufficient care been taken to ensure that people are duly informed about the trade-offs, and this in a way that is easily understandable to them?
- What is the right degree/level/strength of participation that responds to responsiveness, effectiveness and equality concerns?

4.3.2 Coherence and Coordination

A true vision and comprehensive food security policy is a basis for coherent sectoral policies affecting food availability, accessibility, utilization and stability (e.g. land policy and law, food safety policy, agriculture policies). In many countries, authority for food security is spread out among a number of agencies, formal and informal, each with its own objectives and policy preferences, and distinct functions; this makes the system of governance highly fragmented, with policies and objectives that may often overlap and contradict one another. The question of policy coherence in food security also arises between stakeholders who may pursue conflicting objectives. Constant interaction and consultation between different actors and different policy goals may help improving coherence, thus minimizing contradictions and tradeoffs.

This fragmentation of responsibilities is also problematic because coordination is characterized by diffuse responsibility, an unclear institutional structure and a consequent lack of transparency with a large number of actors, public and private, formal and informal, operating at different levels and interlinked through a complex web of relationships. In addition, there remains a considerable degree of cross-over, duplication and conflict over the governance of many key issues across food production, distribution and utilization.

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[60] C. Brugère, N. Ridler, G.Haylor, G. Macfadyen, N. Hishamunda. 2010. *Cit.* Pp. 22-24

Because of its multi-dimensional and cross-sectoral nature, good governance of food security is therefore not possible without interdisciplinary collaboration across sectors, institutions and actors – both public and private – potentially affecting availability, accessibility, utilization and stability of food. This holds also for the implementation of an increasing number of relevant sectoral policies such as land policy, food safety policy or nutrition policy. Maintaining and coordinating broad and integrated understanding and commitment to identified food security goals across all institutions and actors involved is essential. It is perhaps the key element of good food security governance. Part of this challenge is also ensuring that the various parties are effectively fulfilling their roles and responsibilities, and providing decision-makers and planners with better information and evidence on their performance and outcomes (see below, 4.3.4).

Practice shows that the lack of a well defined national institutional setting for food security coordination with clear mandate, role and responsibilities has often been a constraint to effective coordination of policies and programmes/measures of other relevant actors[61]. The more complicated the intergovernmental distribution of responsibilities, the more important and difficult become coordinating tasks in such a way that produces a coherent whole.

The first governance concern in this regard is deciding the position of the coordinating body (e.g. within an existing agency or as a separate entity). Enhancing coordination within the existing structure (e.g. within the Ministry of Agriculture) may be the only politically palatable choice within a given national context, and it can lead to improvements where the roles and responsibilities are clarified and concrete mechanisms established to improve coordination in practice. On the other hand, it can make difficult avoiding that the interests of designated "lead agency" in charge of coordination play a key role in shaping the priority setting and resource allocation. For example, where the Ministry of Agriculture has a lead, there could be more action taken in the food production area while equality and social inclusion related activities may be given less attention. In addition, where coordination is attached to a line ministry, it can lack the political authority necessary to ensure active collaboration on the part of other actors.

Finding the most appropriate way to ensure vertical coordination, i.e. among the various layers of government is equally relevant. This will be especially important in federal and highly decentralized states.

Another important concern relates to the question of the composition of the coordinating body, and its representativeness in terms of multi-sectoral nature of food security, as well as of the relevant social forces involved (e.g. NGOs, farmers' association). Broad, active and meaningful participation of representatives from relevant sectors and of those from civil society can contribute to establishing agreement (if not consensus) regarding the contribution of individual sectoral policies/programs and institutions (at various levels), and communicate and learn from local experiences and progress toward objectives.

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[61] J.Balié, M. Knowles, A. Ricoy. 2010. *Enhancing food security and nutrition policy assistance*. Lessons from experience. FAO Policy Assistance Series 5, pp.9-10.

Critical questions include:

- What is the position of the coordinating body within the government structure?
- Does it have the political authority needed to avoid cross-over, duplication and conflict over the governance of the key issues across food production, distribution (including import/export) and utilization?
- Are mandate and functions clearly defined?
- Do all relevant public bodies participate?
- Is there space for civil society to participate in the coordination body or in an advisory body?
- What are the criteria for selection of NGOs, CSOs and other non-governmental actors who are admitted to take part in the policy making?
- What is the balance in representation of the relevant communities and interests within society (farmers, fisherman, local communities, forest communities, women, ethnic minorities, urban population etc.)?

Transparency and accountability are two major issues for effective coordination; transparency about the work and broad dissemination of information has the added benefits of allowing the identification and elimination of overlapping, duplicating or competing policy/program activities. Transparency is also a necessary precondition for the exercise of accountability since without access to clear, accurate and up-to-date information, it is impossible to judge whether the objectives promised have been met. At the same time, only releasing information does not make the authorities in charge accountable to higher bodies, much less to citizens. The coordinating body could thus be assigned a mediating role, including the power to settle differences of opinions and positions with respect to conflicting policies (e.g. land or natural resources use). It could also be required to regularly report to state parliament on how effectively the various functions and roles are being fulfilled, and therefore how effectively the nation is moving forward towards achievement of policy goals. For these procedures to be effective there should also be provision for appropriate measures and sanctions to be taken in case of a lack of or inadequate performance.

4.3.3 Implementation and enforcement

How useful a given policy actually is strongly depends on what happens to it after it is adopted. The fundamental assumption behind policy, law, programme or project making is that it will be reflected in action. In practice in many countries, however, this assumption has proved false. Good policies are approved but only partly implemented or not implemented at all. In some cases, their goals and specific objectives may be reflected in relevant institutions actions and practice while more detailed provisions are ignored. It may also happen that they remain completely forgotten and put aside. New persons are appointed a few years later to work on the policy area in question, and may or may not discover what their predecessors did[62].

As pointed out at the very beginning of this paper, governance has been pointed out as one of key factors that influence what will actually be the future of a given policy or instrument. Vested political

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[62] C.D. Turner, 2009, cit.; K. Bird, D. Both, 2003. cit.

interests can be a major obstacle to implementing policies and programmes. For example, land redistribution reforms were implemented for the benefit of certain part of the population only, thus producing new basis for inequalities and contributing to the increased food insecurity. Newly adopted progressive legal provisions are not applied due to "discouragements" and pressures from politicians or traditional community/customary leaders. State resources may be diverted for political or personal gains, and the distribution of inputs (seeds, credits, commodities, cash etc.) skewed in favor of those social groups whose support the regime seeks to secure.

Many good policies and programmes have failed because a desired changes and intended benefits only partially or never actually reached those who mostly need them. In fact, one critical governance challenge is linked to the very nature of food security interventions: they are often "transaction intensive" meaning they have to be carried out on a daily basis throughout the entire country, including remote areas. They should be at the same time clear and precise, and sufficiently flexible to adapt to differing needs across regions and even households. Also, the nature of benefits provided by various food security programmes (e.g. seeds, cash, agricultural inputs) makes them more likely to be "captured" by better-off elites, especially in situations where inequalities based on gender, religion, land rights or other factors are widespread[63]. In some policy areas (e.g. large-scale rural programmes, land reforms, public food grain procurement and buffer stock management) there is the potential for embezzlement of funds or "leakage", a problem inherent in all programmes that involve public funding.

While this challenge is often linked to problems of the wider political and administrative system, many among these implementation challenges are the consequence of unclear mandates, roles and responsibilities of the actors involved in running the relevant activities, of the lack of effective monitoring and evaluation system, lack of awareness and information, and the lack of effective accountability procedures, including mechanisms allowing people to complain about poor quality of service delivery or non-compliance. Most of them can therefore be partially addressed from the outset by clear legal provisions and adequate design of relevant policy, legal and programmatic instruments, including through detailed and precise operational procedures. Key questions in this regard include:

- Is there a clear legal basis for various food security activities and services?
- What institutions have been designated to implement the planned activities?
- What are their roles and responsibilities?
- What real powers such institutions possess?
- What is the level of discretion of implementing agencies with respect to delivering services or benefits?
- Are relevant procedures and targeting mechanisms precise, clear and non-discriminatory?
- Is there a specific requirement for disseminating information among the concerned population?
- Are there any mechanisms of accountability?
- Do beneficiaries have the possibility to complain if things go wrong?

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[63] R.Birner, A.R. Quisumbing and N. Ahmed. 2010. *Cross-cutting issues. Governance and Gender*. Bangladesh Food Security Investment Forum, 26-27 May 2010, p. 6.

- What rules, processes and mechanisms are in place to address grievances, manage disputes and enforce decisions and agreements?

In recent years, decentralization or devolution (i.e. a delegation of power and authority by central government to lower government units and/or to non-governmental bodies) has been seen to be conducive to more responsive and equitable service provision, by bringing decision-making closer to the people affected, improving transparency and accountability of service providers, and the concerned people's participation. It has been mentioned as the governance change that can bring about good governance in development sector[64]. This has been the case notably in the natural resources management, and social protection and assistance sector. Certainly, with the increased local political, administrative and fiscal autonomy accompanying decentralization, the role and ability of local governments to directly formulate both explicit and implicit public sector responses to poverty and its reduction is greatly enhanced[65]. Despite many positive aspects, decentralization however, can also be a potential driver of inequality and ineffectiveness. In fact, only changing the place of decision-making and implementation does not guarantee more effective, responsive and equitable outcomes for food security. In some cases, decentralization has led to increased local conflicts and social tensions, as well as to overexploitation of natural resources due to the needs of local governments and local communities for income. In others, transferring responsibilities to local authorities has resulted in "elite capture" whereby local elite groups have (re)captured the benefits of decentralization projects for their own use[66].

For decentralization to be successful from food security governance perspective, it should occur in the context of genuine devolution of political power (i.e. the real capacity and power for local bodies to perform their functions, including fiscal autonomy), as well as clearly defined mandates, responsibilities and accountability of local authorities. This implies clear division of competencies, a detailed description of implementation procedures, monitoring and evaluation of performance, and active participation of local population in both decision-making, and monitoring and evaluating implementation.

It is equally relevant for the legal system (formal and informal) to provide the mechanisms allowing to *prevent* the abuse of power by local elites. This means the appropriate balance of upward accountability (within and between implementing institutions, through regulation) and downward accountability (to final users and beneficiaries, through complaint and recourse mechanisms).

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[64] See for example, World Bank Development Report 2008, cit; C.Béné, A.E. Neiland, 2006. Cit. pp. 15-17.
[65] D.R. Mullins. 2004. *Accountability and coordination in decentralized context. Institutional, Fiscal and Governance Issues.* World Bank, p. 1. Available at:
http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/decentralization/June21seminar/LiteratureReview.pdf
[66] Béné, A.E. Neiland, 2006, cit., pp. 19-20.

Key questions here include:

- To what degree is the failure to implement a given policy/programme a consequence of the lack of capacity and resources at the level of implementing institutional structure?
- To what degree has decentralization taken place?
- Are roles and functions of implementing authorities clearly defined?
- Are local authorities given sufficient powers and fiscal autonomy to address local problems related to food insecurity and implement relevant programmes/projects?
- Are decision-making processes transparent and known to local population?
- Are local authorities responsive to the needs of local people and inclusive of all different categories (e.g. women, ethnic minorities)?
- Are there mechanisms for local authorities to be held accountable by the central government and by the local population?
- Do people know whom to complain and how to do it?

Perhaps the most complex governance challenge for the proper implementation and enforcement is related to addressing mistakes and inaction, and redressing non-compliance in cases involving alleged corruption, negligence or malfeasance. Effective complaint and recourse mechanisms will allow addressing the harm inflicted to individual persons due to an action or inaction of the competent institution (e.g. the lack of or insufficient benefits delivery; arbitrary curtailment of land rights). It has been previously said that good design of relevant policies and programmes is a key for effective implementation, and indeed, there are a variety of examples of complaint and recourse procedures – at the administrative level, within government and departments, at the judicial level, before the courts, at the quasi-judicial level, within institutions such as human rights institutions, ombudspersons, as well as at the informal, community level). In practice however, the mechanisms for obtaining compliance with the established rules are still too often weak and exposed to the risk of being biased by political dynamics. The biggest issue here is understanding the factors that make these mechanisms work effectively in practice. Key questions may include:

- What kind of dispute resolution/recourse mechanisms exist – administrative, judicial, quasi-judicial, customary? How do they interface?
- What is the degree of their independence from government?
- What are their powers and resources?
- Are they easily accessible to people?
- Are relevant procedures clear and known to people?
- Are the existing mechanisms effective or likely to be effective in practice?
- Do people have trust in the institutions and are they actually using the existing mechanisms?

4.3.4   Information, monitoring and evaluation

The importance of having information and clear, precise, and disaggregated data for good policies, laws, and programmes cannot be overstated. Data are needed for pushing decision-makers to act on a given issue; "*No statistics, no problem, no policy*"[67]. They are also needed to improve relevance, efficiency and effectiveness of reforms, and ensure that policies are based on evidence, and not driven by inertia or short-term policy pressures. Having advisory and analytical inputs, and empirical or baseline surveys will contribute to making accurate projections, establishing realistic targets, monitoring progress towards these and evaluating impacts on food security in a country.

In some cases, there may be a lot of data available but no flow of information between various government agencies, or no willingness to disseminate the relevant data and make them public. In others, what is to be measured is not adequately defined or data are "improved". The additional concern is the capacity to collect and analyze the data and use them to inform decision-making. In fact, the scarcity of data usually reflects technical and organizational problem at the level of collection, analysis and dissemination of information.

- Are there any institutional provisions for policy analysis such as requirements and guidance for data analysis, duty to provide information in a timely and reliable manner?
- What is measured and how are the data disaggregated?
- Who has authority over the data and to what extent may the information be used for manipulation?
- Are data presented in a 'user-friendly' form and accessible to those involved in the process of policy formulation?
- How are data disseminated?

Information and data collection and use are crucial for measuring progress, tracking implementation and enhancing responsibility of institutions. This includes food (in)security information necessary for good decision-making as well as information regarding aggregate performance of implementing agencies. Monitoring and evaluation are functions of, and not meaningful without, transparency and accountability. For example, corruption reporting, through new information technologies, public expenditure tracking, citizens report cards or other instruments can improve the processes of service delivery governance in various food security areas. In some countries, citizen's initiatives consisting in systematically gathering feedback on service delivery and presenting them as "voice" of the people to the local government bodies (through the citizens report cards, CRC), proved very useful in actually improving the quality of services delivered at local level (e.g. Ethiopia, India, Philippines, Tanzania and Uganda)[68].

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[67] EC, 1999. *Women and science*. Proceedings of the conference, Brussels, 28-29 April 1998. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

[68] J.V. Mangahas. Improving Local Governance and Service Delivery: Lessons from Some Asian Countries on Institutional Reforms and Engagement of Non-State Actors, in *Local Governance and Service Delivery in some Asian Countries*. In: UNPAN. 2005. Participatory Planning and Budgeting at the Sub-National Level, Doc. ST/ESA/PAD/SER.E/94, United Nations publication, 2005, pp. 79-99.

This information can serve policy-makers and planners to improve interventions *en route* or improve design and implementation of the future ones. At the same time, these accountability mechanisms also empower beneficiaries themselves, and thus have potential for improving future monitoring and control. Some of the challenges in monitoring and evaluation include: the existence of several agencies and processes generating data of various kind; lack of multi-sectoral analysis of available data and information, which may and often do result in insufficient, inaccurate, unclear and/or conflicting data.

Actual *use* of the results of monitoring and evaluation to improve the performance of food security policies is another crucial issue. In practice, the political economy of food security can make ascertaining use rather difficult. Evaluation – when it exists - is only one source of information and has to compete with other factors influencing decision-making (see above, sub-section 4.3.1). Decision-makers and planners often emphasize their commitment and strong intentions towards identified goals and objectives, but may not always be equally keen for monitoring and evaluation of the real progress in translating them in action. In some cases, behind the lack of an effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms is a reluctance to have shortcomings revealed. This may also explain why policy and programmes goals and objectives, and the issues to be addressed are not always formulated in a clear and precise way allowing the determination of the nature of the information required, and thus constituting a good basis for truly useful monitoring, evaluation and review of policy or programme implementation.

Crucial questions include:

- Is the monitoring and evaluation seen as a legitimate part of the management of policies and programmes?
- Is there a clear knowledge in terms of the meaning of monitoring and evaluation and their purpose and functions?
- Who decides what will be measured and how are indicators defined?
- Are monitors independent from monitored?
- Do competent monitoring and evaluation bodies have sufficient resources (human and financial) to do their work?
- Do they have sufficient theoretical and methodological knowledge?
- Are monitoring and evaluation reports and data freely and easily available?
- Are the reports used to adjust policies or programme design?

5　Concluding remarks

For almost a decade, FAO has advocated for the adoption of a twin-track approach to food security and hunger reduction. It is today increasingly recognized that the political and institutional context, in which policies and programmes are formulated and implemented, is an integral part of understanding why those policies fail or succeed. Food security is a problem stemming from society itself not external to it. Both, good food security governance and the right to food can contribute to advancing the food security agenda along the twin-track approach.

What makes "*good* food security governance", and why a given (technically sound) food security policy/programme is not as successful as expected, is highly contextual. Different mix of governance dimensions and different forms of institutions may be needed to fit the experiences of varying polities, economies and societies across Africa, Asia and Latin America, while they are fundamentally challenged by contemporary processes at the regional and global level.

As stressed in this background paper, several sectors are already dealing with governance issues without however, sharing the same definition of this concept and the same understanding of its implications for a design and implementation of specific interventions (e.g. land, forestry, fisheries, crop production or food safety). Inevitably, pitfalls and contradictions in approaches will occur.

The purpose of the workshop is to discuss some examples of food security policies and programmes from the governance perspective and to draw lessons from them. It will seek to clarify the relationship between food security governance and the right to food, and tackle questions like: what are the implications of these concepts for improving food security policies and programmes effectiveness in practice, and how they can support the achievement of the twin-track approach? The workshop should also contribute to deepening the discussion on the subject matter within and outside FAO, and foster joint work with its partners involved in advancing food security. The hope is that it will enhance the debate about governance within and between different sectors, and contribute to arriving at a shared understanding of the main dimensions and factors that influence the quality of food security governance.

The result of the workshop will be used to enrich this working paper for future publication and further discussion with international stakeholders, aiming at further fostering a common understanding of good food security governance beyond FAO. There will also be a separate report of the proceedings of the workshop, which will be published by FAO.

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