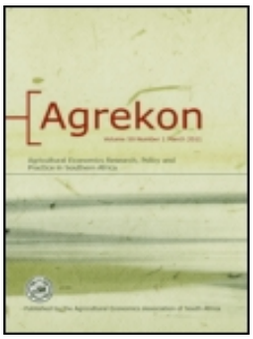

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South Africa's National Development Plan and New Growth Path: reflections on policy contradictions and implications for food security

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SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND NEW GROWTH PATH: REFLECTIONS ON POLICY CONTRADICTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FOOD SECURITY

AEASA Presidential Address
1 October 2012, Bloemfontein

Sheryl Hendriks*

ABSTRACT

Almost two decades after South Africa's political transformation, the country's food security context demands serious attention amidst excessively high unemployment and depressed economic growth. Although food insecurity at household and individual levels is unacceptably high in South Africa, the nation has for decades reported its aggregate national position as "food secure". This paper examines the purpose and proposals presented in the National Development Plan and New Growth Path Framework against the development requirements of sustainability, productivity and efficiency, reflects on the implications of the proposals on the right to food, and makes recommendations for the design of a comprehensive national food security policy.

Keywords: poverty, hunger, food security, food security policy

JEL classification: I38

1. NATIONAL VERSUS HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY

South Africa has always been a land of contrasts and diversity. Almost two decades after 1994, inequalities persist and are evident in the country's production and consumption profiles. Although the country has no food security information system, and does not regularly collect such information (Hendriks, 2005), the scanty available data show that while nationally the country produces enough

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to feed all its citizens (BFAP, 2012a), food insecurity is high at household and individual levels (Stats SA, 2012a).

The only two representative National Food Consumption Surveys (NFCs), conducted in 1999 and 2005 (Labadarios *et al.*, 2011), show that the level of child undernourishment in South Africa is exceptionally high for a developed, middle-income nation. In 2005, one in five children showed stunted growth and one in ten was underweight (Labadarios *et al.*, 2011). Both stunting and underweight indicate that children are consuming chronically inadequate diets over the most crucial period of their development. The effects of stunting in childhood are not reversible and affect the potential and productivity of the adult. Undernourishment has numerous long-term effects on health, including compromised immunity and susceptibility to disease. This places strain on the country's already stretched and under-resourced health care system.

The most up-to-date data available on access to food and the experience of hunger in South Africa, and the only one which is a time series, is the annual General Household Survey or GHS (Stats SA, 2012a), with a national sample of over 30 000 households. In the 2011 survey, 11.5% of the sampled households reported experiencing hunger in the 30 days prior the survey. While this proportion has been dropping (2002–2011), it represents a significant number of people – close to ten million. Four out of five households interviewed in the 2011 GHS (Stats SA, 2012a) reported having adequate access to food, but that should not overshadow the one in five that reported experiencing difficulty in getting enough food in the 30 days prior the survey: 14.6% of households reported inadequate access to food (i.e. having difficulty getting enough food) and 6.5% reported experiencing severely inadequate access to food.

Over 15 million South Africans rely on social grants (South African Government Information, 2012). Although these grants play a significant role in alleviating hunger, they are insufficient to lift people out of poverty or ensure adequate nutrition. In addition, the growing number of social grants places strain on the national budget. Grant receivers as a group are highly susceptible to food and service delivery price increases and lack the purchasing power to escape food insecurity.

Another food security concern for the country is the high level of unemployment: 25.5% in the third quarter of 2012 (Stats SA, 2012b). While considerable current policy discussion focuses on promising to address this issue, very little job creation has been realised over the past few years and projections of stagnated economic growth in 2013 do not indicate hope for this sector of the population.

2. FOOD PRODUCTION AND AVAILABILITY

South Africa generally enjoys national food security (see Figure 1), producing more maize than is consumed in the country. However, in contrast to the situation in neighbouring countries, maize is only one of the staples consumed by South Africa's population. Increasing demand for wheat (largely for making bread) and rice means that significant volumes of these staples and processed foods are imported, affecting the net food import balance and rapidly moving the country to a position of depending on imported food.

Agriculture in South Africa is under strain due to political uncertainty, global price volatility and high input prices, increasing weather uncertainty and extreme weather events that put farming itself under pressure. The country depends on just under 40 000 heavily stressed commercial farmers producing 12 million tons of white and yellow maize on average a year (Stats SA, 2008; BFAP, 2012a). Although average yields in the commercial maize sector are increasing, the area under production is not – it is in fact continually under threat due to uncertainty in the land sector, farmers switching crops to more lucrative commodities (oilseeds in particular and yellow maize for animal feed) and mining expansion in some provinces (BFAP, 2012a). Further, the declining number of commercial farmers undermines the production base necessary to ensure future national supply of maize.

The year-on-year inflation rate of agricultural production (6.6% in May 2012) exceeds consumer inflation (5.7%), eroding farm profit. Prices of farming requisites rose by 13.3% in 2010/11, compared with an increase of 6.7% the previous year (DAFF, 2012). An increase of 22.5% in the price of fertilisers made the most significant contribution to the increase in the prices of intermediate goods and services in 2010/11. The prices of tractors, trucks, seeds and maintenance and repairs increased by 17.6%, 17.4%, 16.2% and 14.2%, respectively (DAFF, 2012).

Yet the country has considerable untapped potential in terms of land, labour and natural resources. Around 12% of South Africa's land area is arable, with 22% of this classified as high potential (DAFF, 2012).

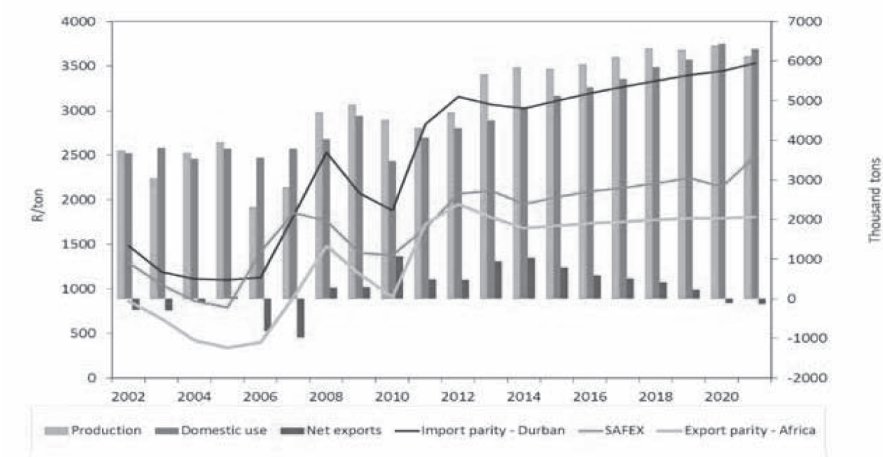

Figure 1: White maize produced, domestic consumption, net traded and prices (BFAP, 2012a:24)

Agricultural gross domestic product (GDP) for 2011 was 2.5%. National GDP growth was 3.2% in 2011 and lower in 2012 (DAFF, 2012). About 70% of agricultural output is used as intermediate products in the manufacturing sector (DAFF, 2012). The current economic depression in Europe has constrained export growth and led to loss of earnings from exports, and the decline of the rand is not favourable for exports. The 2012 drought in the US has made export conditions in high value international maize markets a concern regarding South African national stocks.

Volatile and high international food and input prices have put additional pressure on the South African food system, particularly as consumer preferences have shifted from maize, the key staple, to rice, processed foods and "fast foods". Sophisticated consumer preferences drive the market and overemphasis on the implications of high food prices for the consumer overshadows the essential consideration of how farming can remain profitable.

Agriculture is not only a source of food, underpinning national food security – it also plays an important role in rural livelihoods and employment. Generally, the number of jobs created per unit of investment is higher in agriculture than in other sectors (Diao *et al*., 2012). This implies that growth in agricultural output generally boosts job creation. In 2007, formal agriculture provided employment to about 930 000 farm workers (including seasonal and contract workers), the smallholder sector provided full or part-time employment to at least 1.3 million households, and an additional 6 million people depended on agriculture for their livelihood (NDA, 2007). Although there has been a decline in overall and

agriculture sector employment, the South African agricultural sector remains one of the most productive in Africa (BFAP, 2012b).

Imports of cheap foreign food products are a threat to local producers and marketers – especially given consumer preference for highly processed foodstuffs with relatively low prices. South Africa has fairly sound policies for food quality, but imports may not be as rigorously regulated and could pose a threat to food security and health. These cheap foods often contain unhealthy ingredients – such as cheap varieties of oil, high levels of sodium, and multiple preservatives, additives and flavourants.

We need to be concerned not only about bad food being brought in but also about good food leaving the country. Foreign direct investment in local agricultural land and the export of food commodities from South Africa largely escape regulation and policy control. While foreign land ownership may not be a matter for concern in South Africa since land transfers are regulated, what is of concern is the exploitation of our natural resources (water in particular) for exports that typically escape regulation (fresh fish and dairy products being examples). The impact of the loss of such produce on the country's long-term food security has not been investigated.

3. NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND NEW GROWTH PATH: COMMON GOALS, BUT DIFFERENT WAYS TO ATTAIN THEM

Current South African growth and poverty discussions are based on two strategy documents: the National Development Plan (NDP-NPC, 2012) and the New Growth Path (NGP-DED, 2010). The NDP was developed by the National Planning Commission (NPC) and the NGP by the Economic Cluster under the leadership of Minister for Economic Development Ebrahim Patel. Both reportedly spring from the Cabinet's recognition that South Africa cannot achieve social cohesion and sustained economic development unless all players work together to address poverty and inequality.

The NDP aims to ensure that all South Africans attain a decent standard of living through the elimination of poverty and reduction of inequality. The core elements of what constitutes a "decent standard of living" include:

- Housing, water, electricity and sanitation
- Safe and reliable public transport
- Quality education and skills development
- Safety and security
- Quality health care

- Social protection
- Employment
- Recreation and leisure
- Clean environment
- Adequate nutrition (NPC, 2012).

The NGP is a Department of Economic Development (DED) framework – reflecting the government's plan of action. Its purpose is to implement a set of macroeconomic and microeconomic interventions with clear and concrete stakeholder commitments to move South Africa to faster, more inclusive and sustainable growth (DED, 2010). The plan complements the Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP) 2 and takes cognisance of other sectoral policies.

The goals of the two plans are similar but the mechanisms they envisage for achieving them are very different. The NDP seeks to reduce poverty, unemployment and inequality. The NGP seeks to enhance growth and create employment and equity (see Table 1). Both articulate a strong developmental state orientation (Consultancy Africa Intelligence, 2012). The NDP is based on the state driving change through state intervention, investment and transformation of society. However, the NGP recognises that a state-led approach has to align market outcomes with development needs. The role the NGP proposes for the state is to minimise costs for business so as to support transformation toward a "more equitable, decent work-generating and green economy" (NGP, 2010:28).

The NPC's diagnostic overview identifies nine main challenges (NPC, 2011). Two of these, namely that "too few people work" and "the standard of education of most black learners is of poor quality", are seen by the NPC as the top priorities and the resulting NDP focuses significant attention on them. However, it lacks substance on how these can be achieved in sustainable ways. The NGP takes employment creation (a million jobs over the next 10 years, with targets set per growth sector) as the top priority and lists concrete actions to drive a more labour-absorbing growth pattern in targeted sectors: infrastructure, the agricultural value chain, the mining value chain, the green economy, manufacturing sectors included in the IPAP2 and tourism, and other high-level services. It provides the following measurable indicators for evaluating success:

- Jobs (number and quality of jobs created)
- Growth (rate, labour intensity and composition of economic growth)
- Equity (lower income inequality and poverty)
- Environmental outcomes.

Table 1: Comparison between the NDP and the NGP

	NDP (NPC, 2012)	NGP (DED, 2010)
Originates with	NPC under leadership of Minister in the Presidency responsible for national planning Trevor Manuel	Economic Cluster under leadership of Minister for Economic Development Ebrahim Patel
Aim	All South Africans attain a decent standard of living through the elimination of poverty and reduction of inequality.	To integrate a set of macroeconomic and microeconomic interventions with clear and concrete stakeholder commitments to move South Africa to faster, more inclusive and sustainable growth
Priorities	Jobs and education	Employment creation through labour –absorbing growth in targeted sectors – infrastructure, agricultural value chain, mining value chain, the green economy, manufacturing sectors included in the IPAP2 and tourism, and other high-level services
Target/s	Eliminate poverty by 2030	Creating five million jobs in 10 years (by 2020) to reduce unemployment from 25% to 15%
Key challenges identified	The diagnostic report on which the NDP is based identified nine main challenges (NPC, 2011): • Too few people work • The standard of education of most black learners is of poor quality • Infrastructure is poorly located, under-maintained and insufficient for growth • Special patterns exclude the poor from the benefits of development • The economy is too unsustainably resource intensive • The failing public health system compounds a widespread disease burden • Public services are uneven and often of poor quality • Corruption is widespread • South Africa remains a divided society	Trade-offs including: • Present consumption versus future growth • The needs of different industries for infrastructure, skills and other interventions • Policies that promise high benefits against substantial risk and more predictable policies with lower transformative gains • A competitive currency that supports growth in production, employment and exports, and a stronger rand that supports the importation of cheaper capital and consumer goods • The NGP recognises some of the limitations of a developmental state approach

	NDP (NPC, 2012)	NGP (DED, 2010)
Policy elements	The effective implementation of the Plan depends on the following principles: Broad ownership Continuous capacity building Policy consistency Prioritisation and sequencing of elements Clarity of responsibility and accountability Continuous learning and improvement Coordinated action (PMG, 2013).	Essential elements: Active industrial policy Effective rural development policy Sound competition policy Stepping up education and skills development Enterprise development Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Labour policies that raise multi-factor productivity Technology innovation policy Focused developmental trade policies Policies for African development and growth Social partner commitments
Measurable indicators	By 2030, the number of households living below R418 per person per month (in 2009 rands) should fall from 39% to zero. The level of inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient should fall from 0.7 in 2009 to 0.6 in 2030	Jobs (number and quality of jobs created) Growth (rate, labour intensity and composition of economic growth) Equity (lower income inequality and poverty) Environmental outcomes

The NGP's macroeconomic approach, on the other hand, includes monetary policy interventions to achieve "growth and jobs targets (including a more competitive exchange rate, a lower cost of capital and a re-prioritisation of public spending to ensure sustainability over time)". Its microeconomic approach includes targeted measures to support jobs and competitiveness (skills development, small business development, rural development, among others) to support the macroeconomic strategy and ensure it is viable and sustainable. The microeconomic section lists 10 programmes to control inflationary pressures and inefficiency along with strategies to support an inclusive economy, social equity and regional development. In addition, the NGP sets out 11 "essential elements" (Table 1) for implementation of the plan, including supportive and enabling policies, capacity development, efficiency and strategic partnerships.

However, South Africa has failed to stimulate economic growth and drive job creation. Economic growth in the last two decades has not reduced poverty sufficiently to reduce excessive inequality. Moreover, South Africa's economic growth has slowed following the onset of the European and American recessions. The 2011 Census (Stats SA, 2012c) reveals a large proportion of people who could be actively engaged in the labour market but have simply given up actively looking for work.

4. STRATEGIES IN TENSION WITH CORE ELEMENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Although both the NDP and the NGP strive to advance the establishment of a developmental state – believed by the party in power and its allies to be the key to overcoming inequality to address structural poverty – their philosophies are diametrically opposed. The NDP focuses on advancing the developmental state through service delivery and gives little thought to sustainability of service delivery and indeed the purchasing power of individuals and households to pay for such services. The NDP's strong developmental state approach typically makes the market share of previously disadvantaged people its top priority, above sustainability, efficiency, and profitability (Consultancy Africa Intelligence, 2012).

The NGP focuses on driving economic growth to enable more equitable and inclusive growth while attaining South Africa's developmental goals. It recognises that investment in infrastructure (energy, transport, communication, water and housing) in partnership with the private sector is essential to create sustainable jobs through the upstream and downstream construction, operation and maintenance value chain for infrastructure and services (DED, 2010).

The tension between the two approaches is illustrated in Figure 2. The NDP takes little cognisance of the fundamental requirements for development, instead relying heavily on public resources to achieve its goals. The NGP, on the other hand, recognises that investments in poverty reduction, job creation and economic growth need strong social commitment and partnerships and cannot rely solely on public resources. It recognises that sustainability, efficiency and profitability are essential for long-term development solutions. The private sector is motivated by profit – an element that makes for sustainable investment and business. Therefore, the profitability (return on investment or at least cost recovery) of any investment needs to be considered to ensure that the investment has a significant effect on reducing poverty or produces resources for reinvestment and expansion for sustainable employment creation and job stability.

Figure 2: The tension between the NDP and NGP goals and sustainable development objectives.

The NGP calls for political reform as a necessary co-requirement for economic growth and transformation and greater coordination between government departments and reform of public institutions to increase competition, develop skills and improve efficiency. Unlike the overly ambitious NDP, which hopes to eliminate poverty by 2030, the NGP at least takes cognisance of important trade-offs such as:

- Present consumption versus future growth
- The needs of different industries for infrastructure, skills and other interventions
- Policies that promise high benefits against substantial risk and more predictable policies with lower transformative gains
- A competitive currency that supports growth in production, employment and exports and a stronger rand that supports the importation of cheaper capital and consumer goods (DED, 2010).

Similarly, the NGP recognises some of the limitations of a developmental state approach, particularly the state's inefficiency, ineffectiveness and lack of responsiveness – all elements that counteract sustainability, profitability and efficiency. It recognises the need to align national growth and development

strategies adopted by various sectors and the urgent need to share knowledge and collaborate across the state. It also recognises the need re-orientate multiple stakeholders, including all spheres of government, parastatals and the training and research agencies (DED, 2010).

The NGP notes that not all growth is good for reducing poverty but rather promotes export-focused growth. Both the NDP and the NGP in fact focus strongly on export-led growth. Yet a recent study of growth and poverty reduction in 10 African economies shows that export-led agricultural growth is far less effective in reducing poverty than an increase in the production of staple crops and livestock (Diao *et al*., 2012). The bulk of South African agricultural exports is made up of raw commodities – a significant loss in terms of employment creation and economic growth.

5. IGNORING FOOD SECURITY: CONCERNS AND REALITIES

The NDP has ambitious goals for 2030. It claims that "South Africa has the potential and capacity to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality over the next two decades". The conspicuous reality is that not a single country in the world has eliminated real poverty – or is likely to. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) ambitiously set the target as halving hunger and poverty by 2015 (Stats SA, 2010). By that date South Africa is likely to have met the target set for the proportion of the population living on less than US$1.25 per capita per day but not any of the other targets for MDG One (Stats SA, 2010), let alone eliminating poverty.

Poverty is relative. The threshold can be adjusted to provide more acceptable statistics, but in a country where more than half the working age population are unemployed, growth is stagnant and close to one-fifth of all citizens are supported by state grants, changing this reality will be no small task. The NDP diagnostic overview (NPC, 2011) admits that:

> Other developing countries such as Mexico, Korea and Malaysia overtook South Africa's level of income per capita in the 1980s. If we wanted to achieve a similar per capita income to Poland or Portugal today, it would take 35 years at current growth rates, but if per capita incomes grew by 4% annually it would take just 17 years.

This level of growth in personal income has not been achieved in the 17 years since 1994. At the time of the NPC's diagnostic overview, personal income and employment were falling at 4% per year. Since 2010, GDP growth has slowed even more, with gloomy projections for 2013. Badiane and Ulimwengu (2009) show that South Africa's economic growth has not yielded efficient reduction in

poverty, with less than a 0.20 unit reduction in poverty for every unit of economic growth.

Neither the NDP nor the NGP is grounded on sound evidence-based research on food security – fundamentally because there is no data upon which to conduct evidence-based analyses and partly because, it appears, the urgency of overcoming hunger and ensuring national food security is not fully understood. The NDP is silent on food security and largely ignores agriculture – it fails to articulate the challenges or threats facing them or the opportunities they present. The NDP's (2012) only direct reference to food security calls for the creation of a million jobs through agricultural development based on effective land reform, and an increase in irrigated agriculture to boost the productivity of land. Yet job-shedding trends in the agricultural sector and recent labour unrest seek to erode rather than build job opportunities. A second (indirect) reference related to food security in the NDP (2012) is the inclusion of maternal and infant health care in a list of programmes. This could have an impact on food security, depending on appropriate programme design and service delivery.

The NGP underlines the problem of food insecurity and mentions agriculture as a core sector for domestic and export economic growth and food security. It calls for a set of policies to create an environment supportive of growth and transformation. It also calls for the integration and alignment of development policies, mentioning policies for trade, and making some reference to policies for land and agriculture, but it signally fails to mention the crucial need for a policy for food security. Importantly, though, the NGP recognises both the production and consumption elements of the food system and takes into consideration the high and volatile inflation affecting food staples and farm inputs.

The NDP's omission of the imperatives of national, household and individual food security and the right to food is in conflict with South Africa's progressive Constitution that supports the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the right to freedom from hunger. Hunger and poverty are inextricably linked. Hungry people are not productive. The poor lack the resources to seek work and provide essential food and cash to ensure adequate nutrition. Food insecurity is caused by structural poverty. Together they create an inescapable trap.

Overcoming food insecurity requires a comprehensive national strategy, supported by enabling policies and an efficient regulatory system that will transform the food economy into a driver of rapid economic growth and a generator of sustainable employment. Ultimately what is needed is a philosophy that sees alleviating poverty as the major function of the economy. This requires a robust market system that drives job creation to provide purchasing power for perpetual growth. To solve the problem of food insecurity all players must work together to identify pro-poor opportunities for building a resilient food system to sustain

economic growth. The appropriate policies would ensure that economic growth and food security are mutually reinforcing. However, most current South African legislation adopts a "do no harm" approach – mostly protecting the consumer. No agricultural legislative changes have been made since 1996.

6. THE RIGHT TO FOOD: GOVERNMENT OBLIGATIONS

Protecting the food security of the nation is absolutely essential. Ensuring that the right to food is not only enshrined in the Constitution but fulfilled for all citizens is a vital challenge that the NDP has neglected. The obligations of governments with respect to the right to food are set out in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights:

- To *respect* existing access to adequate food and not to take any measures that prevent such access
- To *protect* access to adequate food and ensure that people are not deprived of this right
- To *fulfil* (facilitate) access to adequate food by pro-actively strengthening people's access to and use of resources and means to ensure their livelihood, including food security. When, for reasons beyond their control, people are unable to enjoy the right to adequate food, this obligation includes providing that right directly (UN, 1999: para. 15).

Although a number of South African public programmes seek to advance the right to food, many actually retard progress in this direction. For example:

- Slow progress on land reform and its practices undermine the food production base, threatening national food security as commercial production declines due to uncertainty and security issues while new landowners have yet to make a significant contribution to national food supply and stocks
- Lack of enforcement of numerous legislative mechanisms to protect producers, exporters and consumers, due largely to insufficient resources to maintain inspections and standards in the food system, compromises food safety and health
- Incentives for domestic food production and sale are lacking, leaving the nation open to exportation of food staples when international prices are more competitive
- Lack of information and data on food security, smallholder farmers, agricultural land use, agricultural stocks and foreign land ownership and exploitation, means the country and its citizens are kept in ignorance about the state of food security in the country and its future prospects

- A growing social protection budget that almost equals the annual national budget deficit, and is devoid of rules for graduation and programme exit, fills consumption gaps but is not adequate to lift recipients out of poverty.

Moreover, South Africa has no food security policy. Yet such a policy is desperately needed to create stability in the food system, provide transparency and ensure that food security is addressed in a consistent, comprehensive and cohesive manner in new legislation, frameworks, strategies and programmes.

As signatory to the 2003 Maputo Declaration (AU/NEPAD, 2009), South Africa is currently developing a National Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plan as per the requirements of the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP). The CAADP recommends that all national policies and programmes consider whether they:

- Increase economic growth
- Increase opportunities for producers and marketers
- Exploit competitive and pro-poor advantages across the value chain
- Improve productivity
- Reduce risk and increase resilience
- Increase the supply of affordable food
- Increase incomes or labour opportunities for the poor
- Improve nutrition (reduce under-nutrition and improve dietary quality) (AU/NEPAD, 2009).

These criteria go beyond the current focus of the only existing food security strategy, the Integrated Food Security Strategy (NDA, 2002), which is in need of review, revision and transformation into a comprehensive approach. It is essential that the proposed policy and programme alignment recommended in the NDP and NGP take these CAADP recommendations into consideration.

7. STRATEGIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S FOOD SECURITY POLICY

Recent calls from the Committee on World Food Security (CFS, 2011; 2012), as well as numerous global policies and strategies, such as the Comprehensive Framework for Action, (HLTF, 2008) the Global Agriculture and Food Security Program (SDN, 2009) and the Scaling Up Nutrition Movement Strategy (SUN, 2012), reiterate the CAADP call for comprehensive agriculture and food security policies, strategies and programmes. Comprehensive programmes go beyond Sector-wide Approaches (SWAPs) and Integrated Food Security Strategies to make inclusive and pro-poor agricultural growth to drive food security the central

item on the national policy agenda, coordinated through a multi-sectoral and multi-stakeholder structure in the highest level of governance (the President's or Prime Minister's Office).

Comprehensive programmes require clear vision and efficient resource allocation across multiple sectors working together to achieve a common goal. They should challenge the traditional silo mentality, parallel programme and duplicitous models that create inefficiencies in the public sector.

While the NDP is largely silent on both agriculture and food security, the NGP sees food security as essential to the future stability and prosperity of South African citizens and recognises that achieving food security requires economic growth that creates job opportunities to increase the purchasing power of the poor. South Africa must now turn to the guidance of the CAADP African Framework for Food Security and recent work by the World Food Security High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition papers on price volatility (CFS HLPE, 2011a), land (CFS HLPE, 2011b), climate change (CFS HLPE, 2012a) and social protection (CFS HLPE 2012b) to draft a comprehensive food security policy for the country.

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