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FOOD INSECURITY AND ALTERNATIVE FOOD NETWORKS IN CITIES OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH

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Abstract

Using the concept of Alternative Food Networks (AFNs), this discussion paper interrogates these networks and asks how they manifest in the context of food insecurity in cities of the global South. AFNs evident in Northern cities generally present a perspective of the food system that prioritises sustainability and a deep green and often local ethic, embodying aspirations of food system change. In Southern cities, food system engagement is less about engagement for change, but rather to enable food access. Traditional value chain parlance sees a value chain extending from producer to consumer. Drawing on research from food security studies carried out in Cape Town, this paper argues that the food access value chain present within poor urban communities in South Africa reflects more than just financial transactions. Transactions of reciprocity and social exchange are embedded within food security strategies, and are often informed by the enactment of agency. This paper calls for a far more expansive view of food access strategies and networks. Understanding these networks is essential to effective food and nutrition security policy and programming.

Keywords

There are such streams of energy running through this city and we have not yet sufficiently explored them. Hunger might help us to learn how to do that, it offers a possibility. Hunger is a good starting point for the incessant search for a beyond, for it reveals the paradox in which we are living: a country so rich, with water, rivers, sun, forests, and yet with inhabitants so miserable. There is a hiatus somewhere, a void, and this void needs to be filled. It is to be filled by us, the inhabitants of the city, the initiated, the shege, the expatriates, the multitudes of people that make up this city. –Vincent Lombume Kalimasse, Kinshasa, February 2004.

Introduction

Food insecurity remains a persistent global challenge. The FAO (2015a) reports that in excess of 795 million people are undernourished globally. While undernourishment has declined in recent years, this masks some very real food security challenges. The overall decline in undernourishment can be attributed to economic development in some developing countries, particularly China. The FAO offers a number of caveats to the successes enabled through economic development stating that "economic growth is a key success factor for reducing undernourishment, but it has to be inclusive and provide opportunities for improving the livelihoods of the poor" (FAO 2015a). This highlights the fact that global inequalities mean that food insecurity is unevenly experienced and most severely in specific geographical areas. While the state of food insecurity may have improved at a global scale, within Sub-Saharan Africa "the total number of undernourished people continues to increase with an estimated 220 million in 2014-16 compared to 175.7 million in 1990-92" (FAO 2015b: 1).

In its various global and regional reports on food security, the FAO uses the term undernourishment. However, undernourishment is only one component of food security and its uncritical use occludes several other food security challenges. The interchangeable use of terms like "undernourishment", "hunger", and "food security" is also problematic. As the Commission on World Food Security notes: "There is a need to address the fact that malnutrition is more than merely a caloric food deficit. There is a growing recognition that hunger is a complex phenomenon that requires a multifaceted concept for its measurement. More

work is also required to identify the exact root causes of malnutrition, in particular the role of income, income growth, income distribution and large swings in food prices" (CWS 2011). While this statement may appear reasonable and seeks to get to the heart of the challenge of food insecurity, it does raise further questions.

As long ago as 1996, the FAO had recognized these challenges and provided a definition of food security that saw it as being a great deal more than simply undernutrition. Food security was defined then as "a situation that exists when all people, at all times, 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" (WHO/FAO 1996). This definition identified four critical preconditions for achieving food security: food availability, food access, food utilization and food stability. This paper applies the 1996 FAO definition and sees food security as a process where there is adequate food available, where that food can be accessed from a stable food system and is able to be effectively utilized, preventing the occurrence of food-system-related pathologies such as hunger, malnutrition, undernutrition, overnutrition, obesity and a variety of other diet-related challenges.

Food security goes beyond issues of food production to involve the intricate relationships between availability, accessibility, utilization and the stability of the food system. These relationships play out at multiple scales and in multiple localities. To assume that food security challenges are uniform in how they are experienced would be incorrect. Every scale and context is different. Rural bias further compounds this blindspot and obscures the need for consideration of contextual food security

realities (Crush and Riley 2018). The main outcome of this obfuscation is broad inappropriate generalizations about food security. These generalizations both drive and are further compounded by global governance processes such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) where universal measurements at a global scale trickle down to national scales, informing policy and measurement processes (Fukuda Parr and Orr 2015). Global generalizations and over-simplification therefore have problematic consequences for food security policies and actions at other scales, denying community-level agency.

Despite the high prevalence of urban food insecurity, questions of food security are still largely absent from urban governance interventions (Battersby 2013, Crush and Frayne 2011, Frayne et al 2010, Haysom, 2015). In those rare instances where urban food security has been considered, interventions retain a distinct rural production by defaulting to project-scale responses such as urban agriculture projects (Battersby 2012a). Rural bias affects how the urban food system is understood and how food security interventions are approached. As Donald et al (2010: 172) argue: "past conceptual frameworks applied to the analysis of [food and] agricultural systems have emphasized producer over consumer actions and have often been aspatial." The dominance of rural productionist thinking in efforts to ameliorate food insecurity has a number of consequences. First, there is a scientific and technology-driven focus on increasing or optimizing net calories produced. Second, where access to food is constrained, welfare interventions are used to mitigate challenges. Such interventions are predominantly reactive and lack strategic focus. Third, policies and legislation reinforce the production/welfare paradigm (Haysom 2015).

In the Global South, demographic changes have resulted in shifts in the locus of food insecurity. The Global South is undergoing a fundamental urban transition and faces an increasingly urban future (Beall et al 2013, Fox 2012, Kessides 2005, Parnell and Pieterse 2013, Pieterse 2008, Satterthwaite 2007). Southern cities will absorb 95% of urban growth in the next two decades and, by 2030, will be home to almost 4 billion people, or 80% of the world's urban population (Parnell and Oldfield 2013). Much of this growth will take place in African cities (Pieterse and Parnell 2014). Food insecurity will become an increasingly important urban problem this millennium (Athreya et al 2010, Chmielewska and Souza 2011, Crush and Frayne 2011, Zingel et al 2011), particularly in developing-world cities. Food insecurity in urban areas is a persistent yet poorly understood phenomenon (Frayne et al 2009).

There is also policy hubris in many cities, driven by the assumption that the policy and development interventions are adequate, or that someone else, or another scale of government, is responsible for addressing food security challenges. In South Africa, for example, both the City of Cape Town and the South African Cities Network view urban food strategies as outside their mandate. Conversely, the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) feels that food security is their mandate but has an overtly rural productionist focus. DAFF even argues that rural development will retard migration to the city (Mdimande 2015), and drive migration from the city to the rural areas. Much of the evidence on the scale and nature of urban food security contradicts such perceptions (Crush and Frayne 2011, Frayne et al 2010).

Globally, food systems are undergoing major transformation (FAO 2004; Von Braun et al 2008). This involves "extensive consolidation, very rapid institutional and organizational change, and progressive modernization of the procurement system" (Reardon and Timmer 2012). Large agrifood corporations and supermarket chains are driving this change (Crush and Frayne 2011, Reardon and Minten 2011, Reardon et al 2003). In Africa, South Africa is leading the charge in this transformation, being an early adopter of the industrialized production and supermarket. Now, over 80% of poor urban households procure food from supermarkets (Crush et al 2012).

At the same time, different food-system-oriented approaches, philosophies and actions are emerging. These socio-spatial food theories can be grouped under the umbrella concept of alternative food

networks (AFNs) (Renting et al 2003, Watts et al 2005). AFNs have been described as "new rapidly mainstreaming spaces in the food economy defined by ... the explosion of organic, Fair Trade, and local, quality, and premium speciality foods. In these networks, it is claimed that the production and consumption of food are more closely tied together spatially, economically and socially" (Goodman and Goodman 2009). AFNs are often understood to be the domain of privileged developed-country food system interventions. This paper considers the applicability of the concept of AFNs to the Global South with particular reference to the South African context. The assumption that certain theories can be uncritically transferred from one context to another requires serious challenge. Battersby (2012b) raises questions about how facts discerned in certain contexts become assumptions in other contexts, and warns that these assumptions can have problematic policy consequences.

The paper begins by describing changes taking place at the urban scale and in the food system specifically. These changes are then linked to address the southern and South African urban food security question. The question of conceptual transfer is interrogated further, drawing on research from food security studies carried out in Cape Town. The paper concludes by highlighting areas where AFN approaches from both North and South align and discusses some Southern-specific elements of AFNs identified in Cape Town research.

Transitions in the Global South

The French expression "plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose" suggests that things essentially remain the same. In the case of the food system, some things do change while there is also a certain "stuckness". For example, although there have been significant changes in the food system, unequal food access persists (Lang and Barling 2012, Friedmann and McMichael 1998, McMichael 2009, Reardon et al 2003). This paper takes the view that food system change benefits some but does not result in positive change across society. Many of the changes have

had negative consequences for poor and vulnerable communities (Thu 2009).

When food system changes are considered within the context of rapid urbanization, their impact requires even greater analysis (Davis 2006, Pieterse 2008, Swilling 2011).

Current processes of change in the Global South are fundamentally different from the earlier transition associated with cities and agriculture in the Global North. Contemporary transitions do follow certain pre-existing logic but cannot be assumed to be the same as those of the past (Grin et al 2010, Perez 2002, 2007, Smith et al 2010, Swilling and Annecke 2012). This paper focuses on three transitions that have both global and context-specific elements: the second urban transition, the nutrition transition, and food regime change. Combined, these transitions result in different coping mechanisms, vulnerabilities and societal responses. Applying traditional governance approaches to these responses fails to appropriately address the "stuckness" in the food insecurity challenge.

The idea of the second urban transition draws on the work of several urban theorists including Beall and Fox (2008) and Hodson and Marvin (2010), as well as those forming part of the African urbanism school (Pieterse 2008, 2010, Swilling 2011). The urban transition is a global phenomenon but the nature of the transition in the developing world differs, hence the term "second urban transition" to distinguish it from the first transition in the Global North. Driven by the scale and rapidity of urbanization as well as the specific economic conditions in developing countries, the characteristics of the second urban transition are of particular interest within the context of the urban food question.

Drawing on the seminal work of Friedmann and McMichael (1989), food regime change is a process of transition with a number of attendant, and at times separate, sub-transitions. Critics of the food regime thesis have pointed out that there is no clear tipping point from which a shift from one regime to another can be determined. However, McMichael (2009) argues that regime shifts are

evident and driven by global shifts in the powerbase of agricultural policy. The food regime transition and attendant sub-transitions have distinctly different characteristics in the context of urbanization in the Global South. The third transition discussed here has been referred to as the nutrition transition (Popkin 1998). While the nutrition transition is a global shift, specific features are evident within the context of the second urban transition. The broad concept of the nutrition transition has therefore been questioned in the context of the developing world. Saunders (2015), for example, cautions against the uncritical adoption of the concept, arguing that in South African cities, what is being experienced is best described as a dietary transition and not a nutrition transition.

The Second Urban Transition

The world is urbanizing rapidly and is expected to be around 60% urbanized by 2030 (UN-Habitat 2013: 213). Citing global urbanization trends in this way obscures regional differences, particularly in developing countries where the scale and nature of urbanization is dramatic but variable. The rapid growth in developing-world cities has been termed the second urban transition (Pieterse 2008, Swilling 2011). This implies that there was a primary urbanization process. Agricultural innovation and resultant increases in production reduced the price of food in the first transition. Lower food prices meant reduced rural employment opportunities. Abundant labour and lower food prices were vital drivers of the industrialization process, particularly in rapidly growing urban areas (Beall and Fox 2009: 47). The combination of cheap food, industrialization, subsequent specialization and new forms of urban governance enabled Northern urban development.

The second urban transition is distinguished by its scale and speed. Pieterse (2103) denotes the endless vistas of shantytowns as the transition's "visible face of crisis" and remarks on "the burden of self-help and abandonment that they imply". He notes that two-thirds of African urbanites live in informal autoconstructed, makeshift shelters and that the shanty city is by and large the real African city. This further implies that the bulk of city building can be attributed to actors outside the state and formal business sector. These actors and the roles they play are an important part of the making of urban space. Such descriptions, while real, do not completely capture the processes, networks and dynamics of a developing-world city. These cities also have other characteristics; some vibrant, others more problematic. What the African city does reflect is a perpetual struggle in which different forms of cityness, networks and agency emerge.

The changing nature of urban development and the second urban transition have direct and indirect implications for the food system. Understanding how the second urban transition and the food system intersect requires an investigation of the changes taking place within the wider food system.

The Third Food Regime

The flows of food to urban residents are neither consistent nor equitable. Inconsistency and inequality manifest as food insecurity. This assertion is confirmed by the high levels of food insecurity in cities in Southern Africa. Research by AFSUN in the region in 2008 found that in poorer areas of 11 cities, 77% of surveyed households reported conditions of food insecurity (Frayne et al 2010). This raises serious questions about the operation of the South African food system. While the South African food system has traversed a number of "food regimes", the contemporary food system has the characteristics of the so-called third food regime.

The food regime concept focuses on the "contradictory relations underlying the institutional and power structures across capitalist time, and at a particular conjuncture" (McMichael 2009: 292). The third regime, founded on previous regimes, is a "corporate food regime", where the organizing principle is the market, not the empire or the state (McMichael 2005). The third food regime "express[es], simultaneously, forms of geo-political ordering, and, related, forms of accumulation, …

[which] are vectors of power" (McMichael 2005: 272). Drawing on the key tenets of the food regime thesis, the underlying drivers of regime change are associated "with various forms of hegemony in the world economy and ... periods of transition, anticipated by tensions between social forms embedded in each hegemonic order" (McMichael 2009: 281). This description articulates political, social and economic processes as the primary drivers of food regime change. Perhaps the most important manifestation of the third food regime is how power is concentrated at certain parts of the food system. The changes enabled through the enabling of the third food regime means that the agrofood sector becomes a powerful economic and political force. As liberalization continues apace, the roles played by government diminish.

The Nutrition Transition

The effects of urbanization and globalization on dietary patterns and nutritional status in developing countries are complex. The adverse changes in dietary intakes associated with urbanization are taking place at all levels of society (Mendez and Popkin 2004: 75). Popkin's nutrition transition thesis suggests two key drivers in nutrition change. The first is that major shifts in population growth, age structure and spatial distribution are closely associated with nutritional trends and dietary change. Second, changes in income, patterns of work and leisure activities, and related socioeconomic shifts, lead to changes in women's roles and shifts in diet and activity patterns (Popkin 2002). The nutrition transition consists of two processes; a process of dietary convergence and a process of dietary adaptation (Popkin 1998: 7, Kennedy et al 2004: 9). In South Africa, a country that is increasingly urban, and in the rapidly urbanizing cities of Southern Africa, changes in consumption and retail processes are critical factors in understanding the food system. A clear trend is that diet-related changes in nutrition and health are pervasive, and become visible at progressively lower levels of per capita GDP (Maxwell and Slater 2003).

Alternative Food Networks

The track record of individual states and global governance institutions in mitigating food insecurity is poor. The persistent nature of food insecurity is reinforced by misaligned policies and developmental and economic agendas. However, in the daily struggle for meaning and access to the food system, various agents are attempting to engage more overtly in food system processes. Such engagements are diverse and varied, and categorizing them is problematic. However, the term alternative food networks (AFNs) has been used to capture the processes at play, their nature and politics.

AFNs are a dimension of the emerging alternative food landscape representing spatially-bound relations between consumers (predominantly urban dwellers) and the food market (Wiskerke 2009: 375). AFNs are generally understood to be the domain of middle-class idealism, reflecting idealistic notions of sustainability and eco-friendliness (Belo 2009, Clapp and Helleiner 2012, Guthman 2011, McCullough et al 2008, Patel and McMichael 2009, Roberts 2008). Implicit in Goodman and Goodman's (2009) conceptualization of AFNs is that they reflect processes far removed from the challenges of food access experienced by those in the developing world. One of the defining aspects of the Northern AFN network is that space has been created for the emergence of a variety of food governance processes. Werkele (2004: 381), for example, suggests that "community agencies and the local state have worked together to create a new political space for food justice issues". In the last two decades, there has been a proliferation of AFNs across North America and throughout Europe.

AFNs have varied politics and engage the state in different ways. What they enable is a space for engagement, even if this is overtly oppositional at times. In a review of over 60 Canadian AFNs, MacRae and Donahue (2013: 8) identify six types:

- Municipality driven;

- Hybrid governance with direct government links;

- Hybrid governance with indirect government links;

- Links to government via a secondary agent;

- Civil society organizations with limited and informal government links; and

- Independent organizations with no government links.

This typology highlights the diversity of operational and engagement approaches, and provides insights into their varied relationships with the state. Haysom (2014) reviewed 176 AFNs in the United States and, applying this governance typology, noted that while most were citizen-led, over two-thirds of the organizations had some form of link to government. The scale and key areas of focus of these AFNs are shown in Table 1. Some US AFNs focus on issues associated with food security, nutrition and school feeding. The focus on local food needs, urban farming and wider food system sustainability dominate the concerns of these groups, however. Generally speaking, the AFNs in Northern cities and regions present a perspective

on the food system that prioritises sustainability and a deep green and local ethic (Table 1).

Table 1 also identifies the scale at which interventions are taking place. The local urban scale is clearly the primary area of intervention and action. While the global food system and food-regime-related challenges influence perspectives and the politics of mobilization, the areas of focus are influenced by perceived needs at the city level. Wiskerke (2009: 374) challenges the scope (and scale) of AFNs as the primary area of strategic food system change and suggests the need for an integrated territorial agri-food paradigm. This assumes cooperation between different food system actors at a variety of scales,

A review of the book *Food City* (Lim 2014) has argued that the "specific [AFN] case studies are presented as practices to support a community-led food revolution" (Caruso 2015). This speaks to a particularly Northern vision of food system change. What the food insecure in cities in the Global South aspire to is an ability to engage with the food system. Their food system engagement is less about engagement for change, but rather to enable access.

TABLE 1: Areas of Focus of Northern AFNs

	Province (State)	Regional	District (County)	Local (City)	Total actions
Education	2	12	11	16	41
Food security	2	1	4	10	17
Food access and advocacy	4	6	6	24	40
School feeding	7	4	8	7	26
Farm to table	5	0	6	0	11
Sustainability	4	5	6	8	23
Local food	10	8	22	25	65
Urban agriculture/farm support/land	7	4	13	26	50
Planning and land-use	2	2	2	9	15
Health and nutrition	5	4	8	26	43
Policies and legal	7	5	12	23	47
Data/knowledge/mapping	5	2	5	14	26
Total	60	53	103	188	404
Source: Haysom (2014)					

# Mitigating Food Insecurity through Alternative Food Networks

This section draws on two food security studies carried out in South African cities. The first, by the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN), examined the food security status of poor communities in Cape Town, Mzunduzi and Johannesburg. The second survey, by the Hungry Cities Partnership (HCP), focused on Cape Town only. The AFSUN survey found extremely high levels of food insecurity, with around 70% of households being food insecure (Frayne et al 2009). The survey identified poverty as a major driver of food insecurity, noting that "while poverty may in some instances be relative, in this survey the evidence suggests that in relation to both income and food security, poverty is absolute and pervasive … When asked to compare their household's economic conditions today to one year ago, almost two-thirds (63%) felt that they were worse off than in the past" (Frayne et al 2009: 18). With urbanization, the locus of poverty, and therefore food insecurity, has shifted from rural to urban areas (Crush et al 2012). However, it would be incorrect to argue for a direct causal relationship between poverty and food security as the links are complex.

The nature of food access shifts with level of vulnerability, accessibility, affordability and specific monthly, weekly, seasonal and annual cycles. Poor urban households access most of their food through the market. The various food access options are evident in Figure 1, which also shows the frequency of patronage of each. Supermarkets are patronized by more households than any other source but primarily on a monthly basis. In contrast, informal/ street food vendors and small shops (spazas) are patronized extremely frequently. The survey also highlights the negligible uptake of urban agriculture as a food access strategy. Despite this, policy and developmental programming still sees urban agriculture as a viable response to food insecurity.
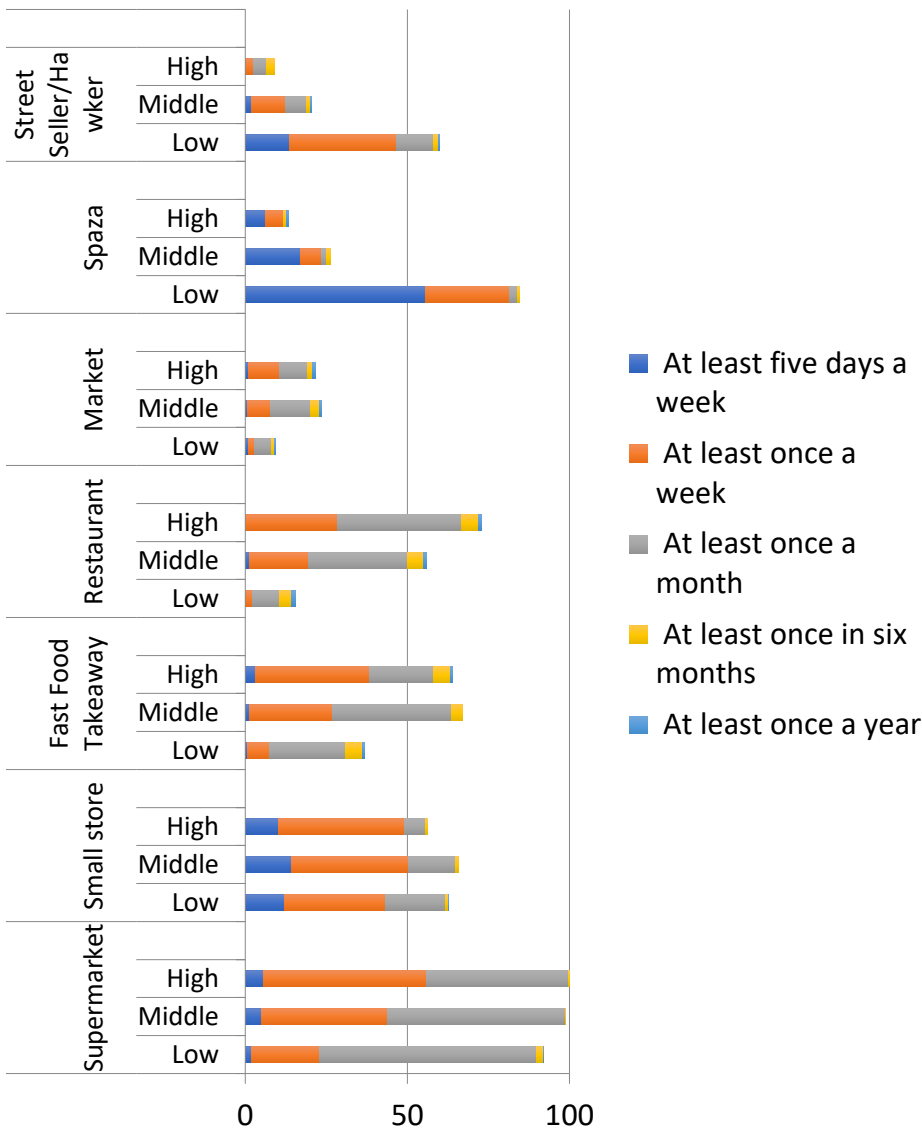
Citywide data from the HCP Cape Town survey shows the population's food access strategies by income terciles (Figure 2). Supermarket dominance in the middle and upper income groups is evident in terms of both use and frequency of patronage.

FIGURE 1: Food Sources and Patronage Frequency
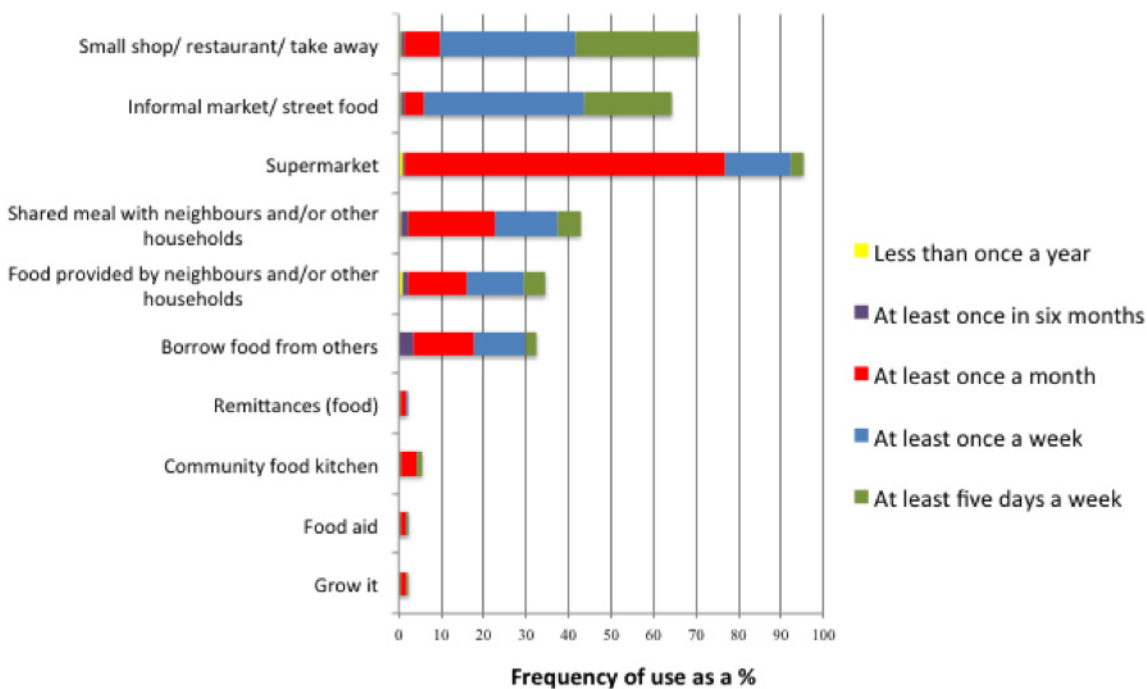
Source: Battersby (2011)

FIGURE 2: Food Sources by Income Terciles

Source: Crush et al (2018: 49)

This confirms that not only are different urban food systems active in a locality, but different groups navigate and utilize the food system in different ways. The differential access typology highlights how different economic strata engage with the food system, what food access strategies are most applicable to these strata, and how different food access points enable a measure of food security.

Despite the importance of the market as a source of food for the urban poor and the rapid supermarketization of the South Africa food system, it is necessary to consider geographies of food access through

an alternative frame (Battersby 2013). While the formal and informal food retail system is the most important source of food for the urban poor, the market does not work adequately for the urban poor. Many people are dependent on alternative sources of food (Battersby 2012b). It is therefore important to consider how food is accessed through non-retail options, how these networks operate, what drives them, and how power and reciprocity play out within them.

What is clear from Figure 1 is that non-retail networks form a core part of a food access strategy for

poor households. The proportion of the AFSUN sample population that acquired food from neighbours and other households through sharing meals was 45%, those eating food provided by others was 34%, and those borrowing food was 29% (Battersby 2012b). Sharing and borrowing food masks the extent of food insecurity among the urban poor and obscures the failings of urban food systems (Maxwell 1999). With a high proportion of South Africans unable to access adequate food, questions arise about why there has not been more direct civil protest, calling authorities and the food retail system to account. While there are several possible reasons for the absence of food riots and protests similar to those seen elsewhere (Bar-Yam et al 2013), one reason is that different food access networks are activated by those at risk of food insecurity to moderate the extent of the challenge.

These food access strategies involve multiple relational and cultural interactions. This is not simply a case of knocking on the door of the neighbour and asking for food. Thick and durable networks within communities inform reciprocation and food sharing. These networks, while thick, are subject to notions of fair exchange and reciprocity. An example of this is that should the ability to reciprocate be unclear, reliance on state or NGO-provided welfare supersedes community-level options. This is a deliberate strategic choice to avoid eroding one's own networks (and agency). When investigating individual food security responses post disasters in Cape Town, for example, Duncan (2013) found that individuals chose to rely on welfare rather than erode social networks.

The agency enacted by the urban poor and food insecure is quite different to the framing of agency in Northern AFNs. The Southern food insecure remain voiceless and excluded from the modern food system. Agency is instead expressed in the strategies applied to activate networks that enable food access. In the case of Cape Town, the networks that enable food sharing and exchange are in fact a form of AFN. These networks may not actively engage with city officials but they are networks that enable access and complement food intake. The presence of these networks allows a measure of food stability.

When considering the AFNs described above, the notion of the value chain could be expanded. Traditional value chain parlance sees a value chain extending from producers (and perhaps even input suppliers) to consumers. These value chains involve networks, history and relationships, but are generally determined by financial transactions. The food access value chain present within poor communities of Cape Town is about considerably more than just financial transactions. Transactions of reciprocity and exchange are embedded within community. This revised view of the value chain is depicted in Figure 3. While the term value chain may have utility, it reflects a formal trade structure and perhaps discounts the importance of the informal and reciprocal exchanges that enable food security. The term food access continuum has been used as this more clearly describes the formal and the informal, as well as the reciprocal and non-economic engagements in the food system.

FIGURE 3: Food Access Continuum
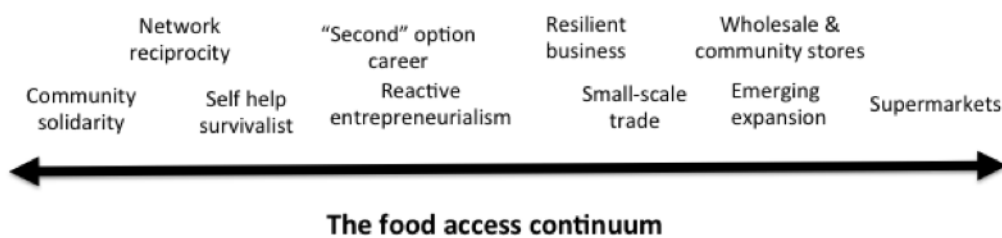
Conclusion

The northern AFNs described by Goodman and Goodman (2009) are very different from the networks enacted by the food insecure in cities of the South. Southern AFNs are not enacted to enable the voice, participation and green agenda characteristics of northern AFNs. The AFNs of poor South Africans enable greater food access. They might be celebrated as acts of self-determination and proactive agency, but they are primarily present because the formal food system does not work for the poor. The very presence of reciprocal networks highlights the fact that current formal and informal value chains are not working for poor urban residents. These alternative food networks are a critical yet poorly understood part of the food access process. While there are multiple causal drivers that activate such networks, poverty and the inability to access the income necessary to afford even a basic food plate (and not even a nutritious food plate) mean that such networks are indicators of livelihood failure.

The alternative food networks emerge as required and disperse when they are no longer needed. This fluidity makes them difficult to engage with. AFNs are also embedded in community processes and are highly contextual. Each network has its own history, context and vulnerabilities. Due to their nature, such networks are often unseen. From a policy perspective, these networks require two paradigm shifts. The first is recognition of the urban in food security policy. The fact that South Africa is two-thirds urban is not recognized in current national food and nutrition security policies. Second, food security programming and responses need to be delegated to local authorities. While these local municipalities may be apprehensive about engaging with communities on food issues, expecting them to do so when they have no formal or fiscal mandate will only cause problems. National government needs to recognize that local government is at the coalface of food security challenges. Power, mandates and resources are required to enable local government engagement.

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