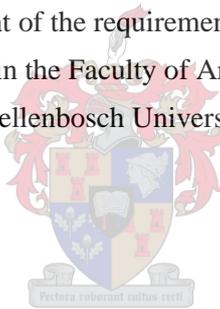


**Curse or Cure?**  
**The Relationship Between Food Aid and Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa:**  
**The Cases of Mozambique and Kenya**

By  
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## **Declaration**

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Landi Ehlers

## **Abstract**

Hunger is one of the greatest problems facing the global population. The reality is a situation of desperation, tragically in the midst of global, aggregate surplus. Global food production is increasing at a higher rate than global population growth, yet the number of people suffering from chronic hunger is rising. This seemingly contradictory fact is a consequence of severe food insecurity. Donors provide food aid to food insecure states as an ostensible act of humanitarianism. However, critics argue that food aid donations hold ulterior motives, which are favourable to donors, but condemn food insecure recipients to their desperate circumstances. This debate, calling into question the motivations and effectiveness of food aid, remains unsettled in the literature as well as in practice. The world can no longer risk the implementation of possibly ineffective or detrimental measures in response to food insecurity. This study investigates the purported relationship between food aid and food security. It considers the different arguments within this debate and ultimately determines how valid these arguments are in a Sub-Saharan African context, specifically in the cases of Kenya and Mozambique. The Human Security approach, the Capabilities Approach, as well as Theories of Dependency are deployed as analytical tools according to which a framework of analysis is constructed and applied to both case studies. Along with insight gained from interviewed experts, this study is able to conclude that the relationship between food aid and food security in sub-Saharan Africa, specifically the cases of Kenya and Mozambique, is not directly relational. Positive arguments in the debate regarding food aid and food security are not valid in the cases of Kenya and Mozambique, while the negative arguments of dependency and underdevelopment are much more likely to be realised. Both countries receive predominantly emergency food aid, the alternative to which may often be destitution. It is thus neither helpful nor realistic to suggest that food aid provision should be halted due to its negative consequences. This study concludes that although the provision of emergency food aid seems a necessary evil, it should no longer be considered a method of sustainably increasing recipients' food security. The findings of this study may assist in the development of more effective practices regarding food aid and food security. By addressing the root causes of food insecurity, and enabling food aid dependant countries to recognise their weaknesses, positive and sustainable development may be promoted, which may in turn improve food security and lower the necessity of, and dependency on, food aid.

## Opsomming

Hongersnood is wêreldwyd een van die grootste bedreigings vir die mensdom. Voedselproduksie vermeerder teen 'n hoër tempo as die populasie en tog neem die hoeveelheid mense wat aan hongersnood ly toe. Hierdie teenstrydigheid kan toegeskryf word aan die gevolge van 'n gebrek aan voedselsekuriteit. Skenkers bied voedselhulp aan lande waar hongersnood 'n bedreiging is. Hiërdie skenkings word beskou as welwillendheidsdade met die doel om voedselsekuriteit te bevorder. Kritici voer aan dat voedselhulp-skenkings nie uit welwillendheid spruit nie, maar op grond van versteekte motiewe uitgevoer word. Ondersteuners van hierdie argument hou vol dat skenkers die hoof begunstigdes van voedselhulp-skenkings is en dat skenkings die ontvangers daarvan weerhou om hulle ongunstige omstandighede te oorkom. Die debat aangaande die effektiwiteit van voedselhulp duur voort. In die hedendaagse politieke- en sosiale klimaat kan die implementering van oneffektiewe gebruike as reaksie op desperate omstandighede nie toegelaat word nie. Hierdie studie stel ondersoek in na die beweerde verhouding tussen voedselhulp en voedselsekuriteit. Dit ondersoek die verskeie argumente binne die debat en bepaal uiteindelik hoe geldig dit is in 'n Afrika-konteks, Suid van die Sahara met spesifieke fokus op die gevallestudies van Kenia en Mosambiek. Die studie implementeer die *Menslike sekuriteits*-benadering, die *Vermoëns*-benadering, asook die *Teorië van Afhanklikheid* as analitiese instrumente en skep daarvolgens 'n raamwerk wat op beide gevallestudies van toepassing is. Tesame met inligting verkry deur onderhoude gevoer met kenners, stel die studie vas dat die beweerde verhouding tussen voedselhulp en voedselsekuriteit, spesifiek in die gevalle van Kenia en Mosambiek, nie direk met mekaar verband hou nie. Argumente ten gunste van voedselhulp is ongeldig bevind in beide gevallestudies. Daar is 'n hoë waarskynlikheid dat negatiewe gevolge van dié gebruik, soos voorgelou in argumente deur kritici, verwesenlik sal word of reeds geldig is. In beide gevallestudies word voedselhulp hoofsaaklik in tye van uiterste nood voorsien, wanneer die tekort daaraan waarskynlik tot die dood sal lei. Om voedselhulp te staak slegs in 'n poging om die negatiewe gevolge te vermy sal nie voordelig wees nie. Die studie bevind wel dat voedselhulp nie beskou moet word as 'n volhoubare manier om voedselsekuriteit te bevorder nie. Die studie dra potensieel by tot die ontwikkeling van meer effektiewe praktyke van voedselhulp-skenkings en die bevordering van voedselsekuriteit. Deur die kern oorsake van 'n tekort aan voedselsekuriteit te identifiseer, en deur lande met hierdie tekort in staat te stel om dit aan te spreek, word positiewe en volhoubare ontwikkeling moontlik gemaak. Hierdie ontwikkeling sal voedselsekuriteit bevorder, en die noodsaaklikheid en afhanklikheid van voedselhulp verminder.

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## List of Acronymns

AATF	African Agricultural Technology Foundation
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CA	Capabilities Approach
CHS	Commission on Human Security
CPI	Consumer Price Index
CSA	Climate Smart Agriculture
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
EEC	European Economic Community
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
FAC	Food Aid Convention
FANRPAN	Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources Policy Analysis Network
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FFA	Food Assistance for Assets
FFP	Food for Peace
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
GDP	Gross Domestic Profit
GHI	Global Hunger Index
GM	Genetically Modify
HDI	Human Development Index
HPG	Humanitarian Policy Group
HPPI	Horizontal Public Policy Inequalities
HSNP	Hunger Safety Net Programme
IATI	International Aid Transparency Initiative
IDA	International Development Association
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent
INFORM	Index for Risk Management
INTERFAIS	International Food Aid Information Services
IPC	Integrated Food Security Phase Classification
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHIF	National Health Insurance Fund
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PHL	Post-Harvest Losses

PHM	Post-Harvest Management
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEC	United Nations Economic Commission
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNTFHS	United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFC	World Food Convention
WFP	World Food Programme

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## Chapter One

### Introduction to the study

#### 1.1. Introduction

Hunger is one of the greatest problems facing the global population. Since the 1950s donors have distributed food aid to food-insecure countries, supposedly in an attempt to alleviate food insecurity. Although the provision of food aid is commonly perceived as an act of humanitarianism, critics argue that there is an ulterior motive that has negative consequences for recipients. This thesis will consider the relationship between food aid and food security. It aims to review the different arguments within this debate and to determine how valid these arguments are in a Sub-Saharan African context, specifically the cases of Kenya and Mozambique.

In a 2017 report, *The Global Dimensions of Food Security and Nutrition*, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) determined that there is enough food in the world to feed the global population (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a). Global food production is expected to remain sufficient, at least until 2030 (Madziakapita, 2008: 1). In 2009 the world was already producing one and a half times more food than necessary and in 2010 the world produced more than 13 quadrillion calories (Holt-Gimenez et al., 2012: 595). This meant that every person on the planet could consume at least 5,359 kcal on a daily basis, which is more than the daily recommended amount (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2013: 174). In 2017 the FAO determined that there was a global surplus of cereal, wheat, coarse grain and rice, and forecast an even greater surplus for 2018 (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018a).

Global food production is increasing at a higher rate than the global population and enough food is already being produced to feed the estimated global population of 2050 (Holt-Gimenez et al., 2012: 595; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2013: 176). These statistics might seem reassuring, but as we tend to generalise, we conveniently ignore the major disparities in the world. The reality is a situation of pockets of desperation in the midst of global, aggregated surplus.

The number of people suffering from chronic hunger is rising, after a brief decline during the first decade of the new century. In 2016 815 million people did not have enough food to eat, which is 38 million more than in 2015 (World Health Organisation, 2017; McVeigh, 2017). Of these 815 million people, 20 million are at serious risk of starvation, threatening to lead to the biggest humanitarian crisis since 1945 (World Food Programme, 2017; Aljazeera, 2017). Although there is enough food, it is the lack of food security that results in people still suffering from starvation.

Food security is a multidimensional concept to describe a phenomenon that has existed ever since the dawn of humanity. It was formally defined only in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2002). The two most renowned definitions of food security are those adopted at the 1996 World Food Summit and by the World Bank. According to the World Food Summit, “Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 1996). The World Bank defines food security as “secure access by all people at all times to enough food for a healthy, active life” (Stevens et al., 2000: 2). While there are various other definitions of food security, a common understanding of the concept is reached through the components by which it is determined.

The three most commonly referred to components of food security are: availability, accessibility and utilisation. Food availability means that there is a sufficient supply of food (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 6). Because the world is expected to produce enough food to feed the global population until at least 2030, food availability should not be threatened before then (Madziakapita, 2008: 1). Thus the reason that people are starving is because one or all of the remaining components are not being addressed. Food accessibility is related to the entitlement theory of Amartya Sen (1982) in which he argues that gaining access to food is the greatest constraint faced by those suffering from hunger. Food accessibility is attained when people are able to acquire food in whichever ways they are expected to do so. The third component, food utilisation, is addressed when food can be properly stored and processed, and when there are sufficient knowledge and facilities to maintain the necessary health and nutrition requirements (Madziakapita, 2008: 32).

A fourth component refers to the ability of an actor to secure the previous three components and remain stable despite facing possible threats. This is referred to either as stability or vulnerability (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 88; Madziakapita, 2008: 32). All four of these components will be elaborated on in the second chapter of this thesis and reviewed in the contexts of the two case studies. Barrett (2010) argues that these components are inherently hierarchical, starting with availability followed by access, then utilisation, and finally stability. If a component higher in the hierarchy is not attained or secured, it is very unlikely that the components ranked below it will be dealt with. If none of the components is present, then food insecurity prevails.

There are multiple possible causes of food insecurity, depending on the specific geographic, economic, social or political context. Some of the most widely acknowledged causes are natural disasters, political instability, conflict, population growth, a weak agricultural sector, lack of purchasing power, and poor policy implementation (Wanjiru, 2014: 11; Madziakapita, 2008: 38-50; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017b). The

overwhelming majority of people suffering from hunger are concentrated in developing countries, where it is estimated that one in every eight people do not have enough food to eat (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2015).

Hunger plays a huge role in stunting development, while underdevelopment hampers the chances of these regions overcoming hunger on their own. They seem to be caught in a vicious cycle. The common perception would be to claim that this is why food aid was implemented – allowing developed countries to assist developing regions in escaping food insecurity and hence promoting development. However, this does not seem to have been the case.

Food aid is a multidimensional concept that has been defined in various ways. Because of the complexity and development of the concept, many of these definitions are limited in scope. A broad literature review in the second chapter will attempt to properly comprehend the various approaches to the concept of food aid. Despite the lack of consensus regarding an official definition, the FAO (2006: 11) adopted the following explanation: “Food aid can be understood as all food-supported interventions aimed at improving the food security of poor people in the short and long term”.

Food aid started in the United States during the 1950s as a way to dispose of production surpluses (Kjeldsberg, 2017:11). Although the concept has since evolved conceptually, politically and institutionally, many argue that the original motives still remain (Provost and Lawrence, 2012). The food surpluses disposed of by the United States were used to stabilise food supply, implement feeding programmes and subsidise new uses of food in countries that were food insecure (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 11-12). Through this application, food aid provision became commonly perceived as an act of humanitarianism and political good will.

Wanjiru (2014: 6) identifies different forms in which food aid may be provided. Firstly, food aid can either be provided in monetary form or as an actual food commodity. Secondly, it can either be bilateral or multilateral. Despite being provided in different forms, a distinction can also be made between different types of food aid, namely programme food aid, project food aid and emergency food aid (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 10).

Programme food aid is focused on generating economic outcomes and provided solely on a bilateral basis between governments. Although Sijm (1997: 473-474) claims that programme food aid was the most popular type of food aid during the 1980s, it has been severely criticised for failing to reduce food insecurity and has since declined in scope (Wanjiru, 2014: 1; Shapouri and Rosen, 2004). Project food aid is usually provided on a grant basis, as support for specific projects. Projects benefiting from this type of food aid are usually focused on social and economic development. It can be difficult to

distinguish between programme and project food aid, as both categories are sometimes referred to as developmental food aid (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 100).

Emergency food aid is provided in response to a drastic decrease in food security as a result of a natural or man-made disaster (Madziakapita, 2008: 19). It may be provided on a bilateral or multilateral basis, depending on the context of the disaster. Emergency food aid makes up an increasingly big part of total food aid flows and has become the most important category in Africa (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 10; Shapouri and Rosen, 2004).

Although the term “aid” literally implies that it is helpful, critics of food aid argue that in practice the opposite is true. Arguments against food aid include the claim that the concept has not evolved since it was first implemented by the United States during the 1950s. Rupiya (2004: 83), Madziakapita (2008: 24) and Provost and Lawrence (2012), along with others, argue that food aid remains a means for developed nations to get rid of a production surplus by dumping it in developing regions. Other arguments on this side of the debate claim that food aid disrupts local markets, leads to price reductions and ultimately creates disincentives in local production. Food aid is also said to open up opportunities for corruption, create unhealthy consumption patterns and lead developing countries into debt. Arguments on both sides of this debate will be reviewed thoroughly in Chapter 2.

Barrett (2006) states that a distinction should be drawn between the intentions and the impacts of food aid. Dependency is a frequently criticised impact of food aid on recipient countries and perceived as an “unintended consequence” (Barrett, 2006). Relying on external donors for food aid, rather than promoting local development, may reduce the capability of recipients to improve their own food security. However, it must also be considered that dependency might be the best possible option when the alternative is destitution, in which case it is referred to as positive dependency (Barrett, 2006).

Positive dependency is based on the same principle as many arguments in favour of food aid. Food aid advocates hold that food aid provides relief to recipients who are not able to achieve it without assistance (Little, 2008: 96). Thus they argue that it is a necessity and should not be denied because of the possibility of unintended negative consequences. It is undeniable that food aid has saved many people from starvation. Those in favour of food aid also argue that it creates opportunities to improve industrial and economic development, leading to improved food security (Srinivasan, 1999; Madziakapita, 2008: 22; Al Jazeera, 2017). Despite this on-going debate, many countries, most of which are located in the southern hemisphere, are currently receiving food aid.

More than 25% (224 million) of the global undernourished population is situated in Sub-Saharan Africa, making it the region with the highest prevalence of under-nutrition in the world (Schindler et al., 2017: 1285). The FAO reports that food security in the region is severely undermined by climatic

conditions, conflicts and a slow global economy (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017b). The case studies selected in this thesis (Kenya and Mozambique) are among the countries in this region that are greatly threatened by food insecurity. Both these countries receive food aid, although the frequency and forms it takes differ. The causes of food insecurity in these countries are also diverse and thus the impact of food aid will not necessarily be the same.

Kenya has been receiving food aid for many years. Their food security, which is mainly reliant on traditional methods of agriculture and seasonal rainfall, is severely threatened by unusual weather patterns (Wanjiru, 2014: 1). Furthermore, social and economic factors as well as conflict also contribute to the country's food insecurity (Rahman and Shaban, 2017). There seems to be a consensus that Kenya has developed a sense of dependency on food aid. Because the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased from 40 billion in 2010 to 70.5 billion in 2016, some argue that this situation should be considered a case of positive dependency (Tanton, 2017).

After a civil war that lasted nearly two decades, Mozambique was left with devastated rural areas and limited international trade (Tschirley, Donovan and Weber, 1996: 190). Along with these factors, political instability, poverty, climate change and low agricultural production has prevented the country from evading food insecurity (Selvester and Castro, n.d.). Mozambique is a regular recipient of emergency food aid, mainly because of the high prevalence of natural hazards in its tropical and sub-tropical geographical location (USAID, 2017a).

Kenya and Mozambique are scored between 20 and 35 on the Global Hunger Index (GHI) scale, putting them in the "severe" category (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2017). The similarities and differences between these two cases create an opportunity to review the validity of arguments against and in favour of food aid in different contexts.

## **1.2. Problem statement**

The world produces enough food to feed the entire global population. This is expected to be the case at least until 2030. Yet even during these times of surplus, many people worldwide suffer from hunger as a result of food insecurity. An area is deemed to be food secure when food is available to all people in that area, when they have safe access to it, when they have the ability to utilise it effectively, and when they are not constrained by vulnerability to possible threats. Many actors assist food-insecure areas by providing them with food aid in an attempt to increase their food security. Some recipients of food aid remain food insecure and struggle to promote local development. This raises questions about the effectiveness of food aid.

Although it may be a common perception that injecting physical or monetary food aid into a system will end hunger and improve food security, this may not be the case in reality. Advocates of food aid

hold that such aid positively influences food security and development in recipient countries. They claim that the implementation of development programmes along with the delivery of food aid encourages local participation and provides incentives for local production and progress. On the other side of the debate, food aid critics argue that such aid negatively influences food security by creating disincentives for local production. They support this claim despite the implementation of development programmes as these programmes supposedly pay locals more than they would receive working in their community. Perhaps the strongest argument of the critics is that food aid contributes to a sense of dependency within recipient communities. This prevents them from escaping the cycle of food insecurity and underdevelopment. This debate remains unsettled and unresolved in development practice as well as in development literature.

In response to this debate, this study will review the relationship between food aid and food security. It will consider the food aid received as well as the state of food security in Kenya and Mozambique. The study aims to determine which of the arguments presented in the debate are supported by the cases of these Sub-Saharan African countries.

### **1.3. Research questions**

#### 1.3.1. Primary research question

What is the purported relationship between food aid and food security in Sub-Saharan Africa?

#### 1.3.2. Secondary research questions

What are the main arguments presented in the debate on the positive or negative relationship between food aid and food security?

How valid are the arguments presented in the debate on the relationship between food aid and food security in the cases of Kenya and Mozambique specifically?

### **1.4. Theoretical and conceptual frameworks**

In the following sections three theoretical/conceptual frameworks are addressed that are of particular significance to this study. They will assist in reviewing the relevant arguments and in the interpretation of findings. These frameworks are human security, theories of dependency, and the capabilities approach.

#### 1.4.1. Human security

The idea of “security” is a loaded concept that is conventionally used in the context of military security. However, this understanding was complicated by a move towards human security, which focuses not on the security of states, but rather on the security of individuals. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) first introduced the concept of human security in 1994. It is defined as “the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair” (United Nations General Assembly, 2012). Included under the notion of human security are references basic needs such as water security, shelter, health and food security. Thus one cannot discuss food security without acknowledging its relation to the broader field of human security. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to further develop the relationship between these two concepts, but it also does not attempt to challenge it in any way.

In making the point that that the concept of human security is more than an abstract ideal, Deputy Secretary-General of the UN, Asha Rose-Migiro, explained that “for a hungry family, human security means having dinner on the table” (United Nations General Assembly, 2012). This clearly relates to the challenges posed by food insecurity. Carolan (2012: 181) argues that the ultimate goal of any food system should be the enhancement of human welfare. The two main goals of human security are to achieve freedom from fear and freedom from want (Tanaka, 2015: 4). Hunger and food insecurity inhibit the achievement of both these goals, and thus food security can be perceived as an aspect of human security. This relationship between food security and human security is uncontroversial and this thesis is in agreement with that understanding. However, it is necessary to acknowledge the complexity of the term ‘security’ and identify what is referred to when it is used in this study in order to avoid confusion when the research problem and research questions are addressed.

#### 1.4.2. Theories of dependency

The term ‘dependency’ is critical in this thesis. It should be clearly stated that there are two theories regarding the concept of dependency, of which one will be employed in order to answer the research questions and address the research problem that has been identified. To clearly distinguish between these two approaches, one will be referred to as ‘dependency theory’, while the other will be referred to as ‘theories of dependency’.

The first approach that has to be acknowledged, but is not entirely relevant to this study, is the dependency theory championed by Prebisch and Wallerstein. Dependency theory developed in the late 1950s under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch (Ferraro, 2008: 58). Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that development in wealthy countries did not necessarily lead to development in poorer countries (Ferraro, 2008: 58; Kabonga, 2017: 2). They found that economic growth in developed regions often inhibited growth in less developed regions (Ferraro, 2008: 58; Kabonga, 2017: 2). This seems to

contradict claims of development theories popular at the time, including modernisation theory and diffusionist theory (Kabonga, 2017: 3; Ferraro, 1996). These neo-classical theories claimed that the development of wealthy regions would result in the development of poorer regions, and that developing countries could progress by adopting the values and methods applied by developed countries (Ferraro, 1996).

Wallerstein developed the ideas of dependency theory in his 1974 article “The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for comparative Analysis”. Wallerstein introduced what is referred to as world systems theory, in which he argues that the global system can be divided into core, periphery and semi-periphery countries. Similar to dependency theory, he argues that development is a consequence of interaction between these different groups of actors.

When reference is made to ‘dependency’ in this thesis, it does not refer to this form of dependency theory. In order to maintain the relevance of the notion of ‘dependency’ to the research questions and the research problem, references to dependency in this study will imply acknowledgement of ‘theories of dependency’. The narrative around ‘theories of dependency’ is related to aid and development, focusing specifically on food aid, alleviating hunger and providing food security. This narrative includes a cluster of arguments around the influence of food aid on development:

- (a) One side of the narrative argues that food aid creates dependency, thus negatively influencing food security and development;
- (b) The opposing side of the narrative argues that food aid is absolutely necessary, does not foster dependency and promotes the development of recipient countries;
- (c) There is also a third group of arguments within this approach, which Barrett (2006) refers to as maintaining positive dependency. Supporters of this concept hold that when food aid is absolutely necessary for survival, the dependency it creates is a positive form of dependency as it is better than the alternative, which they argue would be destitution.

Specific arguments pertaining to these three stances in ‘theories of dependency’ will be identified in Chapter 3 and evaluated in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, when case study analyses are conducted. The validity of arguments will be determined in terms of the selected cases and conclusions will be drawn in order to answer the related research questions.

#### 1.4.3. Capabilities approach

The fact that hunger persists despite surplus food production is indicative of severe global inequalities. Such inequalities make the provision of food aid desirable and possible, because some

regions are in need of food, while others have enough to give away. During the 1980s Nobel Prize Laureate Amartya Sen proposed the ‘capabilities approach’ through which to measure inequalities. The approach provides a new perspective on development, arguing that attempts to improve and assess development in terms of increased income is of little use to people who are suffering from other issues, such as hunger. The capabilities approach supports anti-food aid arguments by stating that economic development can occur only when the capabilities of people in developing countries are improved. This approach goes beyond having access to food, taking into account the three most renowned components of food security: access, availability and utilisation (Burchi and De Muro, 2012: 18). Sen (1993: 31) defines this approach as a means by which to “evaluate a person’s advantage in terms of his/her actual ability to achieve various functionings as a part of life”.

The most basic notion of the capabilities approach is ‘functionings’, which Sen (1993: 31) defines as the “various things [a person] manages to do or be in [life]”. Different combinations of functioning comprise the capabilities that a person can achieve. An individual can then choose a collection of functionings that will make up his or her capability (Sen, 1993: 33). According to Sen, quality of life should be assessed in terms of a person’s capability to achieve different functionings (Sen, 1993: 30). This approach will also be elaborated on in Chapter 3.

Hunger is one of the worst deprivations of capabilities (Burchi and De Muro, 2012: 31). Because the approach perceives capabilities as a way through which to enhance development, food insecurity is perceived as a major threat to development. The provision of food aid does not necessarily increase capability and thus the capabilities approach is relevant to the debate on food aid and food security. Specifically, the approach may support the arguments of critics claiming that food aid does not improve food security. The components of food security (access, availability and utilisation), with reference to the capabilities approach, will be assessed in the context of each of the case studies. This will allow for insights into the relationship between food aid and food security, and assist in answering the research questions of this study.

## **1.5. Research methodology**

The research design best suited for this thesis is an exploratory study with a qualitative strategy. Mouton and Marais (1996: 43) state that “the explication of central constructs and concepts” as well as “the generation of new insights into a given phenomenon” are key aims of an exploratory study. This design is thus fitting for reviewing the relationship between food aid and food security, as this thesis aims to do. According to Morse (2003: 833), qualitative strategies are used when the research context is controversial, the boundaries of the domain are not clearly defined, a non-quantifiable phenomenon is being investigated, and when there is incongruity within the field of study. This strategy has therefore been selected to address the debate on the relationships reviewed in this study as well as the claims of insufficient proof to substantiate the existing arguments.

This study will employ three methods that are often used when conducting exploratory research (Mouton and Marais, 1996: 43). Firstly, a pertinent literature review will be conducted. This will be followed by an assessment of subjects with practical experience of the problem, and finally relevant examples will be explored in the form of case studies. According to Mouton and Marais (1996: 43), primary considerations for this research design are the flexibility of the research strategy and the use of methods such as “interviews, literature reviews and case studies”, which may lead to a clearer comprehension of the research problem being investigated. When conducting an exploratory study it is important not to let popular assumptions and hypotheses impair the objectivity of the thesis. The researcher must remain open to new stimuli and refrain from selecting specific ideas to justify a preconceived conclusion.

The research analysis will be based on secondary academic sources, accessed through Google Scholar, Stellenbosch University’s library and database, as well as other online resources. Burnham et al. (2008: 187) refer to this method of data accumulation as “documentary and archival analysis”. Secondary sources are easily accessible and save time, money and effort associated with information gathering. Secondary sources also enable the researcher to access the most relevant and current sources from around the globe, whereas primary data collection might have imposed limitations in this regard. When using secondary sources, extra consideration has to be given to ensure the reliability of sources. Special care must also be taken not to amend or modify information to suit the requirements of the study.

The case studies conducted in this thesis will focus on the relationship between food aid and food security in Sub-Saharan Africa. Two cases have been identified and will be reviewed: Kenya and Mozambique. These cases have been selected for specific reasons, including their geographical locations, history of food aid and food security, current status, and development strategies. Yin (2009: 18) holds that the case study method is useful when a researcher aims to gain an in-depth understanding of a contemporary phenomenon. As this is what this thesis aims to do, this method is fitting. It is important to note that case study analyses cannot be generalised and findings must be considered only in relation to the specific case (Burnham et al., 2008: 64). Therefore the topic of this thesis specifies that the study will be conducted in the Sub-Saharan countries of Kenya and Mozambique.

Primary data will also be gathered by means of interviews conducted with experts in relevant fields. Five specialists will be identified with insight into the field of food aid and food security. At least three of these specialists will have close ties to these fields specifically in the context of at least one of the countries selected as case studies. Semi-structured, open ended, one to one interviews will be conducted. Interview questions will be kept neutral and non-suggestive. If this is not done correctly,

there is a risk that the interviewer becomes dismissive, defensive or that limited information is foreclosed. Interviews will be kept on topic, and the interviewer will refrain from guiding the research subject in a particular direction in an attempt to evoke a favourable answer.

The specialists selected to participate in this research will be identified through research, on the basis of their qualifications and influence, as well as through the snowball sampling method. In the SAGE Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods, Lewis-Beck, Bryman and Futing Liao (2004) explain that snowball sampling “may be defined as a technique for gathering research subjects through the identification of an initial subject who is used to provide the names of other actors. These actors may themselves open possibilities for an expanding web of contacts or participants”. Employing this method of participant identification is effective and efficient. It allows for the involvement of knowledgeable individuals who are recognized as leading voices in their fields.

Limitations of this study that were beyond the control of the author are time, funding and logistics. In order to compensate for this, interviews will be conducted via Skype and email (in cases where Skype is not a possibility). The number of specialists interviewed will also be limited to a total of five.

### **1.6. Ethical considerations**

As this study is conducted at Stellenbosch University, it will adhere to the requirements stipulated in the institution’s *Framework Policy for the Assurance and Promotion of Ethically Accountable Research at Stellenbosch University* (Stellenbosch University, 2009). All principles of the framework policy will be adhered to. Participants in the study will be “well informed on the purpose of the research and how the research results will be disseminated” (Stellenbosch University, 2009). Participants will be required to sign consent forms and will not receive monetary compensation for their participation in the study. Proper referencing, as required by Stellenbosch University, will be applied to acknowledge information gathered through the interviews as well as secondary sources. This study also applied for and received permission to proceed as a low-risk study from Stellenbosch University’s Departmental Ethical Screening Committee.

### **1.7. Structure**

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the study. It contextualises the research by providing a brief research background and stating the problem along with specific research questions. The chapter also identifies the three theoretical and conceptual frameworks that assisted in conducting the study and describes the research methods that were employed. Ethical considerations are noted and a brief overview of the structure of the thesis is set out.

Chapter 2 presents a contemporary history of key concepts used in the study. It reviews the literature on food security and food aid, including their development and constructive components. It also looks

into the debate on the relationship between food security and food aid in order to identify the main arguments on both sides. The chapter considers these concepts in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, specifically the two countries that have been selected as case studies (Kenya and Mozambique).

Chapter 3 elaborates on the theoretical/conceptual frameworks identified as relevant to this study. Three frameworks are explored, the first of which is human security theory and its relationship to food security. The second framework is theories of dependency which has great relevance to arguments in the debate regarding the relationship between food aid and food security. The third framework is the capabilities framework pioneered by Amartya Sen. It is necessary to elaborate on these frameworks in order to grasp their relevance to the research. This chapter also presents the structure according to which the case studies will be conducted and elaborates on why each case study is conducted across two consecutive chapters.

Chapters 4 to 7 will be comprised of the two case studies of this thesis. The Mozambican case study is presented in Chapters 4 and 5. They consider the relationship between food aid and food security in that country. Chapter 4 analyses the current food security status of Mozambique. It explores and evaluates the four main components of food security within the country well as the prevalence of threats to food security. Chapter 5 investigates the food aid received by Mozambique as well as the validity of arguments made for and against food aid within the context of that country. To ensure an objective outcome, the same case study structure as presented in Chapter 3 is applied to the context of Kenya, which is the second case study (conducted in Chapters 6 and 7).

Chapter 8 concludes the study. The research problem and research questions are addressed and areas for future research are identified.

## Chapter Two

### Hunger and its discontents

#### 2.1. Introduction

There are five topics to identify and understand as a background to this study in order to successfully address and answer the research questions. These topics make up the five sections of this chapter. This chapter will provide a review of existing literature on each of these topics. The first topic is hunger. This includes the evolution and current situation regarding global hunger statistics. The specific focus in this research is on hunger in Sub-Saharan Africa, as it pertains to one of the secondary research questions (How valid are the arguments presented in the debate regarding the relationship between food aid and food security in the cases of Kenya and Mozambique?), as well as the context of the case studies that will be conducted. This leads to the second topic, which is the broad field of food security. In order to fully understand this concept, it is necessary to review its various definitions. An overview of the main components of food security are included here, as they are often used to measure, define and identify trends within this field. It is also necessary to take note of the various levels on which food security exists, as this study focuses not only on regional but also national contexts.

The third topic is the factors that threaten food security. Although there are a multitude of issues that indirectly influence food security, this chapter discusses those identified in the literature as direct causes of food insecurity. The fourth topic that is integral to understanding and resolving the research questions is food aid. Food aid is the second of the two main concepts in this study, the other being food security. Similar to the case of food security, this section touches on the various definitions of food aid and approaches to the concept. It reviews the development and contemporary history of food aid as well as the different types and forms in which it is delivered. This section also identifies the major donors of food aid and the entities organising its transfer.

The fifth and final topic that this chapter reviews is the arguments in favour of and against food aid. This section addresses the concepts of disincentives, targeting, development and dependency. Some of these concepts are strongly related to the theoretical framework employed in this study and are thus discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3. Throughout this chapter, reference will be made to topics within the context of sub-Saharan Africa. This is done to introduce the context to the study, as specific case studies within this region will be explored in Chapters 4 and 5 (Mozambique), and in Chapters 6 and 7 (Kenya).

## 2.2 Hunger

The world currently produces enough food, and at a sufficient rate, to feed the growing global population (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a). This supposedly reassuring finding is not a new development. Although the global population has been expanding at a high rate during the past century, global food production has constantly managed to exceed this rate, preventing a catastrophic food shortage (Lappe, Collins and Rosset, 1998: 9; Holt-Gimenez et al., 2012: 595; Wanjiru, 2014: 1).

In 2010 the world produced enough food for every individual to consume at least 5,359 kcal per day, greatly exceeding the amount necessary for basic survival (Food and agricultural organisation, 2013). Not only is global food production currently producing enough food to feed the global population of 7.6 billion people, it is in fact rendering a surplus (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018a). The following table displays the production, utilisation and ending stocks of the world cereal and wheat markets from the year 2013 up to 2017. It also includes predictions made for 2018. These data, based on the 2018 Cereal Supply and Demand Brief of the FAO, clearly indicate the surplus production of food.

Table 2.1. The production, utilisation and ending stock of world cereal and wheat markets (measured in million tonnes) from 2013 to 2017 \*Including estimates made for 2018

	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18*
<b>Cereal</b>					
<b>Production</b>	2522.2	2569.1	2540.0	2612.1	2642.4
<b>Utilisation</b>	2430.0	2501.0	2520.8	2569.1	2607.6
<b>Ending Stock</b>	608.8	673.0	686.8	719.4	752.8
<b>Wheat</b>					
<b>Production</b>	713.1	731.8	734.2	759.8	757.0
<b>Utilisation</b>	691.8	714.2	710.3	731.8	733.6
<b>Ending Stock</b>	190.3	208.0	226.5	249.7	272.7

Source: Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018a

Considering that more food is produced than is needed, it is not surprising that obesity has become a global issue. The number of overweight children is increasing in most regions, while adult obesity continues to rise globally (McVeigh, 2017). In 2016 it was estimated that 41 million children under the age of 5 were overweight, making up 6% of the reference population. The global prevalence of adult obesity has more than doubled between 1980 and 2014 (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). In 2016 640.9 million adults were diagnosed with obesity, making up 13% of the global population (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). The current situation might seem relatively reassuring, as having more than enough food is not commonly perceived as a matter of concern.

However, despite the vast amounts of surplus food produced, major parts of the global population face the reality of desperate shortages of food amidst the surplus.

Widespread hunger is considered the most pronounced crisis the world has faced since the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 (Al Jazeera, 2017; BBC News, 2017). In 2017 the United Nations Security Council released a statement saying “without collective and coordinated global efforts, people will simply starve to death” (Al Jazeera, 2017). Despite the global population and global food production continually increasing, hunger has nevertheless been on the rise. In 2016 the number of people suffering from hunger was 815 million, which is 38 million more than in 2015 (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). Currently, 793 million people are suffering from chronic hunger, of whom more than 20 million are at risk of imminent starvation (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a; BBC News, 2017; Al Jazeera, 2017).

The definition of hunger is contested and the notion itself is often perceived as relative (Yohannes et al., 2017: 7). The Oxford English Dictionary (1971) defines the term as “the want or scarcity of food in a country”, “the uneasy or painful sensation caused by the want of food” and “a strong desire or craving”. The first definition is most relevant to this study. In order to thoroughly understand the problem of hunger, three terms are used to describe its different forms. The first is hunger or undernourishment, which the Global Hunger Index (GHI) interprets as “the distress associated with lack of sufficient calories” (Yohannes et al., 2017: 7). The other two terms are undernutrition and malnutrition (Yohannes et al., 2017: 7; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a; Christensen, 1978: 745).

Undernutrition refers to more than a calorie deficiency, describing a lack of energy, protein, minerals and/or essential vitamins (Yohannes et al., 2017: 7). Symptoms of acute undernutrition are wasting, which refers to a condition where a person’s weight is too low for their height, and stunting, which is diagnosed when a person’s height is abnormally low for their age (Yamano, Alderman & Christiaensen, 2005: 273). Unfortunately both these symptoms are often witnessed in children under the age of 5, i.e. in their crucial years of development (Yohannes et al., 2017: 7). Children suffering from stunting and wasting have also exhibited poorer psychomotor development and are less likely to participate actively in community interaction (Yamano, Alderman & Christiaensen, 2005: 273). The effects of these conditions have proven to be long lasting and therefore hamper the future development of the society in which its victims reside (Yamano, Alderman & Christiaensen, 2005: 273).

Malnutrition is a broader concept that refers to both undernutrition and overnutrition. It is diagnosed when a person either shows a deficit or over-consumption of calories and/or nutrients (Yohannes et al., 2017: 7). Symptoms of malnutrition include wasting and stunting as well as obesity, overweight and a variety of conditions caused by the unbalanced consumption of nutrients.

As forms of hunger, both malnutrition and undernutrition are major issues currently facing the global population. As mentioned, obesity and overweight are becoming more prevalent in society as symptoms of overconsumption and thus malnutrition. In 2017 the FAO reported that 161 million children under the age of 5 were malnourished (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a). This includes both overconsumption and undernutrition. In 2015 poor nutrition was responsible for 45% of the deaths of children under the age of 5 (Yohannes et al., 2017: 9). The prospects for the future indicated by these statistics are harrowing, as unhealthy youths may not develop to their full potential and high child mortality rates greatly influence current and future generations.

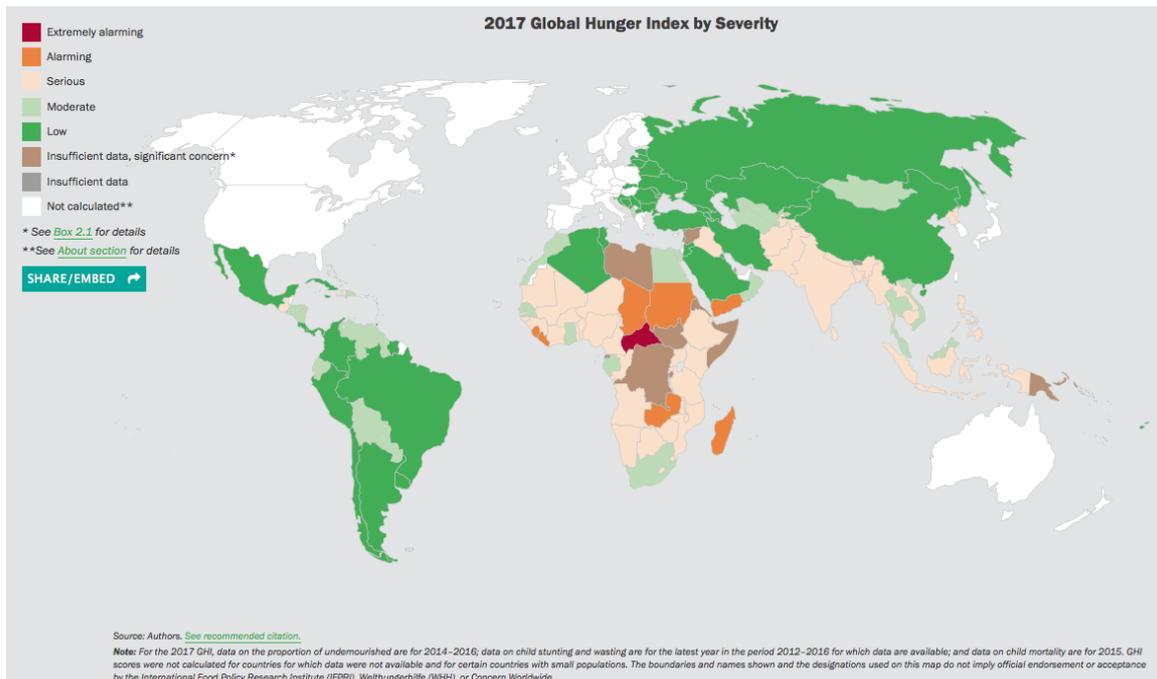
Undernutrition, which is often more closely identified with the concept of hunger than malnutrition, is also on the rise. Currently, more than 2 billion people around the globe are experiencing nutrient deficiencies (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a). The number of people suffering from chronic undernutrition is increasing. In 2015 795 million people were suffering from chronic nutrition deficiencies and by 2017 this number increased to 815 million (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a). This increase comes after a prolonged period of decline from 2000 to 2015, when the number of people suffering from chronic undernutrition decreased from 900 million to 795 million (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). The symptoms of this increase are brutal and especially affect children under the age of 5. In 2016 it was found that 154.8 million children of this age suffered from stunted growth and 51.7 million children were affected by wasting (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). There is no reason to believe that the trends of increasing hunger, undernutrition and malnutrition have changed since then.

The phenomena most often identified in the literature as responsible for the increase of hunger around the globe are climatic conditions, conflict, inequality and poverty. These factors do not act in isolation as they are all connected and influence each other. The number of violent conflicts in the world has increased significantly over the past 10 years (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). Unfortunately the countries most affected are those already facing hunger (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). In an interview with the BBC, Serge Tissot, a representative of the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization, stated that conflict disrupts agricultural production and often diminishes agricultural diversity within the local sector (BBC News, 2017). When people are displaced as a result of violent conflict, their access to food is also limited and they often become malnourished (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). The changing climate also influences agricultural production, as some regions are experiencing changing temperatures, while their crops are

acclimated to specific conditions (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 60). Climate-related shocks such as droughts or floods have a similar result as conflict in that they also displace populations, destroy agricultural land and often induce malnutrition. In 2017 the Global Hunger Index report stated emphatically that hunger and inequality is inextricably linked (Yohannes, et al., 2017: 5).

Inequality means that some people will always have easier access to food than others, consequently allowing for obesity and malnutrition to coexist. Christensen (1978: 746) notes that as long as inequality is present in society, the prospects of eliminating hunger will remain limited. The final cause of the global increase in hunger most prominently discussed in the literature is poverty, which is closely related to inequality. De Beer and Swannepoel (2000: 229) conclude that hunger is ultimately a result of poverty and the associated the social, economic and political factors. Considering these four perceived causes – climatic conditions, conflict, inequality and poverty – it is not surprising that the problems of hunger is concentrated in developing countries rather than in developed countries, where these phenomena are less prevalent. In 2015 780 million of the 795 million people globally suffering from chronic undernutrition resided in developing countries (World Hunger News, 2016). This meant that one in every eight people of developing countries' populations fell victim to chronic undernutrition (World Hunger News, 2016). These statistics have not yet been revised to reflect current circumstances, but considering that the total number of people suffering from chronic undernutrition globally has increased, it is very likely that even more people in developing countries are now suffering from a lack of proper nutrition (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a).

Although hunger is prevalent in most areas of the globe, it is concentrated in regions of Africa and Asia (Yohannes et al., 2017). Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia were given the highest scores in the Global Hunger Index of 2017, indicating serious levels of hunger (see Figure 2.1 below). Ironically, despite having been known in the past as the global 'breadbasket', Africa is the only continent that has not been able to feed itself since the 1970s (Rupiya, 2004; McVeigh, 2017). The continent relies on imports from developed regions such as the United States to meet its nutritional needs. Despite this dependency, Africa continues to export its agricultural products to developed regions, in effect bleeding itself dry in an attempt to acquire income. The following Figure 2.1. displays the results of the latest Global Hunger Index (2017). It clearly indicates that severe hunger is mostly concentrated on the African continent.

**Map 2.1. A map displaying the results of the latest Global Hunger Index (2017)**

Source: Global Hunger Index, 2018

On the African continent Sub-Saharan Africa is the region most severely plagued by hunger (Yohannes et al., 2017). However, referring to the situation simply in term of hunger may limit its scope and the understanding of it. Rather, the issue threatening Sub-Saharan Africa should be referred to more precisely as the lack of food security. Food security is an even more complex concept than hunger and will be thoroughly discussed in the following section 2.3.

Sub-Saharan Africa has been experiencing problems with food security as a consequence of declining food production since early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Lado, 2001: 141). However, dramatic declines were noticed between 1982 and 1986, a period which the FAO refers to as ‘the food crisis’ (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 1984). The crisis was a result of natural and political circumstances within the region (Lado, 2001: 141). The food-insecure population of Sub-Saharan Africa almost doubled during the 1980s, increasing from 22 million in 1979-81 to 39 million in 1990-92 (Lado, 2001: 143). By 1991-92 production levels had declined so severely that the region depended on imports for almost 70% of cereal consumed (Lado, 2001: 143).

Although the rate of global production has increased since the 1990s, one third of the Sub-Saharan African region was consuming less than the recommended amount of calories per day in 2003 (Benson, 2004: 1). Consequently, 33% of the region’s population was severely undernourished (Benson, 2004: 1). A decade later Sub-Saharan Africa had the highest prevalence of undernourishment globally and by 2016 food security in the region was still deteriorating sharply (Schindler et al., 2017: 1285; McVeigh, 2017). At this stage 27.4% of the region’s population was not

food secure, which is almost four times more than in any other region (McVeigh, 2017). Globally, the proportion of undernourished people had almost halved from 1990-92 to 2014-16 – decreasing from 23.3% to 12.9% (Sandstrom & Juhola, 2017: 72). In Sub-Saharan Africa, however, the grim reality was that a decrease of only 7% had taken place. Despite the global increase in production that was mostly concentrated in developed countries, undernourishment in Sub-Saharan Africa declined only from 33% to 23% during the last 26 years (Sandstrom & Juhola, 2017: 72).

Currently, food security in the region is deteriorating sharply, according to the FAO's 2017 report on the state of food security and nutrition in the world. Sub-Saharan Africa still has the highest prevalence of undernourishment and prospects for the future do not seem bright (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). The case studies selected for this thesis are all located in this hungry region, and these countries are suffering from food insecurity as a result of a variety of circumstances. Kenya and Mozambique have been classified within the 'serious' range in the latest report of the Global Hunger Index (Yohannes et al., 2017: 15). This means that they received a score between 20.0 and 34.9, with a score of 50 being 'extremely alarming' and 0-9 perceived as 'low' (Yohannes et al., 2017: 9). Specific situations pertaining to food security in these two countries will be explored in Chapters 4 and 6, respectively, before the research questions can be answered.

## **2.3. Food security**

### 2.3.1. Definition

After addressing the concept of hunger as well as the literature and statistics on its development, it is important to note that hunger should be perceived in terms of a level of food security rather than as a concept distinct from it (Bicke et al., 2000: 7). In effect the prevalence of hunger indicates a lack of food security, a condition referred to as food insecurity.

Although food security and its absence have been experienced for as long as human civilization has existed, the term originated only during the 1970s (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2002). Food security is perceived as a flexible concept and although it has been redefined numerous times throughout history, no single definition is subscribed to globally (Bickel et al., 2000: 2; Madziakapita, 2008: 28). As food security is a concept that encompasses different degrees of severity, definitions vary accordingly (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2002). Analyses of food security also vary in scale and thus definitions are also altered according to the level it refers to (Benson, 2004: 7). This section will elaborate below on the different levels at which food security is assessed.

More than a hundred definitions of food security have been recorded in the literature. In 1992 a review of the concept yielded almost two hundred (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2002;

Carolan, 2012). In order to present a better understanding of the evolution of the concept, a brief overview of definitions will follow.

At the World Food Summit of 1974 food security was first defined as: “availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuff to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices” (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2002). Clearly, the initial focus was on global food supplies rather than meeting the basic needs of the individual. However, in 1983 the FAO redefined the concept, shifting focus from the market to the individual. The definition states: “ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food they need” (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 1983).

Only a few years later the World Bank released an influential report titled “Poverty and Hunger” (1986) in which it focused on the lack of food security. The report drew a distinction between chronic food insecurity and transitory food insecurity. Chronic food insecurity is a condition associated with continuing social, political and economic problems. Such problems compromise the ability of populations to acquire sufficient nutrition and nourishment, leading to food insecurity (Wanjiru, 2014: 9). Transitory food insecurity refers to a temporary and often sudden decline in food consumption to a level below the necessary amounts to sustain good health (Wanjiru, 2014: 10). This type of food insecurity is usually caused by natural disasters, conflict or economic collapse (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2002). The definition of food security in the report identified a basic living standard to which all individuals should be entitled. It stated that food security is ensuring the “access of all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life” (World Bank, 1986). In doing so, “an active and healthy life” becomes an objective of ensuring food security. The 1986 definition of the World Bank remained relevant and was accepted as a basis for many definitions that followed (Bicke et al., 2000: 6).

Exactly a decade after “Poverty and Hunger” (1986) was published, the World Food Summit (1996) adopted a complex definition of food security. It stated: “Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels, [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 1996). This definition refers to the various levels at which food security is measured; it is focused on individuals as well as collective populations, and has a temporal element, as well as specifications of standards which the acquired food must meet and, similar to the World Bank definition of 1986, it sets the clear objective of enabling all individuals to live an active and healthy life. It also implies that food security can be prevalent even while individuals are consuming unbalanced or deficient diets (Benson, 2004: 10). This is because individuals’ freedom of choice must be taken into account: if one chooses not to

access the available food or to consume limited or inadequate nutrients, this does not imply the presence of food insecurity.

Since 1996 all cited definitions of food security were derived from either the definitions presented by the World Bank in 1986 or from that accepted at the World Food Summit in 1996 (Riely et al., 1999: 2; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2002; Mekonnen and Gerber, 2017: 372; Madziakapita, 2008: 28). It is not clear which of the two definitions is most widely accepted in the field, but the literature indicates that the World Food Summit (1996) definition has been employed to a greater extent (Madziakapita, 2008: 29; Lado, 2001: 141; Hubbard, 1995; Rupiya, 2004; McVeigh, 2017; Stringer, 2016: 11).

One cannot conceptualise food security without taking into account its relation to human security. In 2016 the FAO and United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS) published a report on the relationship between human security and food security in which it stated that “the relationship between human security and food security is predicated on the idea of the full realisation of the human right to adequate food, as a fundamental human right” (Food and Agricultural Organisation and United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2016). The theoretical relation between these two concepts will be further explored in the third chapter of this thesis.

### 2.3.2. Components of food security

Because of the complex nature of food security, specific components have been identified which are included in most of the definitions (Madziakapita, 2008: 9; Gibson, 2012: 19-20). Rather than adopting a specific definition, these components can be used to identify, assess and measure food security. These components will be used as a measure of food security in the two case studies selected for this study. Thus it is necessary to ensure a thorough understanding of these concepts. The four components of food security, as presented in the literature, are availability of food, access to food, utilisation of food, and stability of food security, which is also sometimes referred to as a measure of vulnerability. In order to avoid confusion, this thesis will refer to the latter component as stability.

Originally, the understanding of food security was solely based on the availability of food and access to it (Awokuse, 2006). Many still regard these concepts as having greater importance than the other two components of food security (Lado, 2001: 142; Benson, 2004: 12-13). Barret (2010: 825) states that the four components of food security are hierarchical. He introduces availability of food as the most important and basic requirement for food security. He then ranks access next, followed by utilisation and finally stability. He argues that none of these components can be realised if the preceding component is not secured first. Thus, it is impossible to achieve sufficient utilisation of food, if food is not available or one does not have access to it. More detailed explanations of these components will follow according to the hierarchy proposed by Barrett (2010: 825).

The most basic component, availability, is defined by the WFP as “the physical presence of food in the area of concern through all forms of domestic production, commercial imports and food aid” (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 6). Stringer (2016:11) states that availability of food does not only refer to the quantity of food, but also to the fact that the available food needs to be of the appropriate quality and sufficiently varied. In this context, appropriateness is determined according to what is deemed culturally and socially acceptable by a given population (Wong et al., 2017: 44). Indicators for assessing availability include the nutritional capacity of the food supply, the average value of food production, and the physical availability of food at farms and in local markets (Stringer, 2016: 12; Gibson, 2012: 19). As the WFP’s definition states, food is generally provided through imports, domestic production and/or food aid. Therefore, market infrastructure, trade policies and production processes are taken into account when assessing the availability of food. Although the concept is generally accepted as referring to national food availability, it can be applied to regional, national, district and/or community levels (Wong et al., 2017: 44; Kjeldsberg, 2017: 6). Connecting to the objective of the widely accepted definition of food security, food availability implies that provisions should be available in sufficient quantities to enable individuals to live a healthy and active life.

The second component in Barrett’s hierarchy is access to food. Although this concept has been defined many times, all definitions imply the following: sufficient access to food entails people having adequate physical and economic access to resources/food appropriate for a nutritious diet (Stringer, 2016: 12, 9; Riely et al., 1999: 8; Singh et al., 2017; Kjeldsberg, 2017: 6; Schindler et al., 2017: 1285). Access can be assessed/evaluated on individual or household levels (Riely et al., 1999: 8). Riely et al. (1999: 8) state that access to food is dependent on the income available to a household and individual, as well as on the price of food or methods required to obtain it. This component of food security is thus closely related to poverty and economic growth of the community (Lado, 2001: 143). Access to food can, however, also refer to methods other than purchasing it. These may include trading, gifting, growing and quality of infrastructure such as railways and roads (Stringer, 2016: 12; 9). Alluding to the hierarchical nature of the components of food security as proposed by Barrett, Kjeldsberg (2017: 5) notes that the availability of food does not necessarily imply that individuals and/or households have access to food. Wong et al. (2017: 44) conclude that economically, physically and socially disadvantaged or marginalised populations have greater difficulty accessing available food than other groups do.

The third component of food security according to Barrett’s hierarchical order is utilisation. Benson (2004: 26) contests Barrett’s claim, holding that utilisation of food is just as important as access to food. However, if one does not have access to food, it is futile to consider the ability of individuals to utilise food that they cannot acquire. In order to ensure food security, individuals must be able to effectively utilise the food that they have access to. In this context, utilisation of food refers to the ability of a person to safely use the food and optimally absorb essential nutrients (Gibson, 2012: 20;

Riely et al., 1999: 8; Kjeldsberg, 2017: 6; Stringer, 2016: 12). The ability to effectively utilise food is closely related to the health of an individual (Gibson, 2012: 20; Singh et al., 2017; Wong et al., 2017: 46; Benson, 2004: 35). The relevance of a person's health status implies the relevance of the non-food inputs on which individual health is predicated (Gibson, 2012: 23). Such inputs include sanitation, clean and portable water, as well as proper childcare and feeding practices (Gibson, 2012: 23; Riely et al., 1999: 8; Singh et al., 2017; Wong et al., 2017: 46).

Stringer (2016: 12) holds that there is also a side of the utilisation component that addresses the outcomes of poor food utilisation. The consequences of the absence of the component of utilisation include wasting and stunting, as mentioned (Stringer, 2016: 12). Health and utilisation are in fact part of a vicious cycle in which failure to utilise food effectively leads to bad health, and bad health prevents individuals from utilising food effectively.

The final component of food security is less often acknowledged than the previous three, but it does form an important part of achieving food security. Some refer to it as stability, while others use the terms vulnerability or sustainability. As stability is the term most often used in the literature, this study will refer to the fourth component of food security with this term. Simply put, stability refers to the stability of the availability, access and utilisation of food as well as the resilience of these factors in the presence of shocks (Wong et al., 2017: 46; Kjeldsberg, 2017: 6). The shocks referred to include natural hazards as well as social, economic and political instability (Gibson, 2012: 20; Schindler et al., 2017: 1285). With the inclusion of this component, risk management has gained much credibility as a tool to combat hunger (Gibson, 2012: 20). Assessing stability firstly entails evaluating the vulnerability of the other three components within a specific community, and secondly, focusing on the incidence of shocks that have the potential to compromise these components.

### 2.3.3. Levels of food security

The final element to consider in order to thoroughly understand the concept of food security is that it may be analysed at different levels: (1) global, (2) national and sub-national, and (3) local and household. Global food security is what the second Sustainable Development Goal of 'Zero Hunger' implies (UNDP, 2018). Achieving food security on this level will require sufficient global food production as well as effective distribution, ensuring that every individual on the planet has the opportunity to consume enough calories and nutrients to meet their needs. Even though enough food is being produced globally to meet the needs of the world's population, the prevalence of malnutrition and malnourishment indicates that food security at this level has not yet been achieved. The main threats to global food security are poverty, inequality, environmental limitations, ineffective targeting and difficulties with the distribution of food (Madziakapita, 2008: 35; Koc et al., 2007:2).

National food security is the sum of sub-national food security within a country with sub-national food security being the sum of total household food security within a region (Madziakapita, 2008: 35). Hubbard (1995: 7) states that this level of food security is determined by “the ability to import as required” as well as “the ability to distribute supplies to areas in need”. Thus, national and sub-national food security is threatened when food supplies within a country are at risk of falling below the requirements without the country being able to import additional food (Madziakapita, 2008: 35; Hubbard, 1995: 2). In 2000 the European Commission concluded that a lack of national food security is a result of insufficient development and a weak market structure. Similar to the hierarchy that Barrett (2010: 825) proposes for the components of food security, the levels of food security are also interlinked. Global food security cannot be achieved if national and sub-national food security is not achieved, and this in turn is not possible without local and household food security being secured.

Local food security refers to food security within a town or local community, while household food security refers specifically to the food security of all members of the household. Hubbard (1995: 8) holds that local food security is determined within a system that consists of “the local food market, local means of acquiring food” and “the causes determining what and how much food household members receive”. In this statement it is clear that local food security is dependent on the food security of local households. Household food security is achieved when all members of the household have access to and can consume sufficient amounts of food on a regular basis to meet their nutritional needs. Factors influencing household food security are income, health, work, local suppliers, access to land, local culture, costs of essential consumer items and the distribution of available food within the household (Hubbard, 1995: 7; Muraoka, Jin and Jayne, 2018: 611; Kassie, Ndiritu and Stage, 2014: 153). Kassie, Ndiritu and Stage (2014: 153) have also established that there is a gap between food security between male- and female-headed households.

Households headed by a matriarch are more often food insecure than households with a male as the head (Kassie, Ndiritu and Stage, 2014: 153). The authors conclude that this is because of the limitations imposed on females in the workforce, by the social community and through cultural traditions (Kassie, Ndiritu and Stage, 2014: 153). Culture is a major influencer of household food security, as many cultural conditions influence the distribution of food within households as well as the access that individuals are granted to available food (Madziakapita, 2008: 36).

The world produces enough food for all individuals to consume and live a healthy and active life, but still food security has not yet been achieved in all households across the globe. Consequently, local, sub-national, national and global food security remains an ideal that has yet to be achieved. There are various claims and explanations for the lack of food security, but the literature indicates that there is relative agreement concerning the main causes of food insecurity. In order to understand the prevalence of food insecurity in the case studies examined in this study, the possible causes of food

insecurity must be explored. Understanding the causes of food security will also prevent the study from adopting a narrow perspective that regards food aid as the cause of food insecurity. It is also necessary to understand what conditions lead countries to a food insecure situation in which they require food aid. For this reason the third section this chapter will discuss the causes of food insecurity, as identified in the contemporary literature on this issue.

## **2.4. Causes of food insecurity**

Contemporary literature offers a number of reasons for food security, some mentioned more often than others. Extensive research has identified five main causes of food insecurity and they will be referred to in this thesis. These causes are (1) population growth, (2) climate change and natural disasters/environmental shocks, (3) political instability and conflict, (4) weak economic conditions and poverty, and (5) social and demographic factors. It is necessary to understand the main causes of food insecurity in order to analyse food security, and vulnerability to food insecurity in particular, in the two case study countries. If this is not done, then food aid might be blamed for negatively influencing food security when it is actually the presence of one of these causal factors that does so.

### 2.4.1. Population growth

Although certain authors argue that there is no relationship between the population of a country and the prevalence of hunger (Madely, 2000: 37; Lappe, Collins and Rosset, 1998: 8-14), the majority of researchers regard population growth as a cause of food security (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; 13:2; Riely et al., 1999: 11; Lado, 2001: 142; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a; Muraoka, Jin and Jayne, 2018: 611). There are three main ways in which population growth negatively influences food security, inducing food insecurity. Firstly, an increasing population results in a higher concentration of individuals within a certain area. This puts more pressure on existing infrastructure and services, often leading to a decrease in the quality of sanitation and health conditions (Riely et al., 1999: 11). With more people operating in closer proximity to one another, it becomes easier for diseases to spread, which negatively influences nutritional status, labour productivity and income.

Secondly, population growth creates greater competition for limited resources. This leads to pressure being put on the environment, while individuals competing for resources act in ways that exacerbate environmental degradation (Berck and Bigman, 1993: 7; Tanton, 2017; Madziakapita, 2008: 51; Thrupp and Megateli, 1999: 23; Riely et al., 1999: 11; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a). Consequently, agricultural productivity is reduced and food availability decreases (Riely et al., 1999: 13). The third way in which population growth induces food insecurity is through the reduction of per capita land availability (Riely et al., 1999: 11, Thrupp and Megateli, 1999: 6; Muraoka, Jin and Jayne, 2018: 612; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a). Muraoka, Jon and Jayne (2018: 611) state that “a rural household’s ability to own or access land is directly related to its ability to produce food and generate income”. Thus, population growth influences food availability as well as purchasing

power. The correlation between land access and food security is most visible in regions that have remained primarily agrarian, where land serves as a source of food for many households (Muraoka, Jin and Jayne, 2018: 611). This is the case in both countries selected as case studies.

#### 2.4.2. Climate change and natural disasters/environmental shocks

The global climate is changing, which affects the population in multiple ways. Some regions of the globe are experiencing a rise in temperatures, while temperatures are declining elsewhere. A new pattern of this changing climate has not yet been established and regions are often blindsided by changes in temperature ranges or weather conditions. This variability of the climate is a great source of volatility and hinders food security in affected areas (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2002). Food production within regions is dependent on the climatic conditions associated with that area over a long term (Sandstrom & Juhola, 2017: 76). A sudden change in the climate may be detrimental to availability, access and utilisation of food. Sandstrom and Juhola (2017: 86) found that climate change has a considerable impact on agricultural production. While changes in the climate might benefit production in certain regions, the majority of regions are expected to experience long-term yield reduction of all major crops (Sandstrom and Juhola, 2017: 86; Wanjiru, 2014: 72). In many cases climate change has led to an increase in the frequency of the occurrence of environmental shocks/natural disasters. Such events contribute significantly to vulnerability and food insecurity (Madziakapita, 2008: 38; UNEP, 2000).

Around the globe hurricanes, earthquakes, droughts, floods and cyclones negatively influence the availability, access and utilisation of food (Madziakapita, 2008: 38; Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Lado, 2001: 145). In Sub-Saharan Africa droughts and floods are particularly prevalent (UNEP, 2000; Refugees and Migrants, 2017; APA News, 2017; New Business Ethiopia, 2017). Droughts have always threatened food security in Sub-Saharan Africa and is currently compromising food security in Kenya (Refugees and Migrants, 2017; Lado, 2001: 145). A lack of rainfall has a severe impact on agricultural production, especially when crops are reliant on seasonal rainfall, as is the case in the two case study countries (Sandstrom & Juhola, 2017: 73; Wanjiru, 2014: 12). In 2017, in addition to their own struggles with food security, Kenya became a refuge for individuals fleeing other drought stricken-areas within the region (New Business Ethiopia, 2017). This placed even more pressure on the country's already compromised food security (New Business Ethiopia, 2017). In addition to destroying crops and compromising agricultural yields, floods also disrupt transport networks, water supplies, the provision of electricity, and affects telecommunication networks (Madziakapita, 2008: 14).

During the past decade Mozambique has experienced a number of catastrophic floods that completely disrupted food production, access and utilisation. It can take years to rebuild infrastructure, re-establish agricultural production and eliminate health hazards that might develop in the unhygienic

circumstances that arise in the aftermath of events. Thus, food security in compromised regions remains vulnerable even after the shock/disaster has passed.

#### 2.4.3. Political instability and conflict

Political instability induces food insecurity by affecting the availability and access of food (Madziakapita, 2008: 48). Such circumstances often include corruption, absence of or flawed democracy and institutional weakness (Thrupp and Megateli, 1999: 7; Madziakapita, 2008: 48). It also implies weak policy implementation, which many perceive as a cause of food insecurity on its own (Lado, 2001: 141; Thrupp and Megateli, 1999: 2, Makenete, Ortmann and Darroch, 1998: 252; Stewart, 2003: 17; Wanjiru, 2014: 11). Political instability often leads to unequal representation and participation in political decision-making, which may limit facets of the population's access to food and resources (Madziakapita, 2008: 48). Political insecurity often leads to political violence or conflict, as was the case during the Kenyan elections of 2007 (Wanjiru, 2014: 10). An overwhelming amount of literature references conflict as a cause of food insecurity (Thrupp and Megateli, 1999: 7; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b; BBC News, 2017; Madziakapita, 2008: 48; Riely et al., 1999: 11; Refugees and Migrants, 2017). After steadily declining in recent decades, the frequency of wars reached an all-time low in 2005 (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). However, since 2010 there has been an upsurge in violent conflicts, reaching an all-time high in 2017 (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). In 2016 a study found that the majority of food-insecure people resided in countries affected by conflict and in 2017, 489 million of the 815 million undernourished people lived in countries either experiencing conflict or vulnerable to violence (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b; Makenete, Ortmann and Darroch, 1998: 253).

Conflict induces food insecurity for a number of reasons. War is detrimental to the environment, as forests and vegetation are often burned down and mines contaminate the land (Madziakapita, 2008: 48). Agriculture is disrupted as livestock is either killed or lost, and crop production is undermined (BBC News, 2017). Consequently, inflation soars and basic food items are sold at extremely high prices (BBC News, 2017). People trying to escape conflict-ridden areas are forced to seek refuge elsewhere and often end up in refugee camps, putting pressure on the food security in areas not involved in the conflict (Madziakapita, 2008: 49). Displaced individuals are no longer able to contribute to food production, easily access food or effectively utilise nutrients, which compromises the food security of the refugees themselves. An often-overlooked consequence of conflict that undermines food security is the impact it has on women. As able-bodied men are recruited to fight, a heavy burden is placed on women to try and maintain the nutrition and health of their families (UNEP, 2000). During times of conflict violence against women increases, in particular sexual violence perpetrated by enemy soldiers or members of their own community (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). In addition to causing extreme trauma for the victimized women, their ability to provide for their families is also compromised (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018b). Finally,

like natural disasters/environmental shocks, conflict destroys infrastructure. A lack of infrastructure, such as transport routes and storage facilities, influences the access and utilisation of food supplies (Wanjiru, 2014: 13; Madziakapita, 2008: 45; Singh et al., 2017). As a result, food cannot be distributed to communities, and if individuals somehow do manage to obtain food supplies, they might not be able to store it effectively.

#### 2.4.4. Weak economic conditions and poverty

In 2017 the slow global economy was one of the key factors driving global food insecurity (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017b). Throughout the past three decades, weak economies have been associated with decreases in food security (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Thrupp and Megateli, 1999: 7; Lado, 2001: 141; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017b). There are various reasons for this causal relationship. Sandstrom and Juhola (2017: 72) state that food prices directly impact food security. Although high prices of agricultural commodities may hamper the ability of poor individuals to access food, falling prices of such commodities create a production disincentive (Madziakapita, 2008: 42). Madziakapita (2008: 72) argues that an artificial poverty trap is created when farmers and/or producers are forced to sell food to buyers at prices far below that of the world market. In some situations local governments overvalue their currencies, which undercuts local producers by lowering the prices of imported food to an extreme extent (Lappe, Collins and Rosset, 1998: 12).

Also related to a weak economy is the issue of poverty, which goes hand-in-hand with food insecurity (Wanjiru, 2014: 10; Lado, 2001: 141; Riely et al., 1999: 11). Poverty causes food insecurity by compromising access to food and its utilisation (Madziakapita, 2008: 47). Lado (2001: 164) states that many people go hungry because “they are too poor to convert their food needs into effective market demands”. This is related to the capabilities approach that will be elaborated on in Chapter 3. In short, the theory holds that even if food is available, one needs the capabilities to acquire it, which includes being able to afford it. The reality is that individuals with the most money often have sufficiently higher capabilities than the poor and thus command the majority of resources (Madziakapita, 2008: 48). This sheds some light on the current situation in the world, where there is enough food available but people are still plagued by hunger.

#### 2.4.5. Social and demographic factors

The final cause of food insecurity identified in this review is a combination of factors within social and cultural structures of communities. The first is the fact that the priority in resource distribution is most often given to urban areas (Madziakapita, 2008: 44). This is because of the concentration of influential enterprises and actors within these areas (Madziakapita, 2008: 44). As mentioned previously, those with the most money have higher capabilities and command the majority of resources. This is the case in urban areas, as rural dwellers are usually financially weaker than those residing in urban centres. Rapid urbanization during the past decade has resulted in a decrease of

agricultural production as farming communities are declining in number (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a).

Changes in food preferences also influence food security (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a; Lappe, Collins and Rosset, 1998:12; Sandstrom & Juhola, 2017: 74). In Sub-Saharan Africa the population's general preference has shifted from locally produced food to imported products, particularly wheat, which can be grown economically in only very few countries on the continent (Lappe, Collins and Rosset, 1998:12). A popular claim is that African tastes have been moulded to what Western countries export (Madziakapita, 2008:12). The final factor through which food security is undermined is social inequalities (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2017a, Madziakapita, 2008: 45). Inequalities between ethnic groups greatly influence the distribution of resources (Madziakapita, 2008: 45). Men are also more likely to gain access to land, capital and nutritional knowledge in many parts of the world (Madziakapita, 2008: 45). Cultural beliefs even create disparities of food distribution within households, which negatively influences their food security (Madziakapita, 2008: 45).

This concludes the sections pertaining to food security, the first of the two main concepts within this study. Understanding the literature, contemporary history and components of this concept is integral to answering the research questions and ultimately contributing to finding a solution to the problem identified in the problem statement. The following two sections address the other main concept in this study, which is food aid.

## **2.5. Food aid**

Along with food security, food aid is one of the main focal points of this study. It is vital that a clear understanding of the concept be established in order to successfully respond to the problem statement and answer the research questions. Therefore this section will review the contemporary literature on the definition of food aid, the history and development of food aid, forms and types of food aid as well as the main donors or sources that provide food aid.

### 2.5.1. Definition

Aid refers to help or assistance in a variety of forms, given to an individual, household, group, community or country to fulfil a specific need (Hawkin, 2000: 10; Madziakapita, 2008: 14). According to the European Commission (2000: 13), aid can either be donated directly or indirectly. Direct aid is granted directly by the donors to recipients, while indirect aid is entrusted to a third party organisation, which then distributes the aid and delivers it to identified recipients (Madziakapita, 2008: 14). Food aid is a specific form of aid that was formally implemented for the first time in 1954, with the passing of the United States Private Law 480 (Awokuse, 2006). This specific event, as well as the development of food aid implementation since then, will be discussed later in an overview of

the history and development of food aid. Since 1954 various attempts have been made at defining food aid, but this complex concept seems to be interpreted differently by various people (Awokuse, 2006). In 1965 FitzGerald defined food aid as “the use of agricultural commodities in lieu of, or as an addition to aid in other forms” (FitzGerald, 1965: 1). A simplified and more direct interpretation of the concept was offered a decade later, when Jones (1977) stated that food aid refers to “the transfer of food as commodity from one country or organisation known as the donor, to a recipient country or agency”. The use of the terms *donor* and *recipient* clarified the exchange identified with food aid and has been commonly used in definitions ever since. Because of the complex nature of the concept many scholars have resorted to defining food aid according to its accompanying factors.

Makenete, Ortmann and Darroch (1998: 251) define food aid according to its primary aim, which they identify as being “to feed the hungry, particularly the nutritionally vulnerable, without significantly increasing government budgeting support”. Cuny and Hill (1999: 49-50) defined food aid according to its two purposes, which they understand as (1) “being used as the equivalent of income for families who have lost their normal source of funds” and (2) “to finance or partly finance relief or rehabilitation activities”.

In 2000 the European Commission defined food aid as “aid supplied as food commodities on grant or concessional terms, including donations of food commodities by government or intergovernmental organisations and private, voluntary or non-governmental organisations in particular”. This definition, along with the definition by Barrett and Maxwell in 2005, is widely used in food aid literature. Barrett and Maxwell (2005: 61) define food aid as “the international sourcing of concessional resources in the form of, or for the provision of food”. Some definitions are more controversial than others, defining food aid as beneficial to the donor rather than the recipient. In 2007 Levinsohn and McMillan presented such a definition, claiming that although food aid is supposed to provide relief to the poor, “most food aid is a by-product of policies designed to aid farmers in rich countries by disposing of surplus agricultural commodities” (Levinsohn and McMillan, 2007: 562). They added that, “far from being created to help the poor, such policies are actually part of the overall agricultural commodities of rich countries” (Levinsohn and McMillan, 2007: 562). The controversy around the motivation for food aid influences arguments pertaining to the relationship between food aid and food security.

Defining food aid has been a complex and contested matter for as long as the concept has existed. Even today there is little consensus on a specific definition in the literature. However, the FAO has accepted a definition formulated back in 2006, on which it continues to base its work. The definition states that “food aid can be understood as all food-supported interventions aimed at improving the food security of poor people in the short and long term” (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2006). Unlike other definitions, this definition establishes a clear correlation between food aid and food

security. Answering the research questions of this thesis will determine if this relation does exist and, if so, whether or not it is positive or negative in the selected case studies.

As food aid is often defined by its outcomes, aims and forms, these areas along with the history and development of food aid will be discussed to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the concept.

### 2.5.2. History and development

The inception of modern food aid programmes can be traced back to the 1950s. After the Second World War came to an end, concerns grew regarding the accumulation of agricultural commodities in the United States (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 11). The country needed a way to dispose of crops that could not be absorbed locally, an issue referred to as surplus production (Madziakapita, 2008: 13; Lado, 2001:141). At the same time, the FAO became aware of issues that would likely result from simply dumping agricultural food surpluses in developing countries. Although this seemed like the most obvious solution to the United States' problem, it would be detrimental to production patterns and negatively influence international trade (Kjeldsberg, 2017:11). The FAO realised that a sustainable method had to be found through which surpluses could be consumed. Although controversy surrounds its motives, the United States Food Aid programme officially began in 1954 with the enactment of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, commonly referred to as P.L. 480 (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Awokuse, 2006; FitzGerald, 1965: 1; Hopkins, 1992: 225).

P.L. 480 had four main purposes, as identified by Hopkins in 1992 (229-231). These four equally important purposes were “to serve foreign policy needs, to promote economic development, to establish overseas markets for American agricultural products, and to help alleviate hunger overseas”. These four purposes were carried out in three main programmes: Title I, Title II and Title III. Title I authorized the sale of agricultural commodities to governments and private entities in developing countries (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; FitzGerald, 1965: 1). Title II authorized grants of surplus agricultural commodities for emergency relief of hunger and/or famine (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; FitzGerald, 1965: 1). Title III authorized the donation of surplus agricultural commodities to persons in need in foreign countries, specifically to support economic development in least developed countries (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; FitzGerald, 1965: 1).

Three motivations for the creation of P.L. 480 can be identified from its programmes. The first of these motives is humanitarianism. Surpluses lowered the price of domestic products, making it even more attractive to provide food to people plagued by hunger (Hopkins, 1992: 229). The room for controversy regarding this motive is clear. Whether the provision of surplus food to less food-secure communities is an act of humanitarian or “an almost selfish motive”, as Madziakapita (2008: 156) puts it, is a heavily contested topic at the heart of this thesis. The second obvious motivation of P.L. 480 is to address the problem of surpluses in the United States (Hopkins, 1992: 230). The final

motivation is ideological. Sending food to countries in need casts the United States in a generous light, which could certainly be beneficial to diplomatic relations (Hopkins, 1991: 230).

Since the inception of P.L. 480, numerous international conferences about food aid have been held, resulting in amendments to legislation, and changes in opinions and conceptions of organisations. For this section, a brief timeline of the development of food aid has been compiled through a review of relevant legislation and literature. The focus is mostly placed on the United States' food aid regime, as it has dominated the field since 1954.

The first amendment to P.L 480 was made in 1961, when the Title II programme was changed to authorize not only grants of surplus agricultural commodities for emergency relief of hunger and/or famine, but also to promote development in underdeveloped countries (FitzGerald, 1965: 2). The employment of surplus commodities to assist in development and improvement of the lives of those in need was again reflected two years later when the World Food Program (WFP) was established. The agency, a joint undertaking of the United Nations General Assembly and the FAO, focused on coordinating surplus commodities, later referred to as food aid, so that it was received by persons threatened by hunger, malnutrition or the consequences of natural disasters/environmental shocks (Hopkins, 1992: 230).<sup>1</sup>

In 1967, five years after the establishment of the WFP, the Food Aid Convention (FAC) came into being. Its purpose can be perceived as a more focused extension of that of the WFP as it was created to facilitate the humanitarian responses of the international community (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 11). As a response to concerns regarding the provision of food aid, many of which are still prevalent today, the FAC focused on ensuring that food aid is used to assist people in need without affecting local production and/or commercial imports (Kjeldsberg, 2017:11). During the 1970s the importance of food aid as a method of surplus disposal is thought to have decreased significantly (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Hopkins, 1992: 227). Although the overall provision of food aid declined during this decade, the complexity of the food aid regime grew with the implementation of more specific targeting, donor policies and recipient requirements (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Hopkins, 1992: 227). An obvious cause of the shift in the food aid regime is the global food crises that occurred during the 1970s. As less food was produced, surplus disposal became a less significant issue and humanitarian food aid increased in importance. Hopkins (1992: 231) alludes to an increase in policy coordination efforts as well as the establishment of the World Food Conference (WFC) in 1974, which contributed to the shift in the food aid regime. At the WFC participants agreed that long-term food security was of the greatest importance and made decisions accordingly (Hopkins, 1992: 231). At the conference the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programs was established. Its main purpose was to provide

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<sup>1</sup> See Shaw (2001: x-xi) for an outline of the greatest achievements of the WFP in the four decades following its establishment.

guidance to recipients and donors of food aid, but it also provided input in establishing key principles for the food aid regime.<sup>2</sup>

Although it seems that by the late 1970s humanitarian assistance was the only remaining motive for the provision of food aid, there was still evidence of the influence of surplus disposal. During the 1980s the European Economic Community (EEC) emerged as a major donor of food aid (Srinivasan, 1989: 40). At the same time the ECC agricultural policy of protection of agriculture and price support, along with the reduction of food stocks in the United States, led to a significant increase of food surpluses within the region (Srinivasan, 1989: 40). Thus, the increased amounts of food aid donated were a consequence of the growing food surplus, proving that surplus disposal had not been completely abandoned as an objective of food aid provision.

In 1990 the P.L. 480 was reformed to improve the targeting of food aid and limit disruption of local markets. The reformed legislation which was passed in October 1990 limited the amount of food being sold to middle-income countries and called for targeting of grants to food insecure countries – categorized as such on the basis of income and caloric intake criteria (Hopkins, 1992: 232). The literature does not draw a link between the reform of P.L. 480 and the conceptual evolution of food aid during the 1990s, but there is a clear possibility of a correlation between the two phenomena. The concept of food aid had evolved significantly during this decade, and for the first time food aid was considered as a way to enhance food security (Makenete, Ortmann and Darroch, 1998: 253). This was especially prevalent in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa (Makenete, Ortmann and Darroch, 1998: 251-254). The humanitarian motives for providing food aid became increasingly dominant. Makenete, Ortmann and Darroch (1998: 253) attribute this conceptual evolution to the use of food aid for feeding programmes, stabilization of food supplies and the subsidization of food utilisation.

During the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the global quantity of food aid declined relative to food imports of low-income countries, as well as agricultural exports from food aid donors (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004). Despite the decrease of food aid provision, the humanitarian perception of food aid has continued to grow. Title II or emergency relief food aid increased and in 2003 made up 85% of the global food aid budget (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004). In 2010 Harvey et al. stated that emergency food aid still comprised the greatest percentage of total food aid supply and continued to increase (Harvey et al., 2010: 31). They also state that between 2000 and 2010 support for local and regional procurement of food aid increased, as it developed an increasingly positive reputation (Harvey et al., 2010: 2). This is where the debate on the positive or negative influence, motives and consequences of food aid becomes relevant. In contrast to the positive claims made by Harvey et al., food aid critics

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<sup>2</sup> Since it was founded in 1974, actions of the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programs included the establishment of financial bodies to invest in small-scale production farmers, the creation of the International Fund for Agriculture Development in 1977 and the annual identification of food aid projects that would be supported by the WFP (Hopkins, 1992: 232).

argue that specifically US food aid is as much about the corporate welfare of American companies as it is about alleviating hunger (Lawrence and Provost, 2017). It is claimed that multinational firms, rather than rural communities or farmers, are the main beneficiaries of the rules that govern US food aid (Lawrence and Provost, 2017). In 2017 an analysis revealed that food aid is still used as a method of exporting agricultural surpluses from the United States, even though the American government has stated that this is no longer the case (Lawrence and Provost, 2017).

The debate on the true intentions of food aid donors, especially the United States, greatly influences the arguments pertaining to the research problem of this thesis. The relation between food aid and food security is definitely influenced by the motives of food aid providers. If surplus disposal remains the main motive, food security is not likely to be a major concern of donors and might thus be negatively influenced by food aid provided – which may then simply be referred to as the dumping of agricultural surplus. If the humanitarian motives for food aid provision are in fact genuine and dominant in the regime, the food security of recipients should be of great concern to donors. Food aid will then be targeted and coordinated in a way that is beneficial to the food security of needy recipients, meaning that the relation between food aid and food security is more likely to be positive, although the types and forms of food aid will also have consequences.

### 2.5.3. Forms of food aid

There are various ways in which to distinguish between forms of food aid. The remainder of this section will refer to types of commodities, bilateral and multilateral food aid, types of food aid based on temporal aspects and purpose, and donors of food aid.

Food aid is either provided directly or it is monetized. Direct food aid is either provided in the form of agricultural commodities or monetary resources (FitzGerald, 1965: 1). Food aid provided in the form of agricultural commodities is also referred to as food transfers or in-kind food aid (Nikulkov et al., 2016; Zhou and Hendriks, 2017: 249). This study will adopt the latter term. FitzGerald (1965: 1) holds that in-kind food aid is usually, but not invariably, agricultural commodities that are in surplus and furnished as aid to countries in need. It is either provided as processed commodities that are ready for use or unprocessed commodities, such as grains, that still need to be milled (Madziakapita, 2008: 17). Under some circumstances in-kind food aid is provided in ‘wet rations’, meaning that the food has already been prepared, rationed per person and is ready to eat (Madziakapita, 2008: 17). An example of wet rations of food aid is lunches provided for needy children at schools or meals sent to refugee camps.

In-kind food aid, as apposed to monetary resources, is usually provided in emergency situations (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 122). This is because access to the actual food commodities can improve nutritional status and protect human life in situations when it is most vulnerable (Barrett and Maxwell,

2005: 123). Zhou and Hendriks (2017: 258) found that in-kind food aid is more likely to improve dietary diversity and directly fill gaps in food consumption, as food is provided directly to individuals and/or households in need. In-kind transfers are also preferred to monetary aid when markets are volatile or threatened with inflation (Lentz, Ouma and Mude, 2016: 21). Even in such circumstances the amount of in-kind commodities provided will not decrease. This type of food aid also provides more control to distribution agencies, which leads to more effective targeting (Lentz, Ouma and Mude, 2016: 21).

There are also negative aspects to the provision of in-kind food aid. Although the majority of US food aid is provided through oceanic shipments of in-kind food aid, it has been found to be costlier and less time effective than monetary transfers (Nikulkov et al., 2016). In-kind aid transfers require physical transportation and the accompanying administration. This often increases costs, consequently decreasing the actual amount of aid provided (Nikulkov et al., 2016).

Directly provided monetary food aid also has positive and negative features. Monetary food aid refers to money given directly to individuals and/or households in need (Zhou and Hendriks, 2017: 249). It is intended to assist individuals to meet their basic needs by purchasing food items and necessary assets as well as paying for services such as education and health (Zhou and Hendriks, 2017: 249). The primary aim of monetary food aid is to help people recover their livelihoods (Zhou and Hendriks, 2017: 249). The positive aspects of food aid in this form include the fact that it is cheaper and faster to provide. Because of the reduced cost of providing monetary food aid, as opposed to in-kind food aid, more aid can be delivered. Nikulkov et al. (2016) found that the reduced costs of monetary food aid was directly linked to a decrease in child mortality in Northern Kenya, as more aid could be provided and needs could be met to a greater extent. Monetary food aid also supports local markets as it encourages locally made purchases and it provides recipients with flexibility and choice regarding what they do with the money (Lentz, Ouma and Mude, 2016: 21). Although these aspects can have a positive impact on recipients, it can also have negative consequences. Providing individuals with aid in the form of money does not necessarily solve the problem of hunger, if food is not available for purchase. If local markets are volatile the value of aid provided may decrease and an influx of capital may disrupt recipient economies. Allowing individuals to purchase their own food limits them to the stock available within their community. This may be detrimental to dietary diversity and also fail to improve nutritional status. Because of this complexity and the risk of negative consequences, monetary food aid transfers make up a small part of total humanitarian assistance (Harvey et al., 2010: 47).

Both in-kind and monetary food aid are forms of direct food aid. There is, however, another method of providing food aid that is referred to as monetization. Monetization is the process of selling agricultural commodities provided as food aid to community traders on the open market of the

recipient country (Lowder and Raney, 2005: 10). In this way the food aid becomes monetized. The proceeds from these sales are usually then used for purposes not directly related to providing food for hungry people, but rather to improve development and to generate funds for relief and development programmes (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 122; Lowder and Raney, 2005: 10). Monetization can promote the development of local markets and generate local currency (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 122). Barrett and Maxwell (2005: 133) hold that two key factors are necessary for efficient monetization to occur. The first is a stable currency and the second is well-functioning markets. Critics of monetization argue that people suffering from undernourishment or poverty will be better targeted through distribution of in-kind food aid, directly meeting their needs (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 133-135). Monetization of food aid increased tremendously from the 1980s to 2000, but since then it has decreased in popularity and is now little practised (Lowder and Raney, 2005: 10; Harvey et al., 2010: 47).

Direct or monetized food aid can be provided either on a bilateral or multilateral basis. Food aid provided bilaterally between donor and recipient is given directly from one country to another (Wanjiru, 2014: 6). Thus, the exchange takes place between two governments (Lowder and Raney, 2005: 12). 'Exchange' is an appropriate word to describe the process, as the aid is not freely received and donors expect to receive some sort of compensation from recipients (Wanjiru, 2014: 6). Multilateral food aid, on the other hand, is free and non-refundable (Wanjiru, 2014: 6). The donation is made to a recipient country by a non-governmental organisation (NGO), religious organisation or, in most cases, the WFP (Lowder and Raney, 2005:12).

These forms of food aid can be categorized into three types, specifying the temporal aspects of the aid and the purpose of its provision: program, project and emergency food aid.

#### 2.5.4. Types of food aid

Program food aid is exclusively provided on a bilateral basis between two governments (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004, Madziakapita, 2008: 18; Kjeldsberg, 2017: 10). It is often donated with the purpose of alleviating macroeconomic problems in recipient countries, as it provides support to the balance of payments, the government budget and the implementation of development objectives (Madziakapita, 2008: 18; Awokuse, 2006). This type of food aid is usually monetized by selling it on local markets, after which the revenue is used to support economic development programmes. Even when not monetized, programme food aid allows recipients to save some of the foreign exchange that would otherwise have been spent on food imports (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Awokuse, 2006). As with any food aid provided on a bilateral basis, donors usually receive some kind of compensation or impose various conditions in return for the programme food aid (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 10; Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 124; Lowder and Raney, 2005: 12).

Although Madziakapita (2008: 19) claims that programme food aid can contribute positively to food security and long-term development, the size and scope of this form of aid has declined in recent years (Awokuse, 2006). Despite making up 55% of global food aid between 1980 and 1992, programme food aid decreased to 33% by 1998 and even further to 12% by 2008 (Harvey et al., 2010: 31; Madziakapita, 2008: 19). Awokuse (2006) holds that this is partially the result of criticism claiming that it is ineffective in reducing food insecurity problems in recipient countries.

Project food aid is distributed on a multilateral basis and can be given to recipient governments, domestic or international non-governmental organisations (NGO) and development agencies (Awokuse, 2006; Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 122; Kjeldsberg, 2017: 10). The primary agencies responsible for administering project food aid are NGOs and the WFP (Awokuse, 2006; Lowder and Raney, 2005: 7; Madziakapita, 2008: 18). This type of aid is provided specifically to support development projects that target the poor in developing countries (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Awokuse, 2006; Madziakapita, 2008: 18). The majority of the funded projects focus on nutritional development within recipient countries, i.e. food-for-work programmes and school feeding schemes (Madziakapita, 2008: 18). Because the aid is provided to support a specific predetermined project, the kind and amount of commodities provided are tailored to the specific requirements of that particular project (FitzGerald, 1965: 5). The aid is then directly delivered to the participants (Madziakapita, 2008: 18). Although it is not the norm, project food aid is sometimes monetized. This has only been a recent development within the project food aid regime, and the proceeds of such market sales are used to fund the operational costs of the particular project (Awokuse, 2006; Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 122).

Similar to programme food aid, project food aid has also been declining during the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Although not as significantly as programme food aid, project food aid decreased from 28% to 22% between 1998 and 2008 (Harvey et al., 2010: 2). Because project food aid now sometimes includes monetization, it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish between project and programme food aid (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 10; Awokuse, 2006; Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 13). Consequently, both project and programme food aid are sometimes referred to as developmental food aid or non-emergency food aid (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 10).

True to its label, emergency food aid is distributed after emergency situations when there has been a major shortfall in food production as a result of natural shocks/disasters and/or man-made disasters (Madziakapita, 2008: 19). Examples of events leading to the deployment of emergency food aid include wars, droughts, disease and pests (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Madziakapita, 2008: 19; Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 124). This type of food aid is also referred to as “relief” or “humanitarian” food aid (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 124). The purpose of the provision of food aid in emergency situations is to augment food supplies or assist in rebuilding productive assets (Shapouri and Rosen,

2004). It can be provided from one government to another, through intergovernmental organisations or through public and private agencies (Madziakapita, 2008: 20). When thinking about food aid, most people generally associate the notion with emergency food aid. This is because this type of food aid is the most widely broadcast, as food aid distribution in disaster-stricken areas is often documented and widely shared by the media (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005:124).

Similar to project food aid, emergency food aid is tailored to the needs of recipients and according to its intended purpose. The amount and kind of commodities provided are based on the extent of the emergency and the number of people requiring assistance (FitzGerald, 1965: 5). While both project and programme food aid decreased during the 21<sup>st</sup> century, emergency food aid greatly increased from 38% to 66% of all food aid by 2008 (Harvey et al., 2010: 2). It has also become the most important type of food aid in Sub-Saharan Africa (Maunder, 2006: vi). Lowder and Raney (2005: 7) hold that in some cases the distinction between project and emergency food aid is not always clear. This is because emergency food aid is sometimes distributed through food-for-work development programmes, which means that not all food-for-work programmes are project food aid, and not all emergency food aid is distributed without compensation (Lowder and Raney, 2005: 7). In order to successfully develop food security policies, it is crucial that any government or NGO requesting food aid is familiar with the different types of food aid and understands their various purposes and implications (Madziakapita, 2008: 20).

#### 2.5.5. Donors

Globally, food aid tends to flow from developed regions to developing countries (Makenete, Ortmann and Darroch, 1998: 253). Depending on whether food aid is distributed on a bilateral or multilateral basis, donors can be governments, non-governmental agencies or intergovernmental organisations. The WFP is the dominant humanitarian agency in the world with the *raison d'être* of supplying food aid globally (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 14; Stewart, 2003: 17). It is the major donor of multilateral food aid and funded by UN member states (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 14; Shaw and Phillips, 2002: 6). The WFP accepts monetary, physical or infrastructural donations, which it then distributes to populations threatened with or plagued by hunger (Kjeldsberg, 2017: 15; Lado, 2001: 145). The extent of its contributions is unmatched and in 2016 it was estimated to provide food aid to 80 million people in 75 countries around the globe (Stambach, 2016: 249).

Donors of bilateral food aid are identified by country because of the nature of the transaction. Many donors providing food aid on this basis are members of the United Nations and provide multilateral food aid indirectly, through donations made to the WFP. It is commonly agreed upon in the literature that since coming into being in 1954, the modern food aid regime has been dominated by the United States (Tanton, 2017; Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Madziakapita, 2008: 20; Harvey et al., 2010: 15; Lowder and Raney, 2005: 4; FitzGerald, 1965: 2-3; Nikulkov et al., 2016). Other major donors of

food aid include the EU/EC, Japan, Canada and Australia, all part of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Harvey et al., 2010; Lowder and Raney, 2005: 4).

At the turn of the century non-DAC countries emerged as noteworthy donors of food aid, but according to Harvey et al. (2010: 16), their contributions, although significant, remain unpredictable. In 2005 Saudi Arabia emerged as a major donor and during that year non-DAC countries accounted for 20% of global food aid (Harvey et al., 2010: 17). These features did not result in a trend and the majority of food aid is still donated by member states of the DAC. Not all food aid donors contribute to funding for the WFP, and thus the programme's main contributors cannot necessarily be considered an accurate indication of total global food aid donations. However, in both categories, the US reigns supreme.

The World Food Programme's International Food Aid Information System (INTERFAIS) has historically been used to collect data on global aid flows (World Food Programme, 2018a). It was discontinued in 2009 to align with the shift of focus within the food aid regime from the magnitude of food aid flows towards development and results stemming from the aid provided. From 1989 until 2008 the INTERFAIS indicated that the United States was the greatest donor of food aid globally per annum. During the same period the European Community remained the second greatest donor. In 2009, while the United States was still the greatest donor, Japan moved up to second place and the European Community moved into the third position (Global Policy, 2018).

The WFP last released a data set of its major donors in June 2018 (World Food Programme, 2018b) (see Table 2.2. on the following page). It is important to note that the main donors to the WFP are determined using data that includes multilateral food aid and may thus differ from the data which would have been presented by INTERFAIS had it not been discontinued.

Table 2.2. The five main donors to the WFP in 2017

All Donors (including Multilateral)		
1	USA	\$ 2,506,277,407
2	European Commission	\$ 1,146,923,974
3	Germany	\$ 925,484,119
4	United Kingdom	\$ 588,323,265
5	Canada	\$ 199,626,298

Source: World Food Programme, 2018

The final issue to address in this chapter is the arguments within the literature made for and against food aid. This section is of great importance to this thesis, as it informs some of the theoretical frameworks that will be applied to the case studies. These frameworks will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

## **2.6. Arguments for and against food aid**

The arguments made in favour of and against food aid ultimately debate whether it is a curse or a cure to recipients, and also call the motives of donors into question. By identifying the main arguments made in the relevant literature, one will be able to establish which of them are valid with respect to the chosen case studies and use this to inform observations/assessments made in this thesis. The relevant arguments will also be used to explain the answers to the research questions.

Debates about the influence of food aid have been prevalent since the aid regime was established in 1954. Scholars have produced various studies arguing either in favour of food aid – claiming that it has an overwhelmingly positive influence – or against food aid – claiming that ultimately the influence of food aid is negative. These arguments often refer to the motives behind the provision of food aid, touching on subjects such as surplus disposal, conditionalities and humanitarianism. It also considers the consequences of food aid in recipient countries and donor countries, and the dynamics between these two entities.

Arguments within this debate are broad and include various claims, case studies, accusations and assumptions. In order to provide a clear overview of the literature, four main topics within this debate have been identified. They are: disincentives, dependency, development and targeting. It is important to note that these topics can usually not be approached in isolation, as they are related and often lumped together to prove that food aid has a positive or negative influence.

### 2.6.1. Disincentives

Critics of food aid claim that it has disincentivizing effects on recipients, ultimately hampering food security. In 1960 Theodore W. Schultz published a few articles in which he highlighted the possible disincentive effects that food aid might have on recipient countries.<sup>3</sup> Awokuse (2006) and Abdulai, Barrett and Hoddinott (2005) claim that Schultz's articles served as catalysts for the debate on disincentives associated with food aid. Over time this has become one of the main focal points of arguments on the positive or negative influence of food aid and it has produced a vast amount of literature.

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<sup>3</sup> See Schultz, T.W. 1980 and 1960.

Critics of food aid claim that it has disincentive effects on prices, production and policy reform within recipient countries. Barrett (2006), Awokuse (2006) and Tadesse and Shively (2009: 942) find that local food prices in recipient countries almost invariably fall after food aid has been received. The inflow of large volumes of food aid depresses local food prices as demand declines because households receive commodities through donations (Awokuse, 2006; Barrett, 2006). Whether food aid is monetized, sold by recipient households or used as a substitute for local produce, the value of locally produced products falls, creating a disincentive for local production (Wanjiru, 2014: 16). In 1992 already Hopkins had indicated that the extent to which food aid has an adverse effect on food production in recipient countries is the main focus in debates on food aid and food security (Hopkins, 1992: 236). The final disincentive that is often highlighted is policy reform. The inflow of food aid is thought to enable recipient governments to ignore necessary policy reform as such aid covers up the indications of the necessity for reform (Barrett, 2006; Awokuse, 2006). Because food aid seems to moderate otherwise pressing issues, resources may be shifted away from the agricultural sector, compromising the food security of recipients (Awokuse, 2006).

As in any debate there is also a group of scholars arguing that the claims of the disincentive effects of food aid are inaccurate and based solely on assumptions. Some scholars even argue on both sides of the debate, claiming that food aid may have disincentive effects, but that this depends on the circumstances under which it is provided and received. These scholars include Barrett (2006), Awokuse (2006) and Tadesse and Shively (2009: 942). Lado (2001: 141), Abdulai, Barrett and Hoddinott (2005) as well as Hoddinott (2004: 2) state that while one would expect a detailed body of literature on disincentives of food aid, there is very little empirical evidence to confirm or refute the claims. Thus, studies are often based on assumptions and include a strong subjective influence.

Awokuse (2006) lists three common assumptions which he argues have to be true in order for food aid to possibly create disincentives within recipient countries. The recipient country must have a closed market economy; the food aid provided must be identical to the food produced domestically, and the food aid must not be targeted effectively. Other than situations in which these three assumptions are actually true, he holds that food aid is not likely to create disincentives. Abdulai, Barrett and Hoddinott (2005) state that in certain cases food aid may even stimulate the food production per capita, as the required resources are made available.

### 2.6.2. Dependency

Many of the arguments made against food aid come together under the concept of dependency. Claims of dependency are based on the idea that food aid prevents recipient countries from improving their own food security and functioning independently, making them dependent on food aid and the donors. It is claimed that countries thought to be dependent on others suffer from dependency syndrome. Little (2008: 860) defines dependency syndrome as “a condition where farmers modify

their social and economic behavior in anticipation of food aid”. This definition is limited in that it only refers to dependency among farmers, excluding other social, economic and political facets that are also claimed to be impacted upon by dependency. Lentz, Barrett and Hoddinott (2005) provide a broader definition, stating that “an individual, household or community exhibits dependency when it cannot meet its immediate basic needs without external assistance”.

The literature on dependency makes contradictory claims that food aid fosters dependency, that dependency is not necessarily a bad thing, that dependency is necessary, and that food aid does in fact not lead to dependency at all. In an attempt to organize these arguments Barrett (2006) proposed a framework of theories of dependency. This will be explored in detail in Chapter 3 as the theoretical framework will be used and the validity of arguments will be tested with reference to the two selected case studies. In brief, the framework divides the literature into three different camps: those who claim negative dependency, those who claim positive dependency, and those who argue that food aid does not lead to dependency at all.

Shapouri and Rosen (2004), Srinivasan (1989: 62), Wanjiru (2014: 46), Levinsohn and McMillan (2007:595) and Kabonga (2017: 36) support the claim that food aid may lead to negative dependency. Barrett (2006) defines negative dependency as the situation when “meeting current needs comes at the cost of reducing recipients’ capacity to meet their own basic needs in the future without external assistance. When people alter their behavior in response to the provision of assistance that unwittingly creates disincentives to undertake desirable behavior”. The motivation behind claims of negative dependency is the thought that donors use food aid as a method of surplus disposal (Lentz, Barrett and Hoddinott, 2005). It is also perceived that donors who impose conditionalities on recipients and set down conditions that are favourable to them use food aid as a tool of power. The consequences of food aid – perceived to be disincentives, weak markets, an undeveloped agricultural sector etc. – force recipients to rely on food aid from donor countries, ultimately fostering dependency.

Positive dependency recognizes the necessity for food aid. Supporters of these arguments state that dependency is not necessarily a negative consequences when the alternative is destitution. Barrett (2006) defined positive dependency as “helping people meet basic needs when they otherwise could not”. Scholars arguing that the positive effects of food aid outweigh the negative effects of dependency include Awokuse (2006), Makenete, Ortmann and Darroch (1998: 263) Gilligan and Hoddinott (2006); Shaw and Phillips (2002: 203-204), and Levinsohn and McMillan (2007). Tadesse and Shively (2009: 942) acknowledge the complexity of these arguments and define food aid as “a necessary evil”.

The final camp in the literature on dependency is those who do not acknowledge the link between food aid and dependency. Hoddinott (2004: 4) claims that “no one has published any solid empirical

evidence of dependency on food aid – people simply assume that dependency exists”. Although the causal links drawn between food aid and dependency may sometimes be based on assumptions, the claim that no empirical evidence has been published is no longer true. In 2014 Wanjiru published a comprehensive study that provided proof of food aid dependency in Kenya (Wanjiru, 2014: 46).

The three categories of the literature on dependency will be further discussed in Chapter 3, which will elaborate on the theoretical framework of theories of dependency to be used in analyses of the case studies.

### 2.6.3. Development

The majority of arguments pertaining to the positive influence of food aid are based on the topic of development. These arguments hold that food aid promotes development in recipient countries, which ultimately enables them to strengthen their food security. Most food aid donors present development as a desirable objective. Barrett (2006) states that food aid promotes development “through stimulating accumulation of productive assets and increasing the productivity of pre-existing assets”. Since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century there has been a shift in the purported purpose of food aid from simply alleviating hunger to the development of recipient countries’ capabilities (Hopkins, 1984; Hopkins, 1992; Harvey et al., 2010).

There are various ways in which food aid supposedly promotes development. In 1965 FitzGerald stated that by enabling individuals to consume adequate amounts of calories, food aid influences development positively. When individuals are well fed, they are less likely to be fatigued or ill and thus more capable of contributing to development. FitzGerald (1965) referred to school feeding schemes, claiming that such programmes do more to increase national income than investments in irrigation or transportation, as it enables a generation of young people to develop to their full extent (FitzGerald, 1965: 3). Food aid also contributes to utilising the available resources in recipient countries, enabling them to promote development without having to worry about obtaining the necessary resources from elsewhere (Srinivasan, 1989: 40-41). Given the shift in the food aid regime towards promoting development, food aid is now often provided along with development projects such as food-for-work or school feeding schemes (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 131; Srinivasan, 1989: 41). These projects might not have been undertaken had food aid not been provided. Thus, the development enabled by these programmes is also attributed to the provision of food aid.

There are arguments claiming that food aid does not promote development and some even hold that food aid hinders development. Reference to disincentives and dependency are made to support such claims. Barrett and Maxwell (2005: 129) explain that the extent to which food aid is truly developmental is contingent upon the circumstances under which it is provided. Again, there has been

little empirical evidence gathered on this topic and it is difficult to draw a clear line of causation between food aid and development (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 128-129).

#### 2.6.4. Targeting

Targeting is the fourth topic identified in this study as a major point of argument in the literature on the positive or negative influence of food aid. Grace, Wei and Murray (2017: 869) define targeting as “restricting the coverage of an intervention to those who are perceived to be most at risk in order to maximize the benefit of the intervention whilst minimizing the cost”. Barrett and Maxwell (2005: 139) explain that targeting concerns the *who*, *when*, *where*, *what*, *how* and the *how much* questions surrounding food aid transfers. Effective targeting ensures that those who need it the most are recipients of food aid and that they receive it in a manner that enables them to access and utilise it successfully.

Many arguments pertaining to the positive influence of food aid are based on the prerequisite of effective targeting, while many arguments highlighting the negative influence of food aid refers to the detrimental consequences of ineffective targeting. Although Little (2008: 860) and Barrett (2006) present ineffective targeting as a reason why recipients do not develop dependency, there is agreement between scholars that ineffective targeting is by no means a favourable condition (Shapouri and Rosen, 2004; Awokuse, 2006; Barrett, 2006; Giligan and Hoddinott, 2006; Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 140; Lowder and Raney, 2005: 11). The first of three main consequences of ineffective targeting is donor mistrust (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 140). When targeting is not done correctly, donors have no way of establishing certainty about whether the reported number of people requiring assistance and the amount and type of aid requested are genuine (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 155). This makes them less likely to provide aid and can have detrimental consequences for those in need. The second consequence of ineffective targeting is that food aid becomes a weak tool for promoting food security and alleviating poverty (Awokuse, 2006). If the people in need do not receive the provided food aid, it has less of an impact on the issues it aims to address (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 141). The third consequence of ineffective targeting is that the aid may be used for unintended purposes. If it is not supplied directly to the targeted individuals, households or communities, the aid may be intercepted and used for the self-interest of others (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005: 144).

Barrett and Maxwell (2005: 139-140) mention four aspects needed in order to successfully target food aid provision: a clear set of criteria; the necessary administrative feasibility; participation of the afflicted people themselves; and predetermination of type, form and method of food aid transfers. Shapouri and Rosen (2004) hold that ineffective targeting of food aid is a major reason why food aid has not had a larger influence on the eradication of world hunger. However, Grace, Wei and Murray (2017: 867) claim that despite this, very few studies have evaluated the effectiveness of food aid

targeting. Targeting remains a much-discussed topic related to arguments about the impact of food aid on recipient countries. If food aid is well targeted, Lowder and Raney (2005: 11) state that minimal errors of inclusion will occur. Consequently, hunger and food security will be reduced much more efficiently.

The four topics discussed in this section provide a summary of the most often presented arguments regarding the positive and negative influences of food aid. It is important for this study to provide an overview of these topics as the arguments outlined here will be taken into account when the case studies are analysed.

## **2.7. Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on the concepts of hunger, food security and food aid, and the possible relationships between them. It elaborated on the development of the definition of food security, the four components used to determine food security, levels on which food security is analysed, and the main causes of food security as identified in the literature. Furthermore it reviewed the complexities regarding the definition of food aid, and presented a review of the literature on the history and development of food aid as a concept as well as the food aid regime; it also elaborated on the different forms and types of food aid as well as the major donors. Finally, this chapter identified the main arguments in the debate on the positive and/or negative influences of food aid. The literature reviewed in this chapter and the main points identified relate to the theoretical frameworks that will be employed. These frameworks will be discussed in Chapter 3.

In conclusion, one can state that despite multiple accusations made and subjective conclusions drawn, the relation between food aid and food security is not often addressed directly in the literature. This thesis will contribute to this limited body of literature by reviewing this relationship in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa – specifically in Kenya and Mozambique.

## Chapter Three

### Theoretical and conceptual frameworks of food aid and food security

#### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter will identify and describe the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that are used in this study. These frameworks are necessary to analyse the case studies effectively and ultimately answer the research questions posed in this thesis. In addition to explaining these frameworks, this chapter will highlight their relevance to the research and how they will assist in addressing the research problem.

Three frameworks have been identified as useful conceptual tools that will be applied in this study, namely human security, theories of dependency and the capabilities approach. These frameworks can be considered lenses through which the research/case studies will be conducted. Human security is the first of these to be discussed. This chapter will posit that human security should be considered an approach rather than a theory. It will elaborate on the concept of human security and focus on the intrinsic relationship between human security and food security. By discussing the threats to both human security and food security, the relationship between these concepts will become even clearer. The utility of human security as an approach to this study of food security will be made evident.

The second framework to be discussed is theories of dependency. When this section refers to dependency as a theoretical framework, it does not refer to the well-known dependency theory championed by Singer and Prebisch in the late 1950s. To avoid confusion, the term *theories of dependency* is used to reference the framework used in this study. This section will define the concept of dependency in the context of this study and elaborate on the relationship between food aid and theories of dependency. By highlighting these linkages, the relevance of this framework to this study will become clear. Three different arguments related to theories of dependency will be discussed: (1) negative dependency, (2) positive dependency, and (3) the denial of dependency. When the case studies are analysed, the relevance of these arguments to each case study area will be ascertained. This will allow conclusions to be drawn regarding the impact of food aid in each country.

The third and final framework that will be used to address the research questions is the capabilities approach (CA). This framework serves as an underlying approach to the research as a whole. This section will discuss the key concepts applicable in this approach, as well as their relation to each other and their relevance to the research questions. The utility of the CA as an approach to food security will be discussed, and previous studies drawing on this approach will be mentioned. To ensure effective employment of the approach, critiques of the original version will be noted. Developments of the original CA, and deemed relevant to the outcome of this study, will be considered.

As none of the abovementioned frameworks offers an exclusive model that can be directly applied to the case studies, the relevance of each of these frameworks in addressing the research questions will be highlighted throughout this chapter. The chapter will explain why human security, theories of dependency and the capabilities approach have been chosen as the guiding frameworks for this study. At the conclusion of this chapter, the most relevant elements of each of these frameworks will have been identified. This will be used to create a structured approach, according to which the case studies of Kenya and Mozambique will be evaluated.

## **3.2. Theoretic and conceptual frameworks**

### **3.2.1. Human security**

#### 3.2.1.1. An approach rather than a theory

Human security has been described as many different things, *“a rallying cry, a political campaign, a new conceptualization of security, a set of beliefs about sources of violent conflicts, and a guide for policymakers and academic researchers”* (Paris, 2001: 102).

Despite various attempts to define the concept concisely, human security remains vague and, some argue, ambiguous (Paris, 2001: 88; Rajaonarison, 2014: 377). This study recognizes that human security is not a theory to be applied and tested, but that it should rather be considered as an approach towards understanding security, or a paradigm within which to explore the concept.

A theory describes a version of reality. A useful theory has explanatory power, as well as the ability to predict behaviour based on existing evidence. According to Wacker (1998: 361), the four basic criteria that a theory must have are (1) conceptual definitions, (2) domain limitations, (3) relationship building, and (4) predictions. Human security does not meet all four of these criteria. This study rather adopts the view expressed in the 5<sup>th</sup> issue of the United Nations Newsletter on Human Security (2009) that human security should not be considered a theory, but rather as an approach to context-specific situations.

A human security approach to the concept of security shifts the focus from the state to the individual. Consequently, the *lens* – previously only focused on military security – is widened to include all fields related to the overall security of a human being. The Commission on Human Security (CHS) states that human security presents a reconceptualisation of the concept of security (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2009: 6). Along with Rajaonarison (2014: 378), the CHS identifies human security as a much-needed new paradigm within which the notion of security should be analysed (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2009: 6).

In a publication by the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (2009: 12), the paradigm of human security is said to employ responsive, collaborative and sustainable measures to address complex situations of insecurity. These measures are expected to comply with the five principles that inform human security as an approach: (1) *people-centred*, (2) *multi-sectoral*, (3) *comprehensive*, (4) *context-specific*, and (5) *prevention-oriented* (Clay and Stokke, 2013: 4; United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2009: 7). One of the reasons for the relevance of human security as an approach to this study is that these principles underlie the research conducted for this thesis.

A human security approach also allows for the recognition/consideration of unconventional causes of insecurity. Although dependency and food aid are not usually perceived as threats to security, the broad parameters set by a human security approach, as well as its focus on individuals, allows for the investigation of such possibilities. In 2009 a UNTFHS newsletter stated: “A human security approach allows us to comprehensively address the full range of factors that affect the security of individuals” (Human Security at the United Nations, 2009). In addition to this, a 2015 report on a UNTFHS programme that focused on food security found that the employment of a human security approach allowed for the root causes of the insecurities to be address. If a narrow, traditional approach to security had been applied, these causes would most likely not have been identified (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2015).

### 3.2.1.2. The concept of human security

After this shift in focus within the realm of security, which took place during the late 1980s, human security was reconceptualised. Up to then security had been perceived as a limited concept, predominantly concerned with the safety of the state. Clay and Stokke (2013: 3) describe this traditional approach to security as “security of territory from external aggression, protection of national interests in foreign policy, or global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust”. When the Cold War ended in 1991, other aspects of security, which until then had been hidden in the shadow of state security, came to the fore (Clay and Stokke, 2013: 3; O’Brien, 2012: 42). This led to the realisation that a new paradigm to understand security was needed.

The concern with human security originated as a response to the complexities of the old, as well as the newly recognised, threats to security (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2009: 6). Many of the ‘new’ threats had the capacity to acquire transnational dimensions, meaning that traditional methods, which focused exclusively on military protection of the state, would no longer suffice (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2009: 6). Tanaka (2015: 20) holds that states have remained important, but their capacities have been limited. Human security thus presented a shift from a political, state-centric approach to security implemented through weapons and military-based interventions, and to a development-orientated approach that prioritises the security of individuals

(United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2009: 6; Huish, 2008: 1387; States News Service, 2012; Tanaka, 2015: 4; O'Brien, 2012: 42).

In 1994 the concept of human security in this sense was formally introduced for the first time in a report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on Human Development. The concept was explained as having two main aspects: “safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression” and “protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life”. This specific reference made to “hunger” supports the relevance of this approach to this study, as food insecurity was understood as compromising human security.

Since the introduction of human security as a concept, it has been heavily criticised for its ambiguity (Tanaka, 2015: 1; Huish, 2008: 1394). Huish (2008: 1386) notes that it is often debated whether human security should be considered a “practical approach” or “a humanitarian vision”.

Since 1994 the concept of human security has been subject to various definitions (Tanaka, 2015: 2; Paris, 2001: 91-92; Clay and Stokke, 2013: 3; Huish, 2008: 1388). Because it is such a broad concept, it lends itself to context-specific interpretations. However, most of the definitions implicitly or explicitly refer to two aims of human security: guaranteeing individuals “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear” (Tanaka, 2015: 1; Huish, 2008: 1394; United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2009: 6; Rajaonarison, 2014: 377). In 2012 the United Nations General Assembly reached consensus the concept of human security and adopted Resolution 66/290, which recognises human security as “the right of all people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair”, and that “all individuals, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential” (United Nations General Assembly, 2012). The definition remains broad, but Paris (2001: 102) argues that the strength of human security as a concept lies in its “inclusiveness and holism”.

The comprehensive approach of human security assists in identifying a broad array of threats faced by individuals, as well as multidimensional root causes of these threats (Food and Agricultural Organisation and United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2016). As this study aims to identify a broad array of threats and their causes within the specific context of food security, applying a human security approach to the research will be of much use. Tanaka (2015: 4) states that human security is “concerned with understanding human conditions, while looking at hypothetical relations between causes and effects”. As this study is analysing the relationship between food aid and food security, while also considering the causes of food insecurity and the effects of food aid within case studies, a human security approach once again proves relevant.

### 3.2.1.3. Seven facets of human security

“New” threats recognised with this shift to an emphasis on human security have led to the conceptualisation of new facets of security. Within the concept of human security, seven different types of securities have been identified: (1) environmental security, (2) economic security, (3) health security, (4) personal security, (5) community security, (6) political security, and (7) food security (States News Service, 2012; Shindell et al., 2012; United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2009; United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2015; O’Brien, 2012).

These seven facets of human security are interlinked. Thus, analysing one of them without acknowledging the broader range and context of human security would limit the effectiveness of such a study. As this thesis aims to address research questions regarding the relationship between food aid and food security, a human security approach to the concept of food security is required to ensure effective contextualisation and focused conclusions. When analysing food security within the chosen case studies, the four components of food security will be evaluated.<sup>4</sup> By determining the extent to which these components are fulfilled in each country-specific situation/evaluation, the extent of food security in the case study country can be determined.

### 3.2.1.4. Threats to food security and human security

“Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Food and Agricultural Organisation and United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2016). If food security is not realised, people are thus being denied their fundamental human right to adequate food, which in turn compromises human security. Food insecurity, along with threats to food security, is therefore also considered as a threat to human security.

In Chapter 2 the five main causes of food insecurity, and thus threats to food security, were identified: (1) population growth, (2) climate change and natural disasters/environmental shocks, (3) political instability and conflict, (4) weak economic conditions and poverty, and (5) social and demographic factors. The prevalence and extent of each of these causes will be evaluated/explored within the context of each case study. This will ensure a clear perspective when analysing the relationship between food security and food aid. Failing to consider the prevalence of these causes may lead to the wrongful conviction of food aid as the sole cause of food insecurity, consequently running the risk of being unable to address the research questions appropriately. As food security is a prerequisite for achieving human security, these threats to food security also negatively influence human security.

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<sup>4</sup> As previously mentioned, the four components of food security are: availability of food, access to food, utilisation of food, and stability of food security, which is also sometimes referred to as a measure of vulnerability.

Some of them also pose obvious threats to other facets of human security, highlighting the interlinkages between these concepts.

#### 3.2.1.5. Interrelation between food security and human security

The former Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations, Asha-Rose Migiro, referred to the various facets of human security when he stated, “For a refugee, human security is shelter and a safe haven from storms or conflict or disaster, for a woman caught in conflict, it is protection from harm, for a child living in poverty, it is the chance to go to school and for a hungry family, human security means having dinner on the table” (States News Service, 2012).

The interrelation between food security and human security is clear (Food and Agricultural Organisation and United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2016). In their 2018 publication Hossain, Raheem and Cormier state: “The human security approach is predicated on being people-centered and building the capacity of individuals – which are both key for building resilience for food security and nutrition” (Hossain, Raheem and Cormier, 2018: 7). Because of the relationship between the two concepts, many studies, projects and programmes apply a human security approach when studying food security (Shindell et al., 2012; O’Brien, 2012; Human Security at the United Nations, 2009; Huish, 2008). Given the utility of such an approach in the context of food security and the added perspective it provides to the research, this study will apply the same approach. This serves as an underlying motive for the research, justifying the significance of food security and why it is important to determine the relation it has to food aid. If food aid influences food security negatively, it consequently compromises human security. If food aid improves food security, it also improves human security. If either of these conclusions is arrived after the research questions have been addressed, further research will be recommended to ensure that human security is promoted by food aid and its relation to food security.

#### **3.2.2. Theories of dependency**

When using the term *dependency* in the context of a theoretical framework, the common assumption is that it refers to dependency theory. It is important to note that this is not the case in this particular study. Instead, this study will use the term *theories of dependency* when referring to this theoretical framework. This is done to avoid confusion and to ensure a clear conceptual understanding of the term ‘dependency’ in the context of this study. Yet it is necessary to establish an understanding of dependency theory, so that it may become clear why this theory is *not* considered relevant in addressing the research questions. Because the term ‘dependency’ is of great significance in this study, its various contexts – including that of dependency theory – should be understood.

### 3.2.2.1. Dependency theory

In the late 1950s members of the United Nations Economic Commission (UNEC) for Latin America realised that economic growth in developed countries did not necessarily lead to growth in poorer, developing countries (Ferraro, 2008: 58). In many cases such growth in richer countries actually created economic problems rather than prosperity in poorer countries. The Director of the Latin American UNEC, Raul Prebisch, along with Hans Singer, a member of the United Nations Secretariat, explained the issue as follows: Poor countries export their primary commodities to richer countries, where the commodities are then used to manufacture products. These products are then sold back to the poor countries at a higher cost than that of the original commodities, hence poor countries are unable to pay for their imports with the money earned from their exports (Ferraro, 2008: 59). This creates a cycle in which richer countries become relatively richer and poorer countries become relatively poorer. Consequently, they develop a sense of dependency on the imports from richer countries.

Prebisch's proposed solution was for developing countries to implement import substitution, to limit their reliance on imports from developed nations and develop self-sufficiency (Ferraro, 2008: 58). In the years following its formulation, dependency theory became a popular approach to analyses of development and underdevelopment in the international political economy. The theory has had many adherents who refined it, resulting in the creation of various strands of dependency theory.<sup>5</sup> These strands span the fields of economics, politics, development and world systems.

In 2017 Kabonga published a critical analysis of dependency theory and its relation to donor aid. The author claims to have found "a conspicuous recognition that donor aid fosters dependency of third world countries on first world countries" (Kabonga, 2017: 2). The use of the term *dependency theory* in that study indicates that it was orientated towards economic theory, rather than using a human security approach as this thesis does. Unlike Kabonga's analysis, this study does not focus on economic development, but rather considers the relationship between food aid and food security, which makes dependency theory less relevant.

One of the main arguments in the literature regarding the relationship between food aid and food security is the claim that food aid fosters dependency in recipient countries. Dependency is argued either to contribute to food security, have no influence on food security, or undermine food security. The validity of these arguments will be determined in each of the selected case studies in order to address the research questions meaningfully. This concept of dependency does not refer to economic dependency – as it does in dependency theory – but rather to the creation of disincentives and factors that have an impact on food security.

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<sup>5</sup> Contributors to the development of various strands of dependency theory include Frank (1966), Sunkel (1969) and Dos Santos (1971).

### 3.2.2.2. Concept of dependency in theories of dependency

There is no universally accepted definition of the concept of dependency. Although the term is widely used in the literature, it has seldom been clearly defined. In instances where it has been defined concisely, the definition tends to be context-specific. This limits the interpretation of the definition to a certain field of knowledge. The broad spectrum of definitions of dependency includes the one by Sunkel (1969), who defined dependency as the economic development of states whose development depends on external influences. Dos Santos (1971) defines dependency as a condition that shapes a world economy in which some countries are favoured to the detriment of others. Both these definitions relate to the dependency theory discussed above and are thus not relevant to the concept of *dependency* as used in this study.

Other definitions of the term dependency outside the realm of dependency theory include that by Lautze and Hammock (1996), who claim that a neutral definition is that “dependency can be defined as extreme reliance on resources beyond one’s control”. Lensink and White (1999: 13) define dependency within the context of aid dependence and development, stating that “a country is aid dependent if it will not achieve objective X in the absence of aid for the foreseeable future”. In a Hobbesian sense, dependency is defined as “domination over subjects who must try to avoid it by striving for independence and liberty” (Wenner, 2017: 158). While this definition paints dependency in a negative light, Wenner (2017: 158) claims “vulnerability is a basic condition of human life”, and hence that “dependency on others is necessary and unavoidable”. This can be related to arguments of positive dependency, which will be considered in the case studies of this study and discussed later in this section.

In the 2005 Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG) Research Report, Harvey and Lind recognize that dependency is a “fuzzily defined term”. In an attempt to establish a clear understanding of the concept in all of its contexts, they identify five assumptions that underpin its common usage: it is (1) considered to be something negative that should be avoided; (2) associated with relief provision and contrasted with development; (3) thought to undermine people’s initiative; (4) contrasted with positive concepts such as self-sufficiency, self-reliance, independency and sustainability; and (5) considered a particular problem in situations where relief assistance has been provided over a prolonged period (Harvey and Lind, 2005). These assumptions all relate to the concept of negative dependency. Along with arguments of positive dependency and arguments denying the existence of dependency, arguments of negative dependency will be discussed later in this section and considered in the context of the selected case studies.

Considering the wide variety of approaches to the concept of dependency and consequently the vast array of definitions, it is necessary to clarify the definition of dependency within the context of this study. In this study of the relationship between food aid and food security, dependency refers to a

condition that is either imposed on individuals within recipient countries by the actions and conditionalities of food aid donors, or which develops within recipient countries as a consequence of receiving food aid. Along with *development*, *targeting* and *disincentives*, *dependency* is one of the four main points of argument identified in the literature on the relationship between food aid and food security. The relevance and salience of these four concepts will be established within the context of each case study.

### 3.2.2.3. Relationship between food aid and dependency

The relationship between aid and dependency has long been a topic of debate. The debate includes arguments regarding the extent to which countries are dependent on aid, the influence aid has on growth and governance, as well as the likelihood of aid resulting in dependency (Wenner, 2017: 159; Harvey and Lind, 2005). This type of dependency refers to “a group losing the ability and willingness to solve its problems independently, without help from external aid” (Wenner, 2017: 159). The assumption is that dependency can be developed on whatever donors care to make available (IPSnews.net, 1996).

The common assumption is that donor aid is provided as a means to assist recipient countries in situations that they cannot overcome on their own. Lensink and White (1999: 16) identified five common themes in the policy statements of donors regarding the objective of aid provision: (1) self-sustaining growth, (2) poverty reduction, (3) environmental sustainability, (4) female emancipation, and (5) good governance. During the 21<sup>st</sup> century it has become clear that these objectives are not always met in countries receiving aid. Instead of realising these objectives, recipient countries sometimes “remain unable to meet their basic needs in the absence of relief assistance”, a situation defined by Harvey and Lind (2005) as aid dependence.

Like the concept of dependency, aid dependence has been defined in multiple ways.<sup>6</sup> In the light of the array of definitions in the literature, Lensink and White (1999: 11) have identified five ideas that are associated with the concept of aid dependency: (1) receiving aid above a certain level, (2) receiving more aid than can be usefully utilised, (3) ineffective aid, (4) aid generating the need for more aid, and (5) donor community dominating the design of aid programmes. With reference to these ideas, various studies have been conducted on the relationship between aid and dependency.<sup>7</sup> Wenner (2017: 162) holds that during the 21<sup>st</sup> century “allegations regarding the creation of dependency have been especially pronounced in the domain of food aid”.

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<sup>6</sup> See Ryrie, 1995:49-50; Ghana Country Assistance Review by World Bank, 1995: 15; Riddell, 1996: 4.

<sup>7</sup> See Lensink and White, 1999; Hanson and Tarp, 2001; Guillaumont and Chauvet, 2001; Minoiu and Reddy, 2010; Furjelová, 2010; Wenner, 2017.

To answer the secondary research questions of this study, the food aid received by the case study countries, as well as the prevalence of their dependency on food aid, will be analysed.

*Secondary research questions:*

- *What are the main arguments presented in the debate regarding the positive or negative relationship between food aid and food security?*
- *How valid are the arguments presented in the debate, regarding the relationship between food aid and food security, in the cases of Kenya and Mozambique?*

In a controlled attempt to understand the food aid received per country, the study will consider four aspects: (1) the type of food aid received, (2) the form of food aid received, (3) the main donors of the food aid, and (4) the amount and/or frequency of food aid received. Barret's (2006) framework of theories of dependency will be employed in the analysis of dependency in the case study countries. The framework divides the literature on the topic into three camps: *negative dependency*, *positive dependency* and *denial of dependency*. The main arguments pertaining to each of these camps will be stated. The validity of these arguments will be determined in each of the case studies, consequently allowing the researcher to determine the prevalence of these conditions. Because the framework of Theories of Dependency is based on Barrett's (2006) publication, the following three sections, (highlighting the main arguments of *negative dependency*, *positive dependency* and *denial of dependency*), will draw heavily on his work.

#### 3.2.2.4. Arguments of negative dependency

Barrett (2006) defines negative dependency as the situation that arises when "meeting current needs comes at the cost of reducing recipients' capacity to meet their own basic needs in the future without eternal assistance. When people alter their behavior in response to the provision of assistance that unwittingly creates disincentives to undertake desirable behavior" (Barrett, 2006). Six main points of argument regarding the relationship between food aid and negative dependency have been identified in literature: (1) disincentives, (2) price effects, (3) distortion of social safety nets and increased risk taking, (4) moral hazard, (5) food as a weapon, and (6) bad governance. These arguments will be used to shape the analysis of negative dependency in each of the case study countries.

The first argument claims that food aid leads to both **labour and production disincentives** in recipient communities (Barrett, 2006; Kabonga, 2017: 7; Harvey and Lind, 2005; IPS News, 1996; Lensink and White, 1999: 23). The reception of food aid, specifically through feeding schemes, is perceived to lessen individuals' need for money as they no longer have to work for a salary in order to purchase food. In a study conducted in 2005 Abdulai, Barrett and Hoddinott concluded that there was a definite negative correlation between food aid received and labour effort expended in an Ethiopian community. The claim of reduced production incentives is based on the fact that food aid

reduces market demand and affects local prices. If both labour and production incentives are destroyed, development will cease, inducing detrimental effects for a food aid dependent country once aid is no longer provided.

The claim of reduced production incentives is partly based on the effect food aid is perceived to have on food prices. This constitutes the second argument about negative dependency, namely **price effects**. The inflow of in-kind and/or monetary food aid is perceived to influence local food prices (Barrett, 2006; Harvey and Lind, 2005; Furjelová, 2010: 5; Lensink and White, 1999: 19). Barrett (2006) explains the two main concerns regarding the relationship between food aid and food prices. In the case of in-kind food aid, the supply of food increases at a higher rate than the demand for it. This exerts downward pressure on local food prices. If local producers and suppliers are forced to lower their prices, their incentive to provide food may be distorted, as their income would decrease along with the demand for their products.

When monetary food aid is provided, general purchasing power increases, boosting local purchases and, if the market is not well integrated into the global market, this may lead to an increase of local prices. A price increase will be harmful to poor citizens who do not benefit from food aid distribution. In addition to this, Barret (2006) argues that increased food prices may force poorer citizens to liquidate their productive assets in order to afford food products that have become relatively expensive, ultimately increasing their dependence on food aid. This type of behaviour alludes to the third argument about negative dependency, as liquidation of productive assets to afford food is a great risk, and ultimately a consequence, of food aid provision.

The third argument is about the **distortion of social safety nets and increased risk taking** (Barret, 2006; Kabonga, 2017: 7; Wenner, 2017: 159). Food aid is thought to undermine safety nets, such as remittances and government relief strategies that are already in place. By relying on food aid rather than these planned procedures, a country becomes increasingly vulnerable, as the provision of food aid is not always guaranteed, reliable and sustainable. When a country is receiving food aid and experiences an inflow of either money or food products, individuals are more inclined to take risks that they might not take when food is scarce or purchasing power is low. Food aid creates an illusion of food security to which individuals respond. When food aid ceases, circumstances may change drastically, leaving risk takers in difficult and/or unforeseen situations.

The fourth argument about negative dependency claims that food aid is a **moral hazard** (Harvey and Lind, 2005; Wenner, 2017: 159; IPSnews.net, 1996; Lensink and White, 1999: 23). The first concern is that recipients of food aid may experience a sense of shame or defeat as they are forced to accept external assistance. Consequently, they lose the willingness to respond to their own problems and adopt a “let the donors do it” mentality (Lensink and White, 1999: 9). The concept of self-reliance is

destroyed, as recipients believe that they will be unable to overcome future upheavals without the help of *richer* countries. Another concern is that the provision of food aid often lacks contextualization, ignoring the social, cultural and religious values of recipients.

The fifth argument claims that **food aid** is too often used **as a weapon, a tool of power or as part of donors' economic and political strategies** (Barrett, 2006; Kabonga, 2017: 9; IPSnews.net, 1996; Furjelová, 2010: 4; Minoiu and Reddy, 2010: 5; Lensink and White, 1999: 23). The intentions and motives of donors are thought to be not always righteous. Donors supposedly use aid to promote their self-interest and impose conditionalities on recipients that “poison” the assistance (IPSnews.net, 1996). Conditionalities give donors more control over their donations and often influence the flow of resources from recipient countries to donor nations. As a political and economic strategy, donors use aid to control the moves of recipient countries and manipulate them in their favour. The thought of food aid being used as a weapon is based on the idea that aid creates dependence. When recipient countries have become dependent on food aid, donors use the aid as a weapon with which they control their dependent subjects.

The final argument regarding negative dependency is that food aid induces **bad governance** (Kabonga, 2017: 8; Harvey and Lind, 2005; Furjelová, 2010: 4; Lensink and White, 1999: 23; Wenner, 2017: 159). The intervention of donors in political processes is thought to create political dependency by expanding the power and influence of the donor state within the recipient country. This reduces the quality of governance and leads to decisions that do not necessarily align with the values of the state and its people. The involvement of donors in political processes also reduces the accountability of leaders and the government towards the people. By disguising or lessening the effects of hunger and food insecurity, food aid may create disincentives to undertake necessary policy reforms. In situations where monetary aid is provided, an opportunity is created for corruption, which is exacerbated by the lack of accountability.

#### 3.2.2.5. Arguments of positive dependency

Barrett (2006) explains the concept of positive dependency as follows: “dependence on external assistance is very likely to be welfare enhancing when the alternative is destitution or worse”. Although the term might appear paradoxical, he argues that it is a positive thing when individuals or communities are assisted to meet basic needs they otherwise could not (Barrett, 2006). Furthermore, Barrett (2006) explains that positive dependency is always claimed to be intentional, while negative dependency should be considered as the unintended consequence of aid or assistance.

As mentioned, when considering the objectives of aid as stated in donor policies of the late 1990s, the five common themes that arise are all positive: (1) self-sustaining growth, (2) poverty reduction, (3) environmental sustainability, (4) improving the position of women, and (5) good governance

(Lensink and White, 1999: 16). Although these objectives are not always realised, the literature on positive dependency argues that aid dependency remains positive if it allows recipients to survive situations in which food security is dire and if it aids recovery after a destructive crisis (Harvey and Lind, 2005; Barrett, 2006; Furjelová, 2010: 3). Although also contributing to the literature on negative dependency, Wenner (2017: 158) argues that vulnerability is a basic condition of human life. Defending the concept of positive dependency, she argues that dependency on others is thus an unavoidable aspect of existence (Wenner, 2017: 158).

Dependency might not be an intended consequence of food aid provision, but arguments of positive dependency state that its unintentionality does not necessarily imply negativity (Barrett, 2006; Tidball and Stedman, 2012: 292; Wenner, 2017: 158; Furjelová, 2010: 3; Harvey and Lind, 2005). Harvey and Lind (2005), specifically state that rather than assuming dependency is a negative concept, one must consider “the role that relief plays in the complex web of interdependencies that make up livelihoods under stress in crises”. Barrett (2006) highlights four arguments on the role of food aid, even if dependency ensues. These arguments thus contribute to the justification of the concept of positive dependency. The first argument is that food aid, even when it creates dependency, **provides access to food**, necessary to fulfil the basic human right to food (Barrett, 2006).

The second argument of positive dependency refers to the positive effects of food aid on **nutrition**. Food aid has the power to improve the general nutritional status of recipient communities and respond to signs of malnutrition, even if recipients become dependent on the aid provided (Barrett, 2006). The third argument refers to the positive influence of food aid on the **development of recipient markets**. Barrett (2006) holds that food aid helps to “nurture competitive, effective channels through which food can flow from producers to final consumers”. Abdulai et al. (2005) state that selling food aid through small, local traders and processors rather than through large commercial merchants may assist in creating a competitive and effective food distribution channel within local markets.

The final argument highlighted by Barrett (2006) regarding the positive effects of food aid under circumstances of dependency is the **stimulation of development and economic growth**. He states that stimulation of economic growth occurs as a consequence of food aid stimulating the accumulation of productive assets. As more resources are available for consumption, the productivity of human capital is increased, which has a positive effect on the economy and is of great benefit to the development of the recipient community (Barrett, 2006).

Apart from the specific arguments highlighted by Barrett (2006), the most common motive for the claim of positive dependency is the idea that even if recipients become dependent on food aid, and even if dependency might include some negative consequences, it remains a positive condition as it protects them from the onset of famine and/or destitution.

### 3.2.2.6. Arguments denying dependency

In addition to arguments of negative dependency and positive dependency, there are also arguments claiming that dependency is not a consequence of food aid. Some arguments hold that food aid does create the possibility of recipients developing dependency, but that its onset depends upon contextual elements such as the targeting, frequency and type of aid provided (Lensink and White, 1999: 14). Other arguments deny the possibility of recipients becoming dependent. They claim that as a result of the irregularity of food aid provision and the lack of transparency in the process, recipients are not able to ever fully rely on aid and will therefore never become dependent upon it (Harvey and Lind, 2005).

Arguments that deny dependency state that claims of dependency are often used as justification for the reduction of aid and withdrawal of assistance. Addressing this issue, Harvey and Lind (2005) state that “relief should not be withheld without solid evidence that the needs that prompted relief in the first place have been met”.

Employing the framework of theories of dependency, as explained in this section, enables the analysis of the relationship between food aid and food security in each of the selected case study countries. Arguments of negative dependency, positive dependency and denial of dependency will be considered, and their relevance will be determined in the context of Kenya and Mozambique. Doing so will assist in addressing the secondary research questions of this study.

### **3.2.3. The capabilities approach**

The capabilities approach (CA) serves as an underlying approach to the research in this study. The approach highlights the importance of considering individual contexts and capabilities when analysing food security. Food security relates to the wellbeing of a person. The CA emphasises that non-material factors influence a person’s wellbeing and should thus be considered when food security is analysed. This supports the context-specific approach to food security that this study will apply. The relationship between non-material factors and food security implies that a general analysis will not suffice, as all relevant factors might not be taken into account.

#### 3.2.3.1. Origin of the capabilities approach

Renowned economist, Amartya Sen, pioneered the CA in the late 1980s. Although the concept of capabilities was introduced in Sen’s 1979 lecture *Equality of What?*, the most comprehensive account of the CA was published in *Development as Freedom* in 1999. The approach emerged as an alternative to traditional economic frameworks and presented a new way of thinking about inequality, poverty and development (Clark, 2005: 3). Sen campaigned for a shift to take place from a narrow perspective of economic development, based on resource accumulation, to the broader idea of human

development, focused wellbeing of individuals. He criticized utilitarianism as an approach to promoting wellbeing, stating that it is too narrowly focused and limited (Clark, 2005: 2).

The CA is related to Aristotle's theory of political distribution, Adam Smith's work on necessities, and Karl Marx's theories on human freedom and emancipation (Clark, 2005: 2; Robeyns, 2005: 94). With reference to the CA, Sen specifically cites Marx's fundamental concern with "replacing domination of circumstances and chance over individuals by the domination of individuals over chance and circumstances" (Sen, 2013: 44). Without denying the social dimensions of humanity, the CA is in favour of an atomistic anthropology, in which individuals seek to first develop their own capabilities before entering into relationships with others (Renouard, 2011: 87). The approach states that individual wellbeing and quality of life should be determined by focusing on a person's "ability to achieve beings and doings that he/she has reason to value", referred to by Sen as "capabilities" (Voget-Kleschin, 2014: 455).

The relationship between food security and the CA was first addressed in the book *Hunger and Public Action*, published by Sen and Dreze in 1989. In the CA development is perceived as the expansion of individuals' capabilities (Deneulin, 2004: 18:). Expansion of individual capabilities provides greater freedom of choice and enhances individual wellbeing (Sen, 1990: 54). The importance of the CA in the analysis of food security can best be explained through two examples.

- Subject A is a resident of Kenya, experiencing hunger as a result of severe droughts limiting the availability of food and his access to it. Subject B is a Buddhist monk in Thailand, also experiencing hunger, as he has decided to fast with religious motives for a period of time. Both subjects are experiencing hunger, but only Subject A is experiencing food insecurity and thus his wellbeing is compromised, as he does not have the capability to take advantage of the four components of food security.
- A second example illustrates individual disparities regarding food security in a region. Subject C and Subject D both reside in a rural village in Mozambique. The village has a communal vegetable garden, but individuals are required to collect the produce themselves. Subject C is a physically fit 18-year-old male, while Subject D is an elderly woman who is unable to leave the shelter because of her weak physical condition. Although both Subject C and Subject D have food available as well as access to the food, Subject D does not have the capability to utilise the food successfully and thus her food security is less than that of Subject C.

In *Development as Freedom* Sen (1999: 70) states that "conversion of personal income, resources and commodities into wellbeing and freedom depends crucially on a number of contingent circumstances,

both personal and social”. This is illustrated in the examples presented above. As noted by Burchi and De Muro (2012), there is a lack of operationalization guidelines regarding the CA as an approach to food security. This section will thus elaborate on the key concepts of the capabilities approach and their relation to the analysis of food security. In doing so the relevance of this approach to this study will be evident and the paradigm in which the case studies will be conducted will be clarified.

### 3.2.3.2. Key concepts of the capabilities approach

There are two key concepts of the capabilities approach that makes it relevant as an approach to this study; they are (1) Capabilities and (2) Functionings.

‘Functionings’ refers to things that a person *is* and *does*. Nussbaum and Sen (1993: 31) state that functionings “represent parts of the state of a person – in particular the various things he or she manages to do or be in leading a life”. It is important to distinguish functionings from commodities, as commodities refer to resources used to achieve functionings (Gandjour, 2005: 348). The ability to achieve certain functionings depends on various social, economic and environmental factors (Robeyns, 2000). Because of the influence of personal choice and the freedom to decide, not all functionings that can be achieved are achieved. Sen (1990: 44) states that “A functionings is an achievement of a person”. Thus, it only refers to beings and doings that are realised.

Capabilities refers to “functionings” that are effectively possible, but not yet realised. It refers to “the ability of a person to achieve” (Robeyns, 2003: 11). Capabilities are thus determined with a consideration of a person’s freedom of choice (Nussbaum and Sen, 1993: 33). The total capabilities of an individual are referred to as a capability set. If one applies all the feasible utilities to all commodity bundles a person is able to attain, one obtains the capability set of a person.

Sen describes the relationship between capabilities and functionings as follows: “A functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve. Functionings are, in a sense, more directly related to living conditions, since they are different aspects of living conditions. Capabilities, in contrast, are notions of freedom, in the positive sense: what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead” (Sen 1988: 36).

The relationship between functionings and capabilities, as well as the thought process of the capabilities approach, may be explained through the use of a diagram (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Visual representation of the concepts in the capabilities approach

Source: The author

Realising a capability set from available resources is subject to individual circumstances, including health, beliefs, geographical location, temporal elements, freedom of choice, etc. Realizing achieved functionings from the identified capability set is subject to personal desires, motivations and choices. Utility should be perceived as the use of resources when functionings are achieved.

In relation to food security, resources may entail livestock and consumer goods. With regards to food security, the resources will determine whether or not food is available. The capability set of an individual regarding these resources is determined through interpersonal relationships and individual characteristics. The capability set will determine whether or not a person has access to food, and is able to utilise it successfully and sustainably. Achieved functionings will be based on what the individual decides to do with the resources. It is based on the capabilities a person decides to realise. Ultimately the utility of resources is determined. If food is available and the individual is able to access it, utilise it successfully and sustainably, and chooses to do so, the utility of the resources is to prevent hunger.

The importance of context-specific factors, personal characteristics and interpersonal relationships is highlighted within the capabilities approach. It indicates the relevance of such factors when analysing concepts that influence individual wellbeing. As food security is related to the wellbeing of a person, the CA is relevant as an approach to analysing the case studies in this thesis.

### 3.2.3.3. Application of the capability approach

Burchi and De Muro (2012: 10) state that the capabilities approach allows for the identification of the root causes of food insecurity. It acknowledges that food insecurity can be a result of various factors other than the lack of food availability. Although the CA offers a comprehensive approach to the study of food security, it has not often been utilised in this field. Burchi and De Muro (2012: 10) ascribe this to the lack of guidelines regarding the implementation of the approach. Rather than identifying the lack of guidelines as a shortcoming, Robeyns (2003: 4) argues that guidelines are not required for the employment of the approach. She describes the CA as a “mode of thinking about normative issues” and states that it should be considered a paradigm, without a “straightforward” structure (Robeyns, 2003: 4). Adopting the CA as a conceptual tool allows for a more comprehensive study that remains context-specific. It allows for an anthropocentric analysis that is focused on the ends rather than the means. The CA switches the focus from “demand over food” to “nutritional

capabilities”, a shift that is needed in order to address all components of food security (Burchi and De Muro, 2012: 10). In agreement with Robeyns’s (2003) stance, the CA will be adopted as a paradigm in this study. Doing so will ensure that all relevant aspects are taken into consideration when food security is assessed in Chapters 4 and 6.

#### 3.2.3.4. Critiques of the capabilities approach

Despite critiques regarding the lack of operationalization guidelines, which have already been addressed, Deneulin and Stewart (2002: 66) have claimed that the CA is too individualistic. In defence of the capabilities approach, Martha Nussbaum addressed such critiques, even before Deneulin and Stewart’s claim, with what she refers to as “the principle of each person as an end” (2000: 55-56).

The account we strive for [i.e. the capability approach] should preserve liberties and opportunities for each and every person, taken one by one, respecting each of them as an end, rather than simply as the agent or supporter of the ends of others. ... We need only notice that there is a type of focus on the individual person as such that requires no particular metaphysical position, and no bias against love or care. It arises naturally from the recognition that each person has just one life to live, not more than one. ... If we combine this observation with the thought ... that each person is valuable and worthy of respect as an end, we must conclude that we should look not just to the total or the average, but also to the functioning of each and every person (Nussbaum, 2000: 55-56).

The individual focus of the CA is what makes it so useful as a conceptual tool with which to analyse food security. It allows for the consideration of personal freedoms and capabilities, which might otherwise have been overlooked. Overlooking such factors may lead to unsuccessful attempts at reducing food security, as the root causes might not be evident. As food security relates to human security, the individualistic focus is justified the United Nations General Assembly’s definition of human security in Resolution 66/290 includes that, “all **individuals**, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential” (United Nations General Assembly, 2012).

#### 3.2.3.5. Development of the capabilities approach

In addition to articulating “the principle of each person as an end”, Nussbaum has contributed to considerable development of the capabilities approach since 1989.<sup>8</sup> Despite expressing her own insights, some which differ from Sen’s, she has also collaborated with Sen in *The Quality of Life* (1993). The main factor that sets Nussbaum’s work apart from Sen’s is that she draws heavily on Aristotle to develop a list of capabilities, which she deems as “central human capabilities” (Nussbaum, 2000: 74). Nussbaum states that the list “isolates those human capabilities that can be

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<sup>8</sup> Nussbaum, 1988, 1992, 1995, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2003.

convincingly argued to be of central importance in any human life, whatever else the person pursues or chooses” (Nussbaum, 2000: 74).

The list is as follows: (1) *Life*; (2) *Bodily health*; (3) *Bodily integrity*; (4) *Sense, imagination and thought*; (5) *Emotions*; (6) *Practical reason*; (7) *Affiliation*; (8) *Other species*; (9) *Play*; and (10) *Political and material control over one’s environment* (Nussbaum, 2000: 72-75).

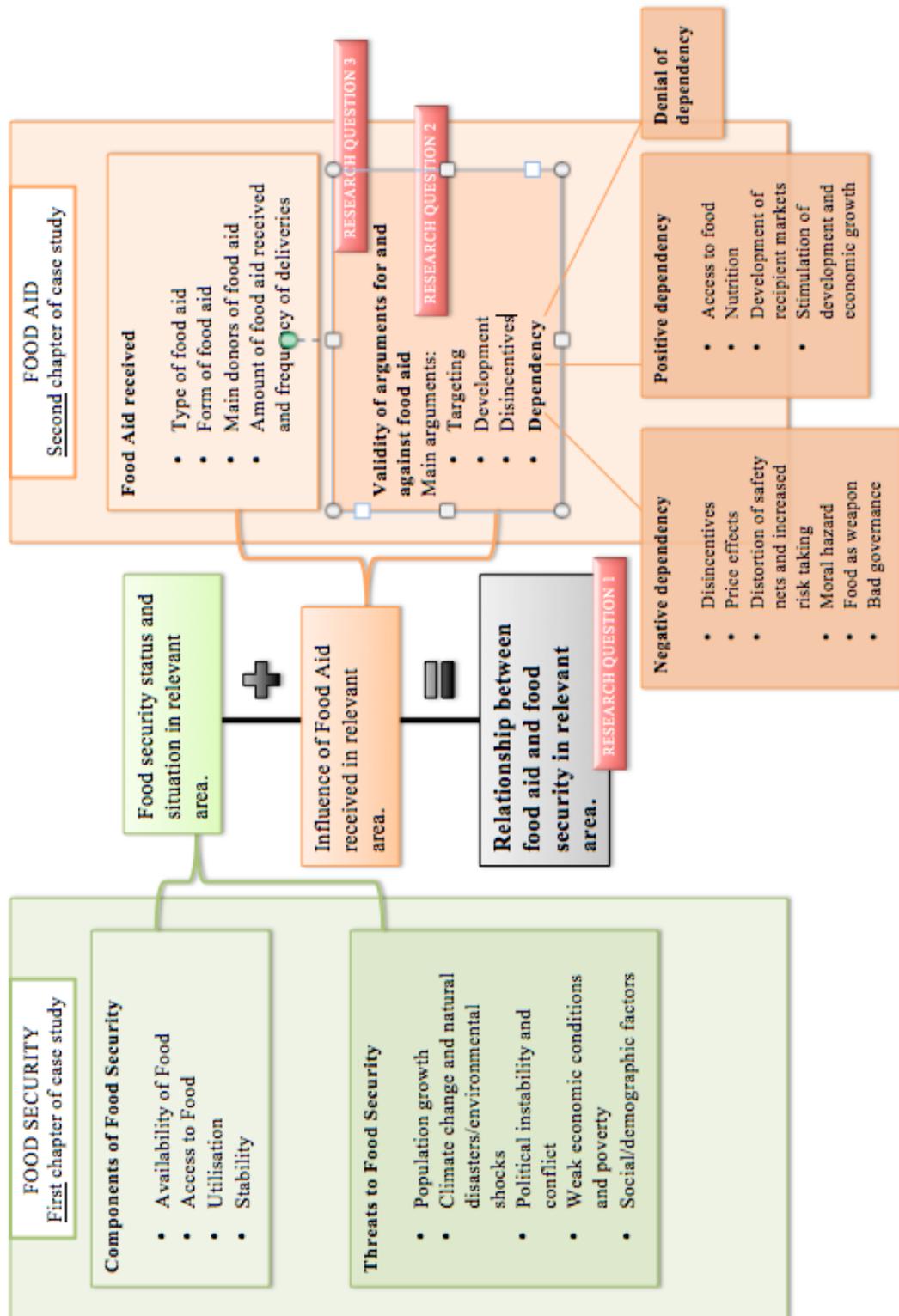
This development is relevant to the purpose of this study as the second capability on Nussbaum’s list relates to food security. Having the capability of *Bodily health* implies that one is capable of being well nourished. Should one choose not to fulfil this capability, the capability does not result in a functioning, but the capability still stands. The inclusion of *Bodily health* in this list indicates the importance of food security (or having the capability to be food secure). It is one of the “central human capabilities” (Nussbaum, 2000: 74). This highlights the importance of this study, which sets out to determine the relationship between food aid and food security. Practices undermining food security, and preventing these capabilities from being met, must be identified and addressed.

Employing the capability approach as a conceptual tool in this study allows for a more comprehensive analysis of food security in the context of the case studies. Understanding the difference between capabilities and functionings will assist in successful evaluation of food security as well as determining the relationship between food security and food aid. It also indicates that the provision of food aid does not necessarily increase food security, as non-material factors, individual characteristics and interpersonal relationships also come into play. The relevance of food security to *Bodily health*, as included in Nussbaum’s list of “Central Human Capabilities”, indicates the importance of effectively promoting food security and identifying any measures that could potentially be counter-effective.

### **3.3. Case study analytical framework**

Considering the three theoretical influences that have been discussed in this chapter, the following heuristic device (Figure 3.2) has been created according to which the two case studies will be conducted.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

The human security approach to food security, along with the capabilities approach, constructs the paradigm in terms of which the case study analyses will be conducted. The way in which these approaches influence the study has been discussed in this chapter. The framework of theories of dependency will be applied in the case studies by considering the relevance of arguments pertaining to negative dependency, positive dependency and the denial of dependency in each of the cases.

Each case study will be presented in two linked chapters. The Mozambican case study will be presented in Chapters 4 and 5, and the Kenyan case study in Chapters 6 and 7. The focus of each of the two chapters dealing with a single case study is tilted towards one of the main concepts of this thesis: the first chapter evaluates *food security* while the second considers *food aid*.

To ensure a successful response to the problem statement of this thesis, the primary and secondary research questions must be answered in the contexts of both case studies, and ultimately in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa. Utilising the conclusions of the case studies allows for this. Conducting each case study across two chapters is thus a measure of ensuring that the analyses are conducted in such a way to properly respond to each of the research questions.

The first chapter of a case study will contribute towards formulating a response to the primary research question in the case study contexts and, ultimately, in conjunction with the findings of the second case study, in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa. The second chapter of a case study will also contribute to responding to the primary research question, but unlike the first chapter, it will focus on answering the secondary research questions of this thesis in the case study context and, ultimately, in conjunction with the findings of the second case study, in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Implementing the above mentioned considerations in accordance with the theoretical tools identified in this chapter, and through applying the formulated heuristic device, the structure of each of the two case studies is outlined below.

#### First chapter of each case study

- (a) A brief **overview** of the case study country will be given to ensure proper contextualization of the analysis.
- (b) The **food security** of the case study country will be analysed. This will be done by considering the four components of food security: (1) availability of food, (2) access to food, (3) utilisation, and (4) stability, within the relevant context. This section incorporates components of both the human security and the capabilities approach, as it indirectly determines the human security of individuals as well as their capabilities.

- (c) The main **threats to food security**, as identified in the literature, will be considered. Threats to food security also threaten the human security of individuals and have the potential to restrict their capabilities. The extent to which these threats are present and pose a threat to food security in the context of the case study will be determined. This is done to ensure that food aid is not wrongfully assumed to be the cause of insufficient food security. If these threats are present, it is possible that they influence the extent of food security in the case study country.

#### Second chapter of each case study

- (a) The chapter will consider the **food aid** received by the specific country in the case study. It will consider the type of food aid received, the form in which the aid was received, the main donors of the aid, as well as the amount of aid received and frequency of deliveries. In order to address the primary research question of this study, it is necessary to establish a clear understanding of the level of food security as well as the food aid received by each of the case study countries.
- (b) The following section will consider the **validity of the main points of argument identified in the literature for and against food aid**, within the context of the case study. These are (1) targeting, (2) development, (3) disincentives, and (4) dependency. When analysing dependency, the arguments presented in theories of dependency regarding (a) *negative dependency*, (b) *positive dependency*, and (c) *denial of dependency*, will be considered. Their relevance and validity within the context of the case study will be determined. These arguments relate to the capabilities approach, as they refer to the extent to which food aid enhances or limits individual capabilities.

It should be noted that disincentives have been identified as one of the main arguments in the literature for and against food aid, as well as one of the main arguments of negative dependency. As the latter is more specified, it will not be discussed as a separate topic in the section “**validity of argument for and against food aid**”, but rather as the first factor discussed under negative dependency.

After considering (1.b) the food security of the case study country, (1.c) the relevant threats to food security, (2.a) the food aid received by the country and (2.b) the validity of the main arguments made for and against food aid within the context of the country, the case study will enable a comprehensive response to the primary and secondary research questions. The conclusions in each respective case

study context will ultimately be considered alongside each other to formulate a response to the research questions and problem statement in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa.

### **3.4. Conclusion**

This chapter has identified and described the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that will be employed in this study. It has indicated why the human security approach, theories of dependency and the capabilities approach are relevant and necessary to address the research questions. The human security approach and the capabilities approach will contribute towards enhancing the paradigm within which the study is conducted and serve as underlying approaches in the analyses. The framework presented by theories of dependency will be used when arguments against food aid, relating to dependency, are considered. Finally, the chapter has presented a heuristic device that will be utilised for analysing the case studies. The visual presentation of this device is followed by a schematic outline of the structure according to which the case studies will be conducted. The adoption of the methods and approaches mentioned in this chapter will facilitate accurate and comprehensive responses to the problem statement and research questions.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Food security in Mozambique**

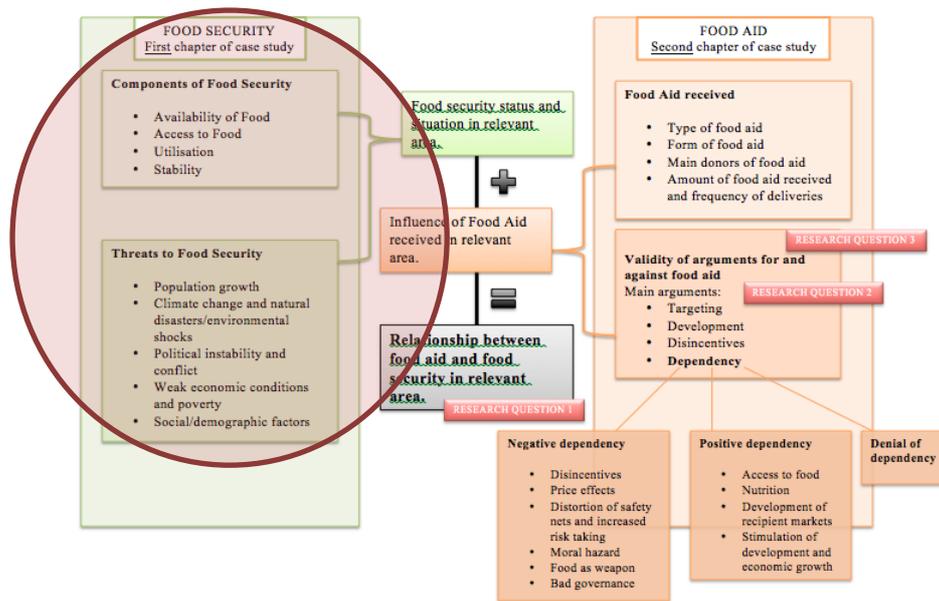
#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter is the first of two that collectively make up the first case study of this thesis – that of the most southerly of the two selected counties, Mozambique. As per the theoretical framework and case study structure presented in Chapter 3, the first part of this analysis is focused on Mozambican food security. Before applying this structure, a brief overview of Mozambique is given to ensure proper contextualisation of the analysis. Following this overview, the country's food security is evaluated in terms of the four components of the concept: (a) availability of food, (b) access to food, (c) utilisation, and (d) stability. After the food security status has been determined, the main threats to Mozambican food security are considered. The extent to which they possibly contribute to food insecurity in Mozambique is determined. This is done to acknowledge that various factors may influence the state of food security in the country, and to ensure that food aid (considered in Chapter 5) is not wrongly blamed for the consequences of these threats or falsely attributed as the sole cause of food insecurity.

The analysis conducted in this chapter will contribute to the formulation of a response to the primary research question of this thesis in the context of Mozambique. Along with the findings of Chapter 6 (which implements the same structure in the Kenyan context), and by also considering the findings of Chapters 5 and 7, a response will be formulated to the primary research question in the greater context of Sub-Saharan Africa and ultimately to the problem statement of this thesis.

The heuristic device presented in Chapter 2 is reproduced on the following page. A red circle indicates the part of the analysis conducted in this section. This will be done throughout the study, to guide the reader through the narrative.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

#### 4.2. Country overview: Mozambique

Mozambique is located on the South East coast of Africa, with a coastline spanning nearly 2 500 kilometres along the Indian Ocean (World by Map, 2018). The country has a tropical climate and shares borders with six African countries, namely Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Although the vegetation and tropical climate may make the country seem luxuriant, it is far from Eden. Mozambique has a legacy of underdevelopment, and development indicators portray a picture of persistent poverty (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 8; Caritas Australia, 2018).

After being subject to Portuguese rule through colonization for over four centuries, Mozambique gained its independence in 1975 (Carrilo et al., n.d.: 10; Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 6). Since then, the communist Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) party has ruled the country. In 1977 a civil war broke out between FRELIMO and an anti-communist faction known as the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) (The Mozambican National Resistance) (Tschirley, Donovan and Weber, 1996: 190; Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 6). The war lasted nearly two decades and caused widespread destruction. At the height of the war 4.5 million people had been displaced, either internally or as refugees in neighbouring countries (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 6). The war devastated production and infrastructure within the country and by 1980, just three years after conflict broke out, 80% of all food needed had to be imported (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 8). When the war ended in 1992, the country was not capable of rebuilding on the ruins and re-establishing production by itself. It was left with devastated rural areas

and limited international trade, and thus relied heavily on donor aid (De Renzio and Hanlon, 2007: 18; Tschirley, Donovan and Weber, 1996: 190).

Mozambique became a sweetheart of the international donor community. De Renzio and Hanlon (2007: 22) state, since the end of the war, donors have viewed Mozambique as “a story of peace, stability and growth”. Whether this is really the case is questionable, but it might provide an insight into why donors choose to react in certain ways and why information on the effects of aid in Mozambique may be limited. In 2007 Mozambique was named the 8<sup>th</sup> most aid-dependent country in the world (De Renzio and Hanlon, 2007: 4). De Renzio and Hanlon (2017: 4) report that from 2000 to 2007 80% of the aid received by Mozambique was in the form of grants, while only 20% were loans. More recent data on aid received will be presented in the third section of this chapter. Despite the inflow of foreign aid and foreign direct investment (FDI), remnants of the destruction caused by the war are still visible in many parts of Mozambican infrastructure. However, the above-mentioned inputs have contributed to Mozambique having sustained economic growth over the past 20 years (International fund for agricultural development, 2018: 6). The incongruous thing is that despite being one of Africa’s fastest growing economies, and one of the few African countries to reach the United Nations Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of halving hunger by 2015, levels of undernutrition, malnutrition and poverty in Mozambique remain high (International fund for agricultural development, 2018: 6; Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 12; Caritas Australia, 2018; *News24*, 2016). In 2017 it scored 30.5 on the Global Hunger Index, ranking it 98<sup>th</sup> out of 119 countries (Global Hunger Index, 2018).

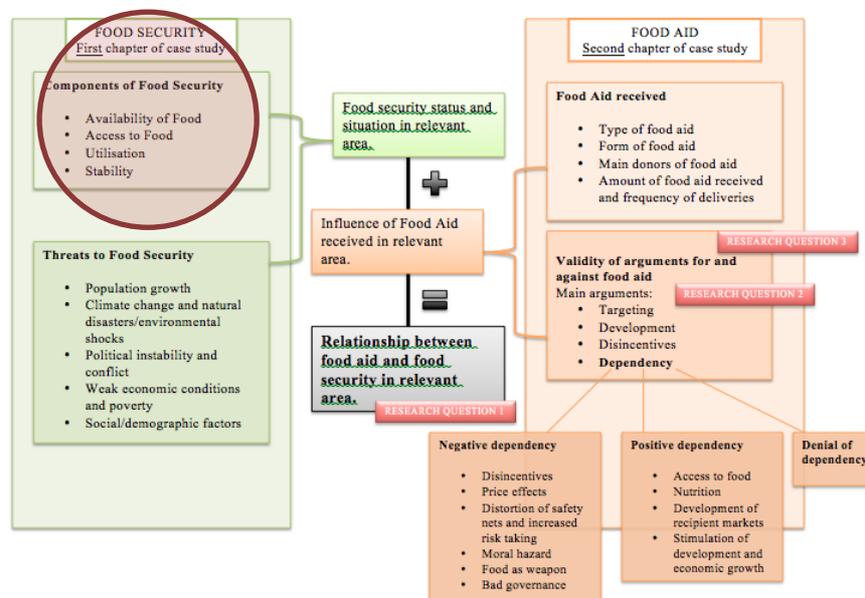
The agriculture sector employs more than 80% of the Mozambican population, and represents just over 25% of the GDP (International fund for agricultural development, 2018: 25). However, the sector remains unstable for various reasons that will be discussed in this chapter. During the past three years the situation in Mozambique has undergone quite a change, with reference to FDI, aid flows and agriculture. In 2016 the country was severely affected by El Niño, which resulted in severe dry spells and disrupted agricultural production (World Vision International, 2016). During the same time tension between the government and the RENAMO flared up, resulting in outbreaks of conflict and armed protests (*News24*, 2016). In addition to these volatile circumstances, a major debt scandal incriminating the FRELIMO government was unveiled (*News24*, 2016). It was revealed that the government had \$1.4 billion of hidden debt, related to foreign assistance and FDI, that they claimed to have hidden as a result of tension with the RENAMO (*News24*, 2016). In response to the scandal, donor support decreased dramatically (*News24*, 2016). This calls Mozambique’s reputation as the donors’ darling into question and generates great uncertainty as to what the future will be for this Sub-Saharan African country.

### 4.3. Food security

This section analyses the current situation regarding food security in Mozambique, by considering the four components of food security as identified in Chapter 2, namely (a) availability of food, (b) access to food, (c) utilisation and (d) stability. The analysis draws on the latest available information regarding these components in the context of Mozambique. The extent to which information is available, as well as the sources of the information, is taken into consideration as this may provide useful insights into the politics of food security in Mozambique.

The heuristic device (Figure 3.2) used in this study, is reproduced below. A red circle indicates the part of the analysis taking place in this section.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

#### 4.3.1. Availability of food

In Mozambique the main sector responsible for the availability of food nationwide is the grain agricultural sector (Carrilo et al., n.d.; USAID, 2014: 8; Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017b: 26; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018). Although some households do rely on the fishery sector for protein, and others keep livestock as a source of crucial nutrients, these sectors are limited in comparison to the influence of the grain agriculture industry. The FAO (2018) and the USAID (2014: 15, 17) agree that grain agriculture is the main income-generating industry in Mozambique and the mainstay of the Mozambican economy. The sector employs 80% of the national population and an even greater number of people are dependent on the industry for the

availability of food (USAID, 2014: 17; Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017b: 26).

Despite the country's great dependence on the sector, it has not yet developed into a major production industry and approximately 3.5 million smallholder farmers are responsible for 95% of agricultural production (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018; International fund for agricultural development, 2018: 25). As most smallholder farmers only produce subsistence crops, their yields are relatively low and they do not make use of production-increasing technology or machinery (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 14; Carrilo et al., n.d.: 29). There is, however, great potential in Mozambique to increase agricultural productivity and consequently the availability of food. At the moment only 11% of Mozambican land is cultivated, although 45% of the land is deemed arable (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017b: 26). This means that 34% of the land still has potential for agricultural development.

There is currently a policy framework in place focused on transforming Mozambican subsistence agriculture into more competitive agriculture, but data on the progress of such programmes have not yet been made available (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 21). There is no doubt that such programmes will be challenging, because so many Mozambicans rely on their own subsistence farming to sustain their livelihoods. The development of agriculture in Mozambique, with reference to the increase of food availability, will also have to focus on the diversification of agricultural production. Lack of diversity of agricultural products is one of the main issues related to food availability in the country (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 48).

Maize and cassava are the staple crops of Mozambican agriculture and make up 80% of smallholder farmers' production (Carrilo et al., n.d.: 29; Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018; Dias, 2013: 6). With these two crops dominating the industry, there is a serious lack of diversity and the country has to rely on imports for the availability of other nutrients (Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 17). As the agricultural sector consists mainly of smallholder farmers, which are based in rural areas, ensuring substantial availability of food in urban areas is a challenge. This increases the country's dependency on the import of food products, especially to urban centres. This issue may also be ascribed to limitations regarding the other components of food security. Improved *access* and *utilisation* may increase the ability of urban areas to receive products produced in rural parts of the country. However, as stated in Chapter 2 of this study, the four components of food security are hierarchical and if enough food is not available, the other components are automatically also compromised.

As a result of the underdevelopment of the Mozambican agricultural sector, and the concentration of smallholder farmers, the sector's production is subject to volatility and vulnerability (Dias, 2013: 15, 16). Aspects identified as *threats to food security* can easily lead to crop failure, as smallholders are not resilient against such threats (FEWS Net, 2018). This lack of resilience and the underdevelopment of the industry also lead to a severe decrease in production during lean seasons (FEWS Net, 2018). This leads the population, especially those in rural areas that do not receive as much food from imports as those in urban settings, resorting to unsustainable coping mechanisms such as harvesting crops too early, and selling or slaughtering livestock that should be used for production (FEWS Net, 2018; Anderson, Reynolds, Merfeld and Biscaye, 2018: 1737). These actions then hinder the production potential of the following season, resulting in a long-term decrease of food availability, and increased dependence on imports and external assistance such as food aid (ReliefWeb, 2018).

From 2009 to 2010 the Mozambican government implemented programmes aimed at increasing agricultural production and reducing vulnerability within the sector (Dias, 2013: 16). They implemented production subsidies, such as decreasing the price of electricity, and also implemented an agricultural input subsidy programme, which distributed seeds and fertiliser (Dias, 2013: 16). Results showed a slight increase in production, but failed to indicate any long-term impact (Dias, 2013: 16). Even if production does increase, the sector remains vulnerable to the above-average number of threats faced by the food security sector in Mozambique. The prevalence of these threats is discussed later in this chapter.

The availability of food in Mozambique has been severely compromised during the past three years. The main reason is the onset of a severe drought caused by El Niño (ReliefWeb, 2018). Mozambican agriculture is mainly rainfed, thus these adverse weather circumstances were detrimental for production within this sector (Carrilo et al., n.d.: 18). The drought affected especially the southern region of the country, as well as some centrally situated areas (ReliefWeb, 2018). During this time even the farming community was forced to depend on market-bought food, which consequently increased dependency on imports and food aid (ReliefWeb, 2018). Currently, 18% of the population has been classified as level three on the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC), which is equivalent to "Crisis" (IPC in Mozambique, 2018; ReliefWeb, 2018).

In conclusion, food availability in Mozambique is currently insufficient, vulnerable and volatile, negatively influencing the country's food security. At the moment food availability is supplemented by imports and food aid. Development potential, and intentions to act on it, however, do present hope for the future. Research shows that the availability of food is not the main issue regarding food insecurity in Mozambique, but that the other three components, namely *access to food*, *utilisation* and *stability*, are encountering problems and limitations. These components will be analysed below, starting with *access to food*.

#### 4.3.2. Access to food

This second component of food security is closely related to the capabilities approach. While food may be available, this component refers to whether or not individuals are capable of acquiring it. In the context of Mozambique, a distinction can be made between (1) *physical access* and (2) *economic access* to food.

##### 4.3.2.1. Physical access

As the first component of food security in Mozambique (availability of food) is currently insufficient, the second component in the hierarchy (access to food) is automatically also compromised. However, physical access to the limited amount of food that is available is also obstructed. This is mainly the result of a lack of transportation, as well as disparities between rural and urban areas (Carrilo et al., n.d.: 18; Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 48; Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 19; Interview Respondent 5, 2019). Insufficient transport systems and underdeveloped infrastructure make it difficult for urban dwellers to access food products produced in rural areas (Interview respondent 1, 2018). This is of course subject to the production levels of smallholder farmers, which were found to be inadequate at the moment. Considering the current increase in dependence on imports, granting rural dwellers access to these products is also a struggle. This is because imported goods are mainly delivered to urban centres.

Although agriculture is concentrated in rural areas, and most of the sectors' participants are smallholder subsistence farmers, Mäkelä (2016: 11) found that the majority of rural households purchase their food rather than producing it themselves. The gifting of food and sharing between households is also more common than rural or urban households relying on their own production (Mäkelä, 2016: 11; Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 8). Accepting food as a gift, and sharing food with other households, are phenomena mainly exercised in food-insecure and poverty-stricken areas (Mäkelä, 2016: 43). As poverty in rural areas is greater than in urban areas, gifting of food is more likely to occur there.

##### 4.3.2.1. Economic access

The WFP in its Mozambique Country Strategic plan of 2017-2021 (2017b) identifies lack of economic access as the greatest obstacle to food security in Mozambique. Poverty is a major issue in the country, mainly as a result of unemployment and lack of decent paying work opportunities (Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 11; Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 20). According to Mäkelä (2016: 10), poverty is also the main driver of food insecurity.

Research shows that food prices are inversely connected to food security (Verdade, 2018; Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 27; Carrilo et al., n.d.: 19; Interview respondent 5, 2019). Because of

the widespread poverty in Mozambique, the rise of food prices hinders individuals' economic access to food, proving this inverse relation to be correct. Food prices in Mozambique are very unstable, but currently, as a result of a lack of availability along with a spike in inflation, they have notably increased (Verdade, 2018; Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 27; Carrilo et al., n.d.: 19). Salary increases have not covered the loss of purchasing power and thus economic access to food has been limited (Verdade, 2018).

Although subsistence production is not practiced often, rural households still have a wider variety of ways through which to access food than urban households, who rely solely on markets and the provision of food aid (Mäkelä, 2016: 11). Mozambique has a huge informal food economy, mainly concentrated in urban areas (Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 12; Carrilo et al., n.d.: 37; Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 45). Markets and small shops, often run from within private dwellings, are the most important sources of food in these areas (Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 12; Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 32). The availability of food heavily influences prices at these shops and markets, and recently, as prices have risen as a result of lack of availability, economic access to food, and consequently food security, has decreased (Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 47).

Limited access to food has negatively influenced dietary diversity in Mozambique, as individuals are either unable to afford, or unable to physically access, sources of various nutrients (Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 47; Mäkelä, 2016).

Despite there being strong pro-poor rhetoric in Mozambican political circles, implementation of support programmes is weak and poverty remains a troubling and pervasive issue (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 27). Currently, access – both physical as well as economic – is a major barrier to food security in Mozambique (World Food Programme, 2017b; Mäkelä, 2016). Physical access is limited by the lack of availability of food and by poor infrastructure, while economic access is obstructed by poverty and unemployment. This hampers the capability of individuals to meet the basic need that is food. As stated in Chapter 3, the lack of capabilities to fulfil basic needs compromises the wellbeing of individuals. In this case, their inability to access food renders them food insecure.

#### 4.3.3. Utilisation

As stated in the second chapter, utilisation – as a component of food security – refers to whether or not individuals are able to safely utilise the food available to them, and optimally absorb essential nutrients (Gibson, 2012: 20; Riely et al., 1999: 8; Kjeldsberg, 2017: 6; Stringer, 2016: 12). In some cases, an individual's ability to utilise food effectively is related to his or her health (Gibson, 2012: 20; Singh et al., 2017; Wong et al., 2017: 46; Benson, 2004: 35).

In general, the utilisation of available food to which individuals have access in Mozambique is not very efficient. Research highlights five factors contributing to these conditions, some to a greater extent than others, depending on the context of evaluation. Firstly, **agricultural techniques promoted are not suitable for local conditions** (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 10; Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017b: 31). This compromises the agricultural system, which is not working as it should (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 10). Cammaer (2016: 4) holds that another contributing factor to insufficient utilisation in Mozambique is the **acute lack of advisory services**. Because of the underdevelopment of the agricultural and industrial sectors, advisory services are required to ensure knowledgeable practices, optimum outcomes and effective utilisation (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 8). A third factor challenging utilisation in Mozambique is the **prevalence of HIV/AIDS**. Despite millions of dollars being spent to prevent the spread of the disease, it is continuing to advance in Mozambique (AllAfrica, 2017). In March 2018 the Mozambican Health Minister, Nazira Abdula, stated that according to the latest estimates more than 2.1 million Mozambican adults are currently living with HIV (Writer, 2018). Only 64% of these people are aware of their status, and only 54% are receiving treatment (Writer, 2018). The high prevalence of HIV-negative people affects the ability of the population to effectively utilise food. Because of the nature of the disease, infected individuals are not able to optimally absorb the nutrients to which they do have access. The influence of the disease on families and household structures may also inhibit the ability of parents to provide their children with sufficient food and nutrients. The northern region of Mozambique remains least effected by the disease (AllAfrica, 2017). The two previously discussed factors of food security, *availability* and *access*, have also indicated favourable circumstances in this region, and it consequently appears to be the most food secure area of the country.

The fourth factor posing a challenge to utilisation is the poor quality of Mozambican **infrastructure**. As mentioned in relation to *access*, an underdeveloped transport system hampers the availability of fresh produce in various parts of Mozambique (Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 23). Lack of investment in infrastructure compromises the development of sanitation systems and water-capturing systems, which consequently aggravates undernourishment (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 8; Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 14). Without proper infrastructure and investment in infrastructure, it is difficult to utilise food and nutrients effectively. Underdeveloped infrastructure relates to the final and greatest challenge to utilisation in Mozambique, **post-harvest losses (PHL)**.

Between 20 to 30% of harvests in Mozambique result in PHL (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017b: 35-39). These losses are partially a consequence of the lack of

resilience of farmers, and exacerbated by the lack of investment in infrastructure, policy gaps and lack of capability of farmers to access financing (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017b: 55). There is a lack of knowledge on post-harvest management (PHM) technology in the agricultural sector (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017b: 7). Although traditional methods are maintained, they are no longer effective (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017b: 7). Mozambique has no stand-alone PMH policy, which has resulted in a lack of institutional collaboration on the subject (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017b: 7). Although there are good intentions to improve PHM and reduce PHL, lack of funding prevents them from being translated into actions (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 34-35, 51). The Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network (FANRPAN) Mozambican Policy Analysis of 2017 found that only 1.5% of agricultural funds are allocated to sectors related to the improvement of PHM (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 25).

PHL prevents individuals from effectively utilising crops, often resulting in seasonal food insecurity, as no product is effectively stored and available during the lean season (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018). As effective PHM techniques are not practiced and produce cannot be stored for long after being harvested, farmers are forced to sell it at low prices, creating production disincentives. Identifying the lack of effective PHM in Mozambique, the FAO has implemented a programme providing *gorangosa silos* to agricultural producers (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018). In these silos products can be preserved for longer periods, and they also reduce the need for the application of chemicals during PHM (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018). Longer periods of preservation will enable farmers to store their harvests until they can sell the produce at the best possible price. The five-year project was launched in 2013 and aims to build 10 000 silos throughout the country (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018). Along with the construction of these silos, the project will also train approximately 20 000 farmers in PHM (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018). Feedback on the recent progress of this programme is not available, but it is promising to know that the issue of PHL has been identified and is being addressed.

Overall, the utilisation of food in Mozambique is challenging and not very effective. Development and investment in the agricultural sector is required to ensure that food and nutrients can be utilised safely and effectively.

#### 4.3.4. Stability

The fourth and final factor in terms of which Mozambican food security is analysed is *stability*. As stated in Chapter 2, stability refers to the stability of the availability, access and utilisation of food as well as the resilience of these factors in the presence of shocks (Wong et al., 2017: 46; Kjeldsberg, 2017: 6). The greatest threat to stability in Mozambique is a serious lack of resilience, along with a

high prevalence of adverse meteorological events in the region (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 37; Carrilo et al., n.d.: 18; Domingos, 2017; FEWS Net, 2017). Because of its geographical location, Mozambique is subject to severe weather events and very susceptible to the impact of climate change. The country often falls victim to droughts and/or floods, with the 2016/2017 dry spells being one of the latest catastrophic events. Despite the regularity of such events, the country has yet to develop sustainable coping mechanisms and resilient practices (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 37; Carrilo et al., n.d.: 18).

The lack of resilience also exacerbates the negative impact of pests and plant diseases in the country (Domingos, 2017, FEWS Net, 2018). Along with extreme weather events and other factors negatively influencing food security, this lack of resilience is concentrated in southern and central parts of Mozambique (FEWS Net, 2018). Other factors that threaten the sustainability of food availability, access and utilisation include population growth and armed unrest (FEWS Net, 2018; Frey, 2018). As these factors threaten food security in general, they are elaborated on, along with other threats, in the following part of this chapter.

Cammaer (2016: 4) states that the development of agriculture in Mozambique is sustainable as it is focused on the expansion of land use. Although there is a lot of arable land available for the development of agriculture, the FANRPAN Mozambican Policy Analysis of 2017 rightfully argues that without an increase in resilience, such development and expansion will not be stable (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 37). In conclusion, stability in Mozambique is extremely compromised and has a significant impact on food security as all other components (availability, access and utilisation) become volatile under such conditions.

#### 4.4. Mozambican food security findings

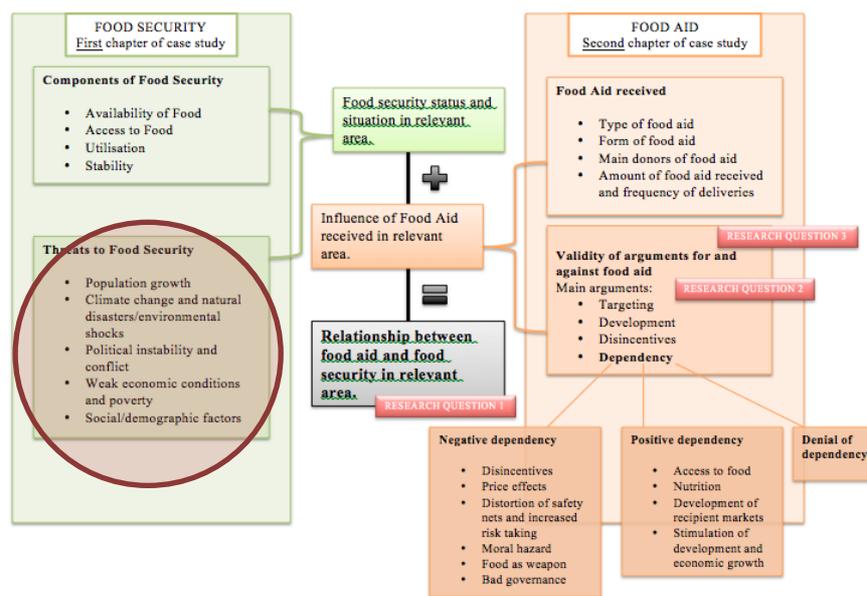
After evaluating the four components of food security in the Mozambican context, it is clear that the majority of the country is food insecure. Food insecurity is concentrated in the southern and central parts of the country, and the extent to which components are engaged with, as well as the challenges restricting them, differs between rural and urban areas. It is important to remember that all four components should be taken into account together, although they are hierarchical. Food insecurity is a definite issue in Mozambique. In the light of the above analysis, and drawing on feedback from specialists in the field, this appears to be mainly because of a lack of resilience, weak production, inefficient management and development, poverty, and geographical factors.

#### 4.4. Threats to food security

Chapter 2 identified the main threats to food security and indicated how they negatively influence the four components analysed above. Although some of these threats have already been mentioned above, all of the threats identified in Chapter 2 that negatively influence food security in Mozambique will be dealt with below. The purpose of identifying the relevant threats is to acknowledge that they may contribute to food insecurity in Mozambique. This precaution is intended to avoid an incorrect analysis which might falsely attribute food aid as the sole cause of food insecurity in Mozambique. As Chapter 2 already indicated how threats to food security induce food insecurity, this section does not repeat that discussion, but merely proves the prevalence of these threats in Mozambique.

The heuristic device (Figure 3.2) is reproduced below, with a red circle indicating the part of the analysis conducted in this section.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

The first of the threats identified that is relevant to the Mozambican context is population growth. Mozambique experienced extreme population growth after the civil war that ended in 1992. By 1993 population growth had increased from -0,141% to 3,942% (World Bank, 2018e). Growth has stabilised since then, remaining at a constant of approximately 2,9% since 2003 (World Bank, 2018e). Although it has stabilised, the growth remains constant, and the troubling fact is that population growth is far greater than the increase in food supply (Pingali, 2016: 1). Mozambique’s population currently stands at 2.89 million people, of which 45% of children were under the age of 14 in 2017 (International fund for agricultural development, 2018: 6; International Food Policy Research

Institute, 2018; World Bank, 2018e). Having such a large fraction of the population of such a young age increases the strain on the food security of the country. This is because 45% of the population is most likely not contributing to the production and/or provision of food, but is dependent on the food available. Furthermore, 70% of the population resides in rural areas, where food security has been proven to be more volatile and vulnerable than in urban areas (Carrilo et al., n.d.; International fund for agricultural development, 2018: 6). Population growth definitely presents a threat to food security in Mozambique at present. It is necessary to take into account, however, that the 45% of the population currently under the age of 14 will form part of the productive and developing section of society within approximately a decade. This might mean that prospects for future development and progress are promising, but also that unemployment might become an even greater problem.

The second threat identified in the literature, which is definitely prevalent in Mozambique, is climate change and natural disasters/environmental shocks. In a 2017 report on agriculture and food security in Mozambique, USAID identified “climate change shocks and natural disasters” as the greatest threat to Mozambican food security (USAID, 2014: 16, 17). This statement is supported by an interview respondent who specifically refers to climate change as the greatest challenge to Mozambican food security (Interview respondent 5, 2019). Because of the geographical location of the country, it experiences a tropical and sub-tropical climate and has to deal with an above average number of extreme weather events (Irish Aid, 2016; Lundell, 2016; UNDP, 2009). Such events are now being exacerbated by climate change, inducing increased severity and more regular occurrences (McVeigh, 2018; USAID, 2014: 17). The 2018 Index for Risk Management (INFORM), rates Mozambique as 19<sup>th</sup> out of 191 countries regarding the risk of being negatively affected by the effects of climate change (Irish Aid, 2018: 14). It is ranked as the 13<sup>th</sup> most vulnerable country and 28<sup>th</sup> regarding lack of coping capacity (Irish Aid, 2018: 14).

Currently climate change is increasing mean temperatures in Mozambique and reducing the amount of rainfall received (McVeigh, 2018; Irish Aid, 2018: 14). This has induced climatic shocks such as droughts and floods, while it has also increased the likelihood of cyclones experiences by the country, along with the need to cope with the tropical climate (FEWS Net, 2018; Domingos, 2017; McVeigh, 2018; USAID, 2014: 16; UNDP, 2009). In 2010 a tropical depression destroyed more than a thousand households, forcing people to migrate and disrupting livelihoods (UNDP in Mozambique, 2018). Floods, such as those experienced in the north of the country during the 2017 season, destroy agriculture and roads, and increase the likelihood of waterborne diseases such as cholera (USAID, 2017a). During the period from 2016 to 2018, the southern and central regions experienced a delay in seasonal rainfall, leading to a severe drought, which seriously disrupted agricultural production and compromised food security (World Vision International, 2016; ReliefWeb, 2018). Another consequence of climate change faced by Mozambique, is the rise of sea levels (Irish Aid, 2018: 14;

Interview respondent 5, 2019). This poses a great threat to livelihoods in coastal regions (Interview respondent 5, 2019).

In an attempt to improve the resilience of Mozambique in dealing with extreme climatic events, the International Development Association (IDA) implemented a climate change project, which eventually led to a 70% reduction in the risk of flooding (World Bank, 2018g). The country does, however, remain extremely vulnerable to the effects of climate change and climatic shocks. As climate change intensifies, infrastructure and livelihoods are destroyed, economic growth and development are restricted, and attempts to eradicate poverty and/or hunger are undermined (Koigi, 2017). There is no doubt that climate change and natural disasters/environmental shocks are among of the greatest threats to food security in Mozambique.

The third threat to food security in Mozambique is political instability and conflict. In 2008 and 2010 Mozambique experienced riots especially aimed at government actions regarding food. The 2008 riots, which took place in Maputo, were due to public dissatisfaction about escalating food prices, and the 2010 riots followed the government announcing the withdrawal of subsidies on imported wheat (Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 32). The withdrawal of government subsidies induced a 25% rise in the price of bread, but after the riots the government reversed its position and maintained the subsidy (Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 32). These riots are just some examples of the political instability and public dissatisfaction in Mozambique. The country has a legacy of violence and conflict, dating back at least to the civil war, which ended in 1992 (UNDP in Mozambique, 2018).

As previously stated, there has always been tension between the ruling FRELIMO party and RENAMO, the opposition party turned rebel group. In 2013 RENAMO withdrew from the general peace agreement established in 1992 (Filitz, 2018). They explained their actions as a response to widespread corruption within the FRELIMO government (Filitz, 2018). For the past five years it has been feared that another bloody civil war will once break out (*Daily Maverick*, 2018). In 2014 FRELIMO won the national elections, but experienced a sharp decline from the 75% of votes it won in 2009 to 57% (TimesLIVE, 2014; eNCA, 2014). RENAMO won more than double the number of seats in parliament that it had won in the previous election (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 12). Clashes between the FRELIMO government and RENAMO rebel groups have recently increased, conveying a picture of deteriorating peace in Mozambique (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 12). The government's militant response to protests and unrest has been disproportionately violent and local people are as afraid of rebels instigating unrest as they are of the military response (ReliefWeb, 2018; 43). In recent months more than 1 000 people have been left homeless as a result of conflict, and several

communities have been displaced or forced to migrate, which has been detrimental for household food security (ReliefWeb, 2018; Collinson and Macbeth, 2017).

The sudden death of the leader of RENAMO on 3 May 2018 introduced the prospect of a new peace agreement to be signed (Filitz, 2018). But civil conflict is not the only threat to peace in Mozambique. Recently extremist terrorist attacks have been launched in the north of the country. During the first four months of 2018 more than 20 extremist attacks took place in Mozambique (Opperman, 2018). Ahlu Sunnah Wa-Jamo, also known as Shabaab, has been identified as the terrorist group behind these attacks (Opperman, 2018). Opperman (2018) found that actions by the government and military exacerbate the already prevailing feelings of marginalisation within communities, ultimately acting as the primary factor pushing individuals into participating in violent extremist actions.

Apart from conflict, food security in Mozambique is also threatened by weak governance and corruption. It is no secret that corruption is widespread within the Mozambican government and bureaucracy (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 13; Hanlon, 2002: 2). Hanlon (2002: 10) states that the great influence of donors, in their supposed sweetheart country, has resulted in minimal government inputs. Political participation in Mozambique has also reached staggeringly low levels, and the FANRPAN Mozambican Policy Analysis (2017a: 13) notes that democracy there is extremely fragile, with limitations being placed on freedom of speech, access to information and cooperation of civil society activists. Conflict, political instability and institutional weakness pose definite threats to local and national food security in Mozambique.

After the war ended in 1992, Mozambique became one of Africa's fastest growing economies (World Vision International, 2016; *Financial Times*, 2018). After the devastation brought about by the war, the growth admittedly started from a very low base and thus improvement was not very difficult (World Vision International, 2016). It is, however, not realistic to think that Mozambique could achieve this growth without assistance from other countries, especially through FDI and donor aid (*Financial Times*, 2018; International fund for agricultural development, 2018: 6). For the 20 years after the end of the war Mozambique experienced a yearly GDP growth of approximately 7% per annum (International fund for agricultural development, 2018: 65). Today, the situation has changed, and the country's weak economic conditions and persistent poverty pose great threats to food security. It has been mentioned various times that Mozambique became a sweetheart of the donor community in the years after the war. In 2010 it was estimated that donors supplied more than 50% of the country's national budget (*Financial Times*, 2018). This support from the donor community allowed Mozambique to sustain great GDP growth over the years (World Bank, 2018a; International fund for agricultural development, 2018: 65). However, contrary to common assumptions, poverty was not reduced at an equally successful pace (Beegle, Coudouel and Monsalve, 2018: 11). The majority of the population continue to live in poverty and in 2017 Mozambique was classified as 'chronically

poor' (Beegle, Coudouel and Monsalve, 2018: 3; Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 32; World Vision, 2013).

In 2016 the country faced a major debt scandal, which has been discussed already. Revelation of this debt had extremely negative consequences for the economy of Mozambique, as FDI, donor support and GDP growth all declined seriously (African Development Bank Group, 2018; *Daily Maverick*, 2018). Investment and donor aid came to a halt as a result of loss of confidence and trust in the Mozambican authorities (African Development Bank Group, 2018). The GDP growth more than halved from the sustained 7% of the preceding decade to 3.8% in 2016 (African Development Bank Group, 2018; *Daily Maverick*, 2018). From 2016 to 2017 the GDP growth declined even more, from 3.8% to 3.7% (World Bank, 2018a). The World Bank recently stated that GDP growth for 2018 seems to be even lower still, at 3.1% (World Bank, 2018a). Apart from the debt crisis, the recent presence of terrorist groups in the northern regions, which are also rich in natural gas resources, has contributed to the decline in FDI (African Development Bank Group, 2018).

Since the beginning of 2018 there has been a rise in inflation, which increased food prices by 0.20% (Verdade, 2018). Verdade (2018) reports that the price of a CPI food basket has increased by 22% since the start of 2016. Salary increases fail to cover this loss of purchasing power (Verdade, 2018). Currently, Mozambique is experiencing severe economic instability. In addition to high rates of poverty in the country and debt levels that remain unsustainably high, these conditions pose a severe threat to food security, specifically the capability of individuals to access food (World Bank, 2018a).

Mozambique has one of the lowest Human Development Index (HDI) scores in the world. The latest results found that the country's HDI value for 2017 was 0.437, which placed it in the 'low development' category (UNDP, 2018a). Out of the 189 areas evaluated, Mozambique ranked very poorly at the 180<sup>th</sup> position (UNDP, 2018a). The country suffers from great inequalities and large sections of the population are subject to marginalisation (Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 47; Opperman, 2018). These aspects certainly contribute to the weak HDI, as they curb people's potential to contribute to economic growth and to benefit from it (Lundell, 2016). Social and demographic factors are identified as the final threats to food security in Mozambique.

A strong correlation has been found between food security and household income, meaning that poorer members of the Mozambican population are very likely also to be the most food insecure (Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 32; Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 24). It has also been found that female-headed households are more food insecure, have the least dietary diversity and experience the shortest periods of adequate food provision (Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 32; Chikanda, Raimundo and McCordic, 2018: 12). The fact that poor and female-centred households are most food insecure lends support to the assumption that these households are

poorer than others. The WFP's Mozambique Country Strategic Plan of 2017-2021 (2017b) points out that women often experience difficulties in gaining access to and/or control over land and livestock, and are under-represented in decision-making processes (UNDP in Mozambique, 2018). This is troubling, considering that the majority of farmers in Mozambique are actually women, and the female to male ratio in Mozambique is 100:91 (Carrilo et al., n.d.: 19; World Food Programme, 2017b). Recognising this issue, World Vision launched a project focused on prioritising women in various fields in Mozambique (World Vision, 2013).

Second only to female-centred households, households with extended families are also among the most food insecure in Mozambique (Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 32). Other sections of society struggling to maintain food security are those suffering from, or influenced by someone suffering from, HIV or AIDS (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 14). As discussed, Mozambique has an incredibly high prevalence of HIV, which greatly challenges food security. There are also several refugees residing in Mozambique, placing increased pressure on food sources and production. The WFP has implemented Food For Peace (FFP) programmes in Mozambique that offer Food for Asset (FFA) activities, which provides food rations to refugees (ReliefWeb, 2018). The final demographic factor placing strain on food security in Mozambique is the young age of the population. As mentioned, in 2017 more than 45% of children were under the age of 14. As the country also has high rates of youth unemployment, the fact that these young people are not contributing to production, economic growth or development, but depend on food sources, greatly strains food security (Filitz, 2018).

These five threats to food security have been identified in the context in Mozambique and are taken into account in addressing the main research question of this thesis. Currently, these threats all negatively influence food security in Mozambique, and their impact should not be mistaken as being the impact of food aid.

#### **4.5. Conclusion**

This chapter employed the first part of the case study structure formulated in Chapter 3, with the application of the relevant theoretical tools. It is focused on the first of the two main concepts of this thesis, food security. The findings of this chapter specifically contribute towards responding to the primary research question of this thesis: "What is the purported relationship between food aid and food security in Sub-Saharan Africa?". To successfully respond to this research question, within the case study context, the status of Mozambican food security must be evaluated and the extent to which threats to food security are prevalent must be determined.

The analysis in this chapter first determined the extent of food security of Mozambique by evaluating the four components of food security: (a) availability of food, (b) access to food, (c) utilisation, and

(d) stability. Although these components are interlinked and hierarchical, they are also all challenged individually within the Mozambican context. The analysis indicated that Mozambique is currently experiencing high levels of food insecurity.

The chapter then considered the prevalence of the main threats to food security – as identified in the literature – within Mozambique. It was found that all five threats are present in Mozambique and have a negative influence on the food security of the country.

As this study aims to ultimately conclude whether there is a correlation between food aid and food security, Chapter 5 will examine the food aid received by Mozambique as well as determine the validity of arguments made in favour of and against food aid within the country's context.

The findings of this fourth chapter, along with the findings of Chapter 5, will ultimately constitute the conclusions of the Mozambican case study. These collective conclusions will be considered in conjunction with those of the Kenyan case study to respond to the research question and problem statement of this thesis, taking into account the context of Sub-Saharan Africa.

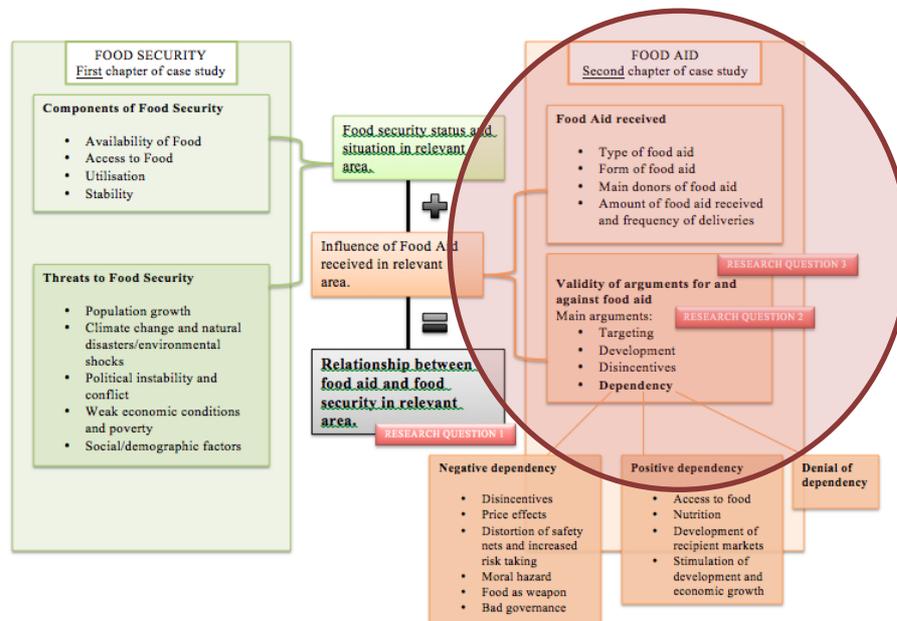
## Chapter Five

### Food aid and its influence in Mozambique

#### 5.1. Introduction

The chapter is the second part of the Mozambican case study in accordance with the case study structure and theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3. The findings of this chapter will be considered along with the findings of Chapter 4, in order to respond to the primary research question of this thesis (with reference to Mozambique specifically). The analysis in this chapter is also specifically oriented towards answering the secondary research question of this thesis with reference to Mozambique.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

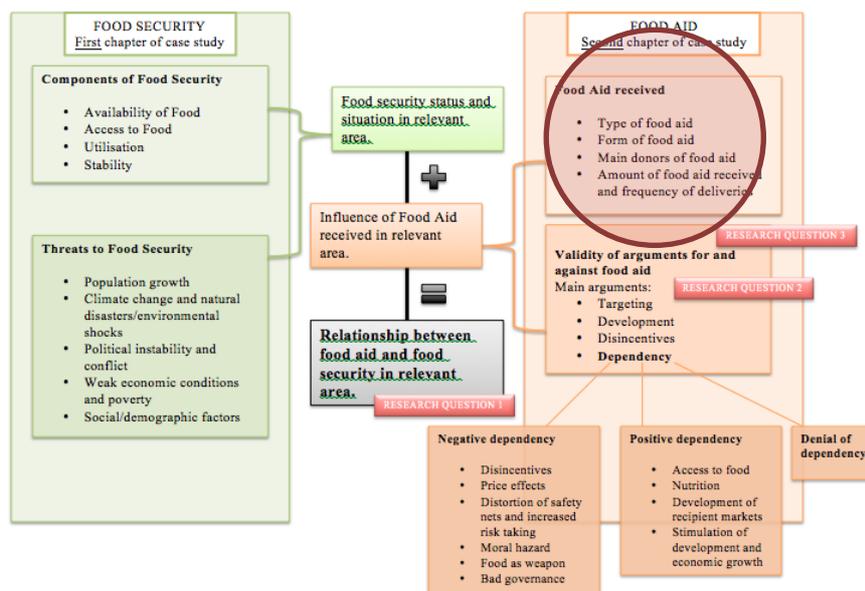
As indicated by the red circle on the heuristic device (Figure 3.2) above, this second chapter of the Mozambican case study examines the food aid recently received by Mozambique. It looks at the type, form and amount of food aid received, as well as the main donors of food aid and the frequency of deliveries. It is important to remember that the accuracy of the study is subject to the availability of data on the various points of analysis. For this reason the sources of data as well as temporal factors are taken into consideration. Should there be a lack of data or limited availability, this is itself considered a useful finding as it may indicate the political aspects of food security and/or food aid in the case study context.

Following the analysis of food aid received by Mozambique, the second part of the chapter considers the validity of the main arguments made for and against food aid, as identified in the literature. It takes into account (1) targeting, (2) development, (3) disincentives and (4) dependency as related to food aid in Mozambique. In analysing dependency, the validity of arguments relating to (1) negative dependency, (2) positive dependency and, if relevant, (3) denial of dependency are assessed. The presence of presumed symptoms of these forms of dependency, as identified in Chapter 3, is determined within the Mozambican context. It should be noted that because factors such as a lack of empirical studies, politics, recipient and donor incentives, and external influences, definitive symptoms of dependency induced by food aid might not be easy to detect. The aim of this case study is thus to ascertain whether or not there might be some correlation between food aid and dependency, as well as between the food aid received by a country and its level of food security in Mozambique.

## 5.2. Food aid in Mozambique

This section uses data from the International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI) in providing an overview of the food aid received by Mozambique during the period from 2016 to October 2018. The reason for the selection of this database is to ensure that data from both case studies can be compared fairly. Additional research and data regarding food aid in each case study country are also used to ensure a comprehensive perspective on both contexts. The red circle on the heuristic device (Figure 3.2) reproduced below, indicates the part of the analysis conducted in this section.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



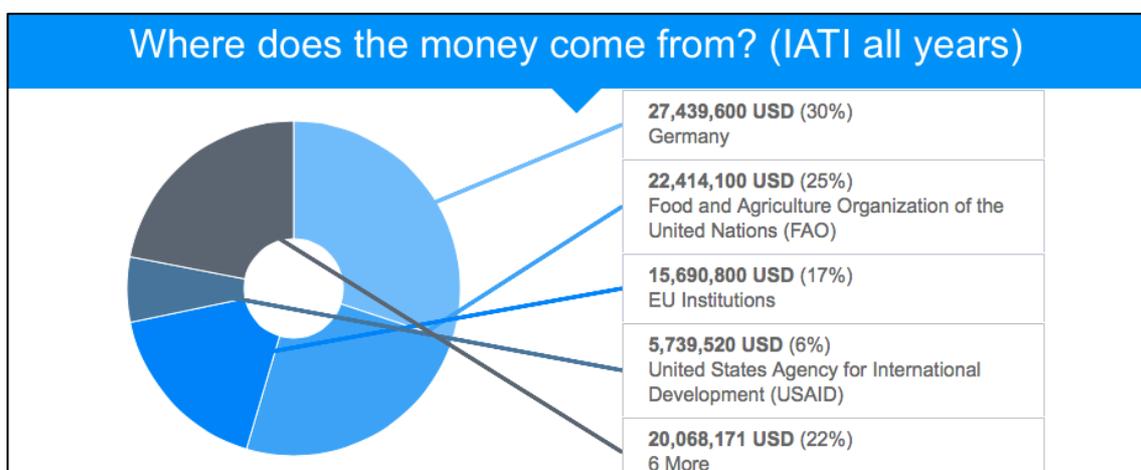
Source: The author

The IATI is “a voluntary, multi-stakeholder initiative that seeks to improve the transparency of aid, development, and humanitarian resources in order to increase their effectiveness” (IATI, 2018). The initiative is committed to improving the transparency of the aid sector and presents a complete profile of each of the case study countries. These profiles include identification of aid donors, a timeline of completed as well as active projects, and charts specifying the amount of aid received from each entity. By implementing an IATI Standard, used by all development organisations including government donors, donors in the private sector and NGOs, IATI ensures accurate and comprehensive data collection (IATI, 2018).

From 2016 until February 2019 the total number of programmes related to food aid and food security implemented in Mozambique was 25 (IATI, 2019). Data on the targeting and geographical implementation of these projects are lacking and were provided only for 14 of the 25 programmes implemented over the years. Of the 14 programmes that can be linked to geographical areas, 10 were implemented near Juze, in central Mozambique (IATI, 2019). Two programmes were implemented in Tete to the north, and two were implemented in Camo-Camo to the south (IATI, 2019). 18 of the 25 programmes have been concluded, while 7 remain active (IATI, 2019). The vast majority of programmes concluded during this period are humanitarian responses to El Niño, as well as the provision of cash and/or food to drought-affected households (IATI, 2019). The seven programmes currently active include responses to the food insecurity induced by the lean season, and WFP initiatives to enhance the capacity of smallholder farmers and to strengthen government bodies responsible for feeding programmes (IATI, 2019).

The following graph (Figure 5.1) indicates the main donors of food aid to Mozambique in the relevant time period.

Figure 5.1. Graph indicating the main donors of food aid to Mozambique from 2016 to 2019



Source: IATI, 2019

The donors responsible for 22% of the aid, and not specifically listed in the graph, include government donations, NGOs and private sector donors. Interview respondents indicated that the United States government is one of the largest distributors of food aid in Mozambique (Interview respondent 1, 2018; Interview respondent 5, 2019). The following additional data will give a clearer picture of parties involved.

During the relevant time period, 2016 was the year in which Mozambique received the largest amount of food aid. Food aid increased during that year as a result of the negative impact of El Niño, which led to a severe drought and harvest failure. During this year the FAO provided 2 500 food insecure households with electronic vouchers which they could use to buy food through accredited vendors. Programme representatives claimed that they would prefer to provide households with cash, as it would allow them more choices on what to purchase, but as access to markets is limited, they adopted the voucher programme (Massipa and Laguardia, 2016). Recipients were then able to use the voucher to get food from vendors, especially brought in by the FAO. The goal was to find local vendors to participate in the program at a later stage, but information on such a development is not available (Massipa and Laguardia, 2016). This project is a matter of some concern, as recipients were granted purchasing power, but not the ability to invest in local markets. In 2016 the WFP also distributed \$22.2 million of in-kind food aid through Food For Peace (FFP) initiatives. One of the government donors, not specifically listed in the IATI graph, is Japan, which donated \$2.7 million of food aid in response to the severe drought during this year (IATI, 2019).

Information on food aid to Mozambique during 2016 was overshadowed by information regarding the major debt scandal that was uncovered at the time. As a consequence of this scandal, various donors suspended their support and food aid was reduced significantly in the following year. In 2017 the amount of food aid provided by the WFP through FFP programmes was almost halved to \$13.4 million (ReliefWeb, 2018). Aid from certain donors may have been suspended, but the country was still in dire need of assistance following the detrimental effects of the previous year's El Niño. The focus of donors now included resilience building rather than exclusively the provision of emergency in-kind food aid. UNICEF implemented an emergency response in an attempt to improve resilience to climate-related phenomena, and one of the unspecified donors (Germany) gave €2.6 million to fund resilience building/enhancing projects of the WFP (UNICEF, 2017; ReliefWeb, 2017).

In 2018 the amount of in-kind food aid distributed through FFP projects declined even further to \$3.6 million (ReliefWeb, 2018). This indicates that in-kind food aid is cut drastically when the direct threat to food security is no longer present, or the 'emergency' seems to have subsided. This contributes to the perception that Mozambique receives a disproportionate amount of emergency food aid compared to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, the reliability of emergency food aid remains unstable, as there is constant competition for aid of this nature between Mozambique and other

disaster-prone countries (Interview respondent 1, 2018). In 2018 the WFP concluded that, despite the view that the threat posed by El Niño had subsided, about 500 000 Mozambicans were still in need of food aid and facing crisis outcomes as a result of droughts, floods and poverty (FEWS Net, 2018). By October 2018 the WFP has assisted 210 000 people by providing them with in-kind, cash or voucher food aid (FEWS Net, 2018); 1.198 mt of in-kind food aid was distributed by the WFP since the beginning of that year, along with \$376 927 in cash-based transfers (World Food Programme, 2018).

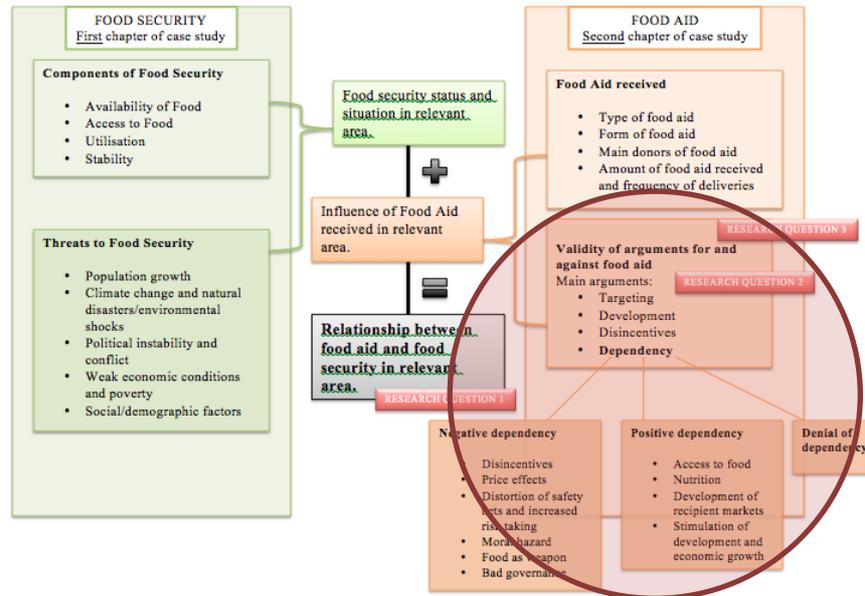
It can be concluded that food aid donations to Mozambique increase when a direct threat is present and emergency food aid is required. Despite the debt scandal in 2016, the country does receive food aid continuously, as food security remains weak. Food aid received is mostly in kind (mainly maize) that can be monetized, or in the form of vouchers that can be redeemed from international providers (Interview respondent 1, 2018). The small amount of food aid provided in the form of cash appears to be a way of dealing with the limited availability of food and access to it, as well as with the high levels of corruption in the country. Since the turn of the century all food aid provided by USAID to Mozambique can be monetized through co-operating NGOs rather than having to go through the government, as was the case previously (Donovan and Tostão, 2010: 10). This system has received positive responses, as it lowers the risk of corruption by government officials having an impact of aid distribution (Donovan and Tostão, 2010: 12). It should be noted, however, that such agreements limit the capacity of the government, granting more power to donors, which could lead to weak governmental institutions and loss of power.

### **5.3. Validity of arguments for and against food aid in the context of Mozambique**

This section considers the validity of the main arguments for and against food aid, as identified in the literature. While contributing to answering the primary research question of this thesis, the findings of this section are a specific response to the secondary research question: *How valid are the arguments presented in the debate regarding the relationship between food aid and food security in the case of Mozambique?* It focuses on (1) targeting, (2) development, (3) disincentives, and (4) dependency related to food aid in Mozambique. As some of these topics have already been touched on in Chapter 4, as well as the preceding sections of this chapter, only the main points are highlighted here. Targeting of food aid, and the developmental effectiveness of food aid is addressed first. The creation of disincentives has been identified as one of the main arguments against food aid as well as one of the main arguments on negative dependency, so it is not discussed as a separate topic, but rather as the first factor of negative dependency. Negative dependency was discussed under the general topic of dependency, which is the fourth argument around the provision of food aid, along with positive dependency and the denial of dependency

As a guide to the reader, the heuristic device (figure 3.2) used in this study is reproduced below. The red circle indicates that the *validity of arguments for and against food aid* will be analysed in this section, in the context of Mozambique.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

### 5.3.1. Targeting

Targeting is defined by Grace, Wei and Murray (2017: 869) as “restricting the coverage of an intervention to those who are perceived to be most at risk in order to maximize the benefit of the intervention whilst minimizing the cost”. These authors also found that very few studies evaluating the effectiveness of targeting have ever been conducted (Grace, Wei and Murray, 2017: 867). This is also the case within the Mozambican context. As food aid is mainly distributed as a response to emergencies in Mozambique, it is assumed that assistance is specifically targeting to affected areas and communities influenced by the relevant emergency. There is not a lot of information available on targeting of food aid within Mozambique, which limits the ability of evaluating its effectiveness. In some cases the government is involved in food aid allocation and distribution, while in other cases NGOs take over the responsibility for doing so (World Vision International, 2016; Donovan and Tostão, 2010: 12).

One can, however, assess the extent to which consequences of ineffective targeting are present in the Mozambican context. These circumstances have been identified in the second chapter of this thesis. The first is **donor mistrust**, as ineffective targeting means that donors are uncertain where or how their aid is being allocated, and whether or not the need for assistance is genuine. The recent

Mozambican debt scandal created major mistrust from donors, but not necessarily because of ineffective targeting. The second consequence of poor targeting is that food aid becomes a **weak tool** for promoting food security and alleviating poverty. Continuous food insecurity and sustained poverty in Mozambique, despite the constant in flow of food aid, could be the result of weak targeting.

The final consequence of ineffective targeting is that aid is used for **unintended purposes**. No concrete evidence of this could be found in the recent literature, but the high level of corruption within the Mozambican economic and political system makes it very likely. All three circumstances identified as consequences of ineffective targeting are present in Mozambique, although it is not clear whether they are actually due to ineffective targeting.

In Mozambique food aid in support of farmers is mostly distributed to medium- and large-scale farmers, while it is the small-scale farmers who actually require the assistance (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 29). Small-scale farmers are responsible for the majority of the country's agricultural production and allocating aid to them would have a much greater impact on national/local food security. One of the positive aspects related to food aid targeting in Mozambique is the fact that food aid is rarely provided in the form of cash. Providing recipients with in-kind food aid or food vouchers overcomes the issue of restricted access to food and food markets.

Evaluating the effectiveness of targeting in Mozambique is difficult because of the lack of previous studies and limited data available. It can be said, however, that three circumstances associated with ineffective targeting are present in Mozambique, so because of the lack of evidence and data proving otherwise, one is led to believe that targeting can be improved.

### 5.3.2. Development

One of the main arguments made in favour of food aid is that it promotes development in recipient countries. The rationale is that food aid stimulates the accumulation of productive assets and increases productivity (Barrett, 2006). It is necessary to determine the validity of this argument in the context of Mozambique in order to successfully respond to the research questions of this thesis.

As is the case with targeting, there is little empirical evidence on this relationship and it is difficult to draw a clear line of causation between food aid and development. One can, however, examine the food aid received by Mozambique as well as the development that occurred within the same time period and look for a correlation. When assessing the development brought about by food aid programmes and donor actions, it is important to consider where the information is coming from and who is providing it, as entities implementing such programmes may be biased towards releasing positive feedback.

An example of food aid provision that could possibly be contributing to development is the resilience-building programme of the WFP. In December 2017 the WFP announced that food aid would be provided to meet the needs of 85 500 Mozambicans, of which 55 500 will participate in construction and restoration of productive and community assets (ReliefWeb, 2017). The organisation stated that this would allow vulnerable communities to regain their livelihoods and improve resilience (ReliefWeb, 2017). Although no specific reference is made to development, the assumption is that an increase in production and restoration of productive assets will lead to development within the Mozambican context. The Overseas Development Institute (n.d.) and Cammaer (2016: 4) state that production in Mozambique has increased throughout the past decade. Although this may imply development, the increase in production has been mainly due to land expansion, meaning that it is unlikely to be sustainable (Cammaer, 2016: 4). Considering Mozambique's high vulnerability to threats such as conflict and climate change, the increase in productivity as a result of land expansion also means an increase in vulnerability.

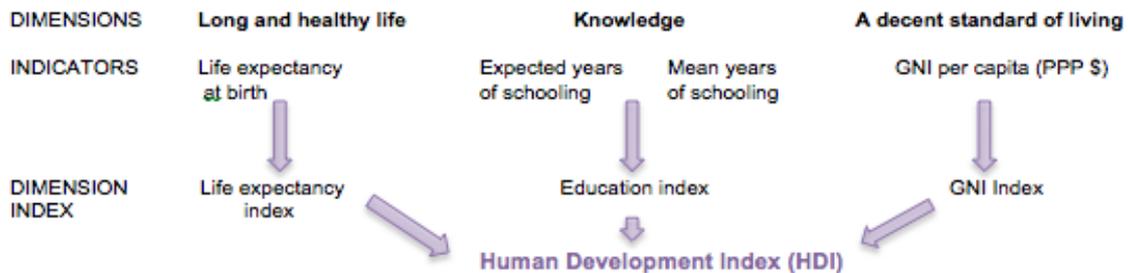
Although undernutrition remains high, it has declined in Mozambique during the past 23 years (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 11). This does not necessarily imply that development has taken place. Mozambique is a darling of the donor community and there is a high likelihood that the decrease in undernutrition is solely due to food aid, which may foster dependency.

Projects and/or programmes implementing food aid often also have development aspects. This is often the case with projects and/or programmes in Mozambique, as the poverty-stricken country has great potential and need for development. Research identified a few food aid programmes/projects with developmental potential, recently implemented in Mozambique (World Vision, 2013; Caritas Australia, 2018; Stewart, 2013; Nagiecki, 2012; Donovan and Tostão, 2010: 12). These programmes/projects include school feeding schemes, women empowerment action, integrated community development programmes and assistance for families affected by HIV/AIDS. Along with the implementation of programmes/projects such as these and the large amounts of food aid received by Mozambique, the GDP has shown positive growth since the end of the civil war. As mentioned, the GDP growth rate decreased greatly after 2016, when the country experienced the debt scandal along with an extreme drought. At the same time many donors reduced or suspended their aid to the country. This leads one to assume that the GDP growth was partly the result of donor contributions. Because it decreased so dramatically when donors suspended or reduced their contribution, the actual amount of sustainable development that took place is called into question.

It should be noted that despite having been a darling of the donor community for many years, Mozambique has one the lowest HDI scores (0.437) in the world (Country economy, 2018). The HDI

of a country is a summary of measures of the average capability of citizens to (a) live a long and healthy life, (b) be knowledgeable, and (c) have a decent living standard.

Figure 6.1. Visual summary of measures to determine Human Development Index



Source: UNDP, 2018d

“The HDI was created to emphasize that people and their capabilities should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country, not economic growth alone” (UNDP, 2018d). This is an important consideration in the case of Mozambique, as the country has shown significant economic growth but failed to excel in terms of this measure of development (Caritas Australia, 2018; Stewart, 2013; Bruschi, 2012). This supports ideas of the presence of corruption, inefficient targeting, dependency and mismanagement of food aid received. It leads to the assumption that food aid might not have had a positive influence on development in Mozambique and thus also failed to contribute to the promotion of long-term food security.

In 2017 the WFP launched a five-year country strategic development plan for Mozambique, designed to increase resilience against climate shocks and ensure that people have enough nutritious food to eat (Koigi, 2017). Implementation of the program was preceded by two years of nationwide consultations to ensure that the most effective methods are followed (Koigi, 2017). The program has a budget of \$167 million and came into effect in July 2017 (Koigi, 2017). On paper, the proposal for the programme covers all the necessary concerns and the focus on resilience as well as nutrition seems promising. Recent feedback on the progress of the programme is not yet available. Although programmes like this may provide assistance, it is important that Mozambique develops the capacity to deal with climatic shocks and threats to food insecurity, independently. If a country’s development is premised on the involvement of a third party, it is questionable whether or not it should be considered ‘development’ at all.

### 5.3.3. Dependency

Because of the country’s high vulnerability to threats to food security, the lack of development, and the fact that resources similar to that provided through food aid cannot be raised domestically,

Mozambique can be perceived as dependent on food aid (UNDP in Mozambique, 2018; De Renzio and Hanlon, 2007; Interview respondent 1, 2018). This section will consider arguments of negative and positive dependency, and if relevant, those that deny the existence of dependency in Mozambique. The main arguments around negative and positive dependency were identified in the Chapter 3, under theories of dependency. The relevance of these arguments in the context of Mozambique will be determined. This will assist in answering both the primary and secondary research questions as it considers whether or not dependency is prevalent in the relationship between food aid and food security, and whether such a relationship is positive or negative.

#### 5.3.3.1. Negative dependency

Negative dependency ensues when the current needs of recipients are met through aid, but at the cost of reducing their capacity to meet their basic needs without external assistance in the future (Lentz, Barrett and Hoddinott, 2005: 12). The *Financial Times* reports that Mozambique would not have been able to achieve all it has without the generous aid contributions it has received (*Financial Times*, 2018). This implies that Mozambique has developed some degree of aid dependency. By ascertaining the validity of arguments regarding negative dependency within the country's context, this section will determine whether or not the relationship between Mozambique and its food aid donors is indeed one of *negative* dependency.

##### 5.3.3.1.1. Disincentives

The first argument on the negative dependency on food aid is that it creates disincentives. The most accurate way to determine whether or not disincentives have been created in Mozambique is to consider the outcomes that have been achieved along with food aid flows. Even though the country has been receiving large amounts of food aid during the past two decades, production has increased in Mozambique (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 19, 27). Although the growth rate has declined recently as a result of climatic circumstances and the 2016 debt scandal, GDP has continuously risen since the end of the civil war. These factors indicate no prevalence of production disincentives. Production has continued to develop despite the provision of food aid. Abdulai, Barrett and Hoddinott (2005) also found that under the circumstances that food aid is provided in Africa, it rarely has a disincentive effect on production. This seems to be the case in Mozambique.

Food aid to Mozambique is usually provided in response to emergencies, or events jeopardising food security. Continued reliance on food aid during these times leads to the assumption that food aid provision has created a disincentive for the increase of resilience. Although production has increased, food security in Mozambique remains extremely vulnerable. Sustained high vulnerability, despite years of economic growth and receiving food aid, indicates a lack of incentives to improve resilience. Mozambique has failed to develop the ability to deal independently with threats to food security.

As long as resilience remains weak, development, production, growth and expansion in Mozambique run the risk of collapse. If food aid is always provided in emergency situations, without imposing a level of responsibility on Mozambican authorities, they have little incentive to improve resilience against threats. This creates dependency and perpetuates the vulnerability of Mozambican food security.

#### 5.3.3.1.2. Price effects

As food aid is supplied to Mozambique mainly under emergency circumstances, it does not have a great impact on local food prices. This is because the provision of food aid takes place during periods when food is not available, or when citizens do not have access to food. Thus, food aid is not being provided in addition to the availability of local products, and hence does not create market competition that would negatively influence local prices. Food aid to Mozambique is mostly provided in kind or in the form of food vouchers. If provided under non-emergency circumstances, in-kind food aid might have the potential to put downward pressure on local prices, as supply would increase in relation to demand. This would in turn create a production disincentive. As no production disincentive has been identified in Mozambique, it can be said that this is not the case.

Rather than food aid, the 2016 debt scandal along with El Niño that led to the global food crisis recently affected prices negatively in Mozambican markets (Vidal, 2018). Since the crisis emerged in April 2016, the price of a Consumer Price Index (CPI) food basket has risen by more than 22% in Mozambique. Salary increases have not covered this loss of purchasing power and another rise in inflation occurred in February 2018 (Vidal, 2018). Despite these negative trends in Mozambican food prices, it does not seem as if food aid is to blame.

#### 5.3.3.1.3. Distortion of safety nets and increased risk taking

It is difficult to determine whether or not food aid is to blame for the lack of sufficient safety nets in Mozambique. It is clear, however, that safety nets and social protection programmes in the country are not at the level they should be (Beegle, Coudouel and Monsalve, 2018: 89; Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 29). High vulnerability in urban areas, as a result of urbanization, political instability and economic conditions, increases the importance of effective safety nets in such communities (Zapatero, 2017: 7). In Mozambique these are the only areas where formal safety nets, such as food subsidies and minimum wages, are present (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 41). Despite their importance, these programmes do not provide complete coverage (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 41). Only 17% of the target population is covered, which in itself is very limited (Zapatero, 2017: 37). In Mozambique, safety nets fail to take different social participation patterns related to age groups and geographical locations into account (Zapatero, 2017: 66).

Safety nets in rural areas are less formal than those in urban areas (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 10). In rural areas, what is referred to as 'safety nets' are actually just coping mechanisms that

are resorted to in times of emergency (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 10). These coping mechanisms include exchanging labour for food, sharing food between households and consuming the next season's supply prematurely. These coping mechanisms have the potential to negatively influence food security in already vulnerable communities (FEWS Net, 2018). Resorting to such coping mechanisms relates to 'increased risk taking', identified as an element of negative dependency.

The most direct correlation between food aid and safety nets in Mozambique this study has been able to establish is that development partners and donors have been central in advocating for the development of safety nets and social protection strategies in Mozambique (Beegle, Coudouel and Monsalve, 2018: 39). The promotion of such programmes and their successful implementation have significant potential to increase individuals' capabilities to achieve food security (Zapatero, 2017: 67). This would not only strengthen the relationship between the government and vulnerable sections of society, but should also provide enough incentive to the Mozambican government to do so (Beegle, Coudouel and Monsalve, 2018: 39). Yet despite the World Bank putting in place several building blocks for a system of social safety nets, Mozambican authorities showed little interest in further development (World Bank, 2018f).

This may be because of a lack of government accountability, as donors have become major role players and decision makers in the Mozambican development context. Beegle, Coudouel and Monsalve (2018: 186) note that successful implementation of safety net programmes requires strong political will and institutions with aligned incentives. The failure of the Mozambican government to efficiently implement these programmes may be related to the lack of incentives referred to in the section on *Disincentives*. As food aid is usually supplied during emergency situations, the government has little incentive to improve the resilience of Mozambican food security. The same may be true for the development of safety nets, as food aid seems to provide relief in situations when safety nets might have been relevant. It should be noted that safety nets address more than just food insecurity. The persistent problem of poverty in Mozambique should be enough motivation in itself for the government to invest more effort into developing successful safety nets and social protection strategies. Donors and development partners advocating for the implementation of effective safety nets may be a positive consequence of their involvement in the affairs of Mozambican authorities. Their involvement may, however, also create disincentives among these authorities, which means that such involvement can be considered as a positive or negative depending on which consequence has the greatest impact.

#### 5.3.3.1.4. Moral hazard

There is little evidence of moral hazards imposed in Mozambique through the provision of food aid. In a 2014 Oxfam briefing paper on mega public-private partnerships in African Agriculture, a moral hazard is defined as "a situation in which the person makes a decision about how much risk to take,

while someone else bears the cost if things go badly” (Oxfam, 2014). The only evidence of possible moral hazards related to food aid in Mozambique regards inefficient targeting and genetically modified (GM) food aid. With regards to targeting, certain facets of society are sometimes not taken into consideration and marginalized groups are left out of decision-making processes (Oxfam, 2014). This means that these groups have to bear the consequences of decisions in which they were not involved. This relates to topics such as food aid distribution and conditionalities imposed by donors.

GM food aid is an often-disputed topic and thought to pose a moral hazard by those who are not in favour of it. Arguments on the pro-GM side of the controversial debate state that refusal to accept GM food aid is a violation of the human right to food (Vezzani, 2018: 1). Those arguing against the acceptance of GM food aid raise concerns of biosafety, gene allergies and unknown long-term risks (Vezzani, 2018: 6). Although this debate creates the potential for GM food aid to pose a moral hazard in recipient countries, the topic has not recently surfaced in the context of Mozambique.

In 2002 the United States delivered 500 000 tons of GM food aid to sub-Saharan Africa. While many countries declined the donations, Mozambique accepted it on the condition that grains were treated, so that local farmers could not plant them (Vezzani, 2018: 4). There is no later evidence available of GM food aid as a topic of discussion in the Mozambican context. This may be because it is no longer considered to be a moral hazard. It is much more likely, however, that the highly sensitive and controversial topic is avoided by donors to protect their own interests.

#### 5.3.3.1.5. Food as a weapon

Macrae and Zwi (1992: 1) state that food can be used as a weapon of war through its omission and provision. As all human beings have a basic need for food, control over these resources ultimately grants one power over individuals in need. There is no evidence suggesting that food, or more specifically food aid, is being used as a weapon of war and/or power in Mozambique. The presence of conflict in Mozambique does, however, influence the food security of the country in a negative way. The rise in activities of rebel groups, as well as the terrorist groups in some parts of the country, adds further strain to the country’s already challenged food security, as members of these groups rely on the food available within local communities (Macrae and Zwi, 1992: 4). Conflict and political unrest may also lead to the displacement of individuals and/or the destruction of land used for production (Collinson and Macbeth, 2017). Although evidence does not suggest that food is being used as a weapon of war and/or power, the presence of conflict and power struggles does hamper the country’s pursuit of food security.

#### 5.3.3.1.6. Bad governance

In 2002 Hanlon stated that Mozambique was on the brink of becoming a criminalized state (Hanlon, 2002: 2, 3). Although one of the interview respondents stated that food aid is not related to high levels of corruption, donor support was found to grow in tandem with criminalization within the

state (Hanlon, 2002: 2; Interview respondent 1, 2018). The presence of corruption and weak governance in Mozambique has already been addressed in chapter 4. It was identified, under the heading “political instability and conflict”, as one of the threats to food security experienced by the country (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 22; Hanlon, 2002: 21). Although the continued provision of donor aid to Mozambique is thought to contribute to this bad governance, the actions of the government do not give donors reason to trust them and their competencies. Weak policy implementation, insufficient coverage by social safety nets, high levels of corruption and, of course, the major debt scandal of 2016, serve as motive for donors to make minimal contributions to governmental authorities (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 42; *News24*, 2016; Beegle, Coudouel and Monsalve, 2018: 237; De Renzio and Hanlon, 2007: 17; Interview respondent 5, 2019).

It may also be argued that dependence on donor aid has led to the government developing these corrupt traits, making it a cycle of negative consequences. Regardless of whether the chicken or the egg came first, both of them are currently in existence. The Mozambican government engages in little genuine consultation with food aid donors, which gives the donors disproportional influence within the country (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 34). The FANRPAN Mozambican Policy Analysis (2017a: 24) argues that aid dependency has led to civil society and governmental organisations developing greater accountability towards donors than to parliament and the citizens of the country.

The *Financial Times* (2018) reported, in line with popular perspectives on negative dependency, that food aid dependency undermines the ability of recipient countries to manage their own economies, handing more power and control to donors. Although Mozambique is mainly dependent on food aid during times of emergency, the government’s failure to improve the resilience of the country to deal with threats causing emergencies is proof of disincentive and weakness in government. Reducing food aid to Mozambique will force the government to take responsibility for decisions influencing national wellbeing (*Financial Times*, 2018).

In conclusion, it is clear that food aid provision to Mozambique has negatively influenced incentives and the quality of government. Although there may be a correlation between food aid and price effects, distortion of safety nets, increased risk taking and moral hazards, this study has not been able to prove concrete causality. There is no proof of food aid being used as a weapon within Mozambican communities, although conflict does contribute to the lack of food security.

#### 5.3.3.2. Positive dependency

Barrett (2006) states that “dependence on external assistance is very likely to be welfare enhancing when the alternative is destitution or worse”. These circumstances are considered to be positive dependency. During emergency circumstances in Mozambique food aid is mostly provided because

the affected communities are unable to acquire sufficient food. This means that in many cases, within the Mozambican context, the alternative to emergency food aid provision might be destitution. Barrett (2006) adds that positive dependency is always intended, as opposed to negative dependency, which is an unintended consequence of aid provision.

Theories of dependency discussed in Chapter 3 presented positive dependency as the second argument on the nature of dependency, after negative dependency. In order to determine whether there is a relationship between food aid and food security, and whether the purported relationship is positive or negative, all arguments must be taken into account. Therefore this section considers the validity of the four main arguments on positive dependency, specifically in the context of Mozambique. It determines the extent to which *positive* dependency, with reference to food aid, is experienced in this context.

#### 5.3.3.2.1. Access to food

The first argument regarding positive dependency is that food aid dependence makes access to food possible for recipients. Mozambique is very vulnerable to events hampering food security and especially to climatic shocks and/or natural disasters, which destroy livelihoods, crops and food resources. In such situations both the availability of food as well as citizens' access to it is compromised. Providing food aid in the form of cash transfers would thus not suffice, as resources are not necessarily available for purchase. Considering that emergency food aid to Mozambique is mainly provided in the form of vouchers or in kind, it does improve recipients' access to food. The alternative to receiving food aid in these emergency circumstances would be destitution.

Access to food does, however, remain an issue in the general context of Mozambican national food security. As a result of underdeveloped infrastructure, the rural-urban divide as well as adverse economic and social factors, access to food remains limited even under non-emergency circumstances. To improve these factors that are limiting access to food, more than food aid is required in Mozambique. Although some donors offer development assistance and implement programmes such as school feeding schemes, access to food remains precarious, as poverty levels are still very high and development very low (Overseas Development Institute, n.d.: 9; Caritas Australia, 2018).

#### 5.3.3.2.2. Nutrition

Barrett (2006) holds that food aid has the potential to improve the general nutrition of recipients, remedying malnutrition despite creating dependence. Undernutrition in Mozambique has been in steady decline for the past 25 years (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 9). Mozambique was also one of the few African countries to reach the United Nations Millennium Development Goal of halving undernutrition by 2015 (Food, agriculture and natural resource policy analysis network, 2017a: 18). Despite this reduction in undernutrition, malnutrition

remains a major concern in Mozambican communities (USAID, 2018). Poor diet quality contributes greatly to the prevalence of malnutrition in Mozambique (Zhou and Hendriks, 2017; USAID, 2018). In-kind food aid, as provided in Mozambique, is likely to improve dietary diversity as food resources are introduced into the recipient communities (Zhou and Hendriks, 2017). Cash transfers, which are not frequent in Mozambique, are also likely to improve dietary quality as recipients can purchase more nutritious items (Zhou and Hendriks, 2017).

Emergency food aid, as most often provided in Mozambique, does not have the same potential to improve nutrition as programme and project food aid does (Mary, Saravia-Matus and Paloma, 2018: 1, 2). This is because emergency food aid is by definition not a long-term provision, but is focused on providing food when it is desperately needed, not necessarily considering its nutritional quality (Mary, Saravia-Matus and Paloma, 2018: 1, 2). Apart from emergency food aid, however, there are various programmes implemented by donors and development agencies in Mozambique focused on improving national nutrition (USAID, 2018; World Food Programme, 2017a; Koigi, 2017). These programmes include a nutritional rehabilitation programme for the treatment of severe and moderate malnutrition, implemented by the WFP (World Food Programme, 2017a). Also implemented by the WFP is a five year country strategic plan for Mozambique that was launched in 2017. The programme was designed to ensure that people have a reliable source of nutritious food to eat. The programme, with a budget of \$167 million, came into effect in July 2017 (Koigi, 2017). The 2018 Mozambique Annual Country Report, published by the WFP, acknowledges that the first year of this five year country strategic plan has been one of “changes and challenges” (World Food Programme, 2018). The workforce and budget functions of the WFP in Mozambique had to be restructured in alignment with the country strategic programme, and the implementation of the programme was challenged by a series of climate-induced shocks (World Food Programme, 2018). Despite the challenges faced during its first year of implementation, this five-year plan has great potential.

Dependence on food aid in Mozambique does not seem to be contributing to improving national nutrition over the long term. This is mainly because of the nature of the aid and the circumstances under which it is provided. There are programmes in place, many of which are implemented by donors, that do offer assistance in improving long-term nutrition in Mozambique.

#### 5.3.3.2.3. Development of recipient markets

There is little information available regarding the influence of food aid on the development of Mozambican markets. This may be because there truly is minimal influence or because it might be in the interest of donors or recipients not to disclose such information. Interviewed experts in the field of Mozambican food aid and food security also did not reveal any clear opinions on this matter (Interview respondent 1, 2018; Interview respondent 5, 2019). With reference to positive dependency, Barrett (2006) states that food aid helps to “nurture competitive, effective channels through which food can flow from producers to final consumers”. Production has increased in Mozambique during

the past decade, but there is no evidence to prove that this is a result of food aid provision (Cammaer, 2016: 4; Dias, 2013: 27). Cammaer (2016: 4) holds that it is most likely a consequence of agricultural expansion.

Although production has been on the rise, the availability of food and access to food in Mozambique is not sustainable. This is because of the country's high vulnerability to threats such as climatic shocks and/or natural disasters, political instability and conflict, as well as adverse economic conditions and poverty. When threats materialise and emergency situations ensue, in-kind food aid is provided to affected communities in Mozambique. Although Abdulai, Barrett and Hoddinott (2005) state that selling in-kind food aid may create competition and consequently provide incentives within local markets, this is unlikely to be the case under the circumstances described above. In emergency situations, local food availability as well as access to food is hampered and thus food aid is not in competition with local food resources. Emergency food aid is therefore thought to have minimal impact on the development of local markets in Mozambique.

Abdulai, Barrett and Hoddinott (2005) also state that selling food aid through small, local traders and processors rather than through large commercial merchants may be beneficial to local markets as it develops an effective food distribution channel. This might be the case in situations where food aid is provided in the form of vouchers, allowing recipients to purchase food resources from accredited vendors. Such a programme was installed by the FAO in 2016 as a response to the impact of El Niño. In that situation vendors were sourced by the FAO, but they noted that it was a future objective to make use of local vendors in such programmes (World Vision International, 2016). Should this objective be implemented, such programmes do have the potential to contribute positively to the development of recipient markets, even as a response to emergency situations.

#### 5.3.3.2.4. Simulation of development and economic growth

This study has already shown that although Mozambique's GDP continues to grow, the rate at which it does so has declined in recent years. It has also mentioned that Mozambique has one of the worst HDIs globally. Thus, neither development nor economic growth is currently doing well in the country. As a result of the influence of various factors responsible for these circumstances, it is difficult to pinpoint the impact that food aid has on the stimulation of development and economic growth. It can be said, however, that considering the current circumstances and the fact that Mozambique has been receiving food aid for many years, the influence it has had on these factors cannot be regarded as overwhelmingly positive.

As the final argument in favour of positive dependency, Barrett (2006) states that food aid has the potential to stimulate productive assets and increase human capital, which is said to have a positive effect on the development and economies of recipients. Receiving food aid in times of emergency undoubtedly increases the ability of recipients to work and participate in activities, compared to what

they would be able to do if they do not have access to any food resources. Even if the ability of recipients to participate in development activities and contribute to the economy is increased, high levels of unemployment limit their capacity to do so. Thus, the high levels of unemployment in Mozambique limit the ability of food aid to contribute positively to development and economic growth. Unemployment is related to household food insecurity, as it leads to a lower household income, which is directly connected to lower levels of household food security (Raimundo, Crush and Pendleton, 2014: 33).

Although the influence of food aid may be limited, development programmes implemented by donors have the potential to stimulate development and economic growth in the country. In 2017 the WFP implemented a programme focused on strengthening Mozambique's resilience to extreme weather events. The programme will meet 85 500 people's nutritional needs and it is estimated that 55 500 of them will participate in the construction and restoration of productive and social community assets (ReliefWeb, 2017). Food For Work (FFW) programmes implemented by USAID have also created employment opportunities for many Mozambican citizens and contributed valuable inputs such as improved roads and infrastructure (Abdulai, Barrett and Hazell, 2004). FFW programmes have, however, been criticized for potentially attracting labourers away from vital agricultural activities by offering wages that are above prevailing market wages (Abdulai, Barrett and Hazell, 2004). Agriculture makes up 40% of Mozambique's GDP and employs 80% of the work force (USAID, 2014: 17). Investment and/or development of the agricultural sector, specifically its resilience to threats, should thus be the focus of development programmes and investments.

Despite having received food aid for many years, neither development levels nor the economic growth of Mozambique is currently on par. The reduction of donor aid and investment since the 2016 debt scandal may be related to the decrease in GDP growth that took place during the same period. Although the correlation between these factors is not clear, Mozambique would not have been able to recover from various emergency situations had food aid not been provided, which leads to the assumption that food aid does to some extent contribute to development.

In conclusion, food aid seems to have the potential to contribute positively to development in Mozambique, especially through programmes instated by donors with this specific purpose. Such programmes, focusing on nutrition, may also offer assistance in addressing malnutrition over the long term. Receiving food aid alone does not seem to have any long-term positive influences on nutrition within the country, as it is mostly focused on meeting immediate needs and provided in emergency situations. Because a variety of factors limit Mozambicans' access to food, there is little proof of food aid positively increasing access in the long term. Overall it seems that food aid provision to Mozambique may have some positive impacts, but they are limited in terms of continuity, extent and sustainability.

### 5.3.3.3. Denial of dependency

After negative dependency and positive dependency, the third facet of theories of dependency presented in Chapter 3 is the denial of dependency. There is no evidence of arguments denying that Mozambique is dependent on food aid, nor is there any evidence that might support such arguments. Because of the country's lack of resilience and high vulnerability to threats to food security, Mozambique is definitely dependent on food aid in emergency situations.

AllAfrica (2013) as well as the Overseas Development Institute (n.d.: 10) reported that while Mozambique was highly food aid dependent between 1980 and 1990, the post-war production increase led to a decrease in this dependence. The Overseas Development Institute (n.d: 14) finds that current food aid distribution in Mozambique is solely motivated by the occurrence of environmental shocks and/or natural disasters. But taking into account the presence and influence of other threats to food security such as poverty, conflict and population growth, this does not seem to be the case. Food insecurity in Mozambique is a result of various factors, which all contribute to the country's dependence on food aid.

## 5.4. Conclusion

The first section of this chapter examined the food aid received by Mozambique in order to determine (in conjunction with the findings of Chapter 4) whether or not there is a correlation between food aid and food security in the country. It was found that Mozambique receives a disproportionate amount of emergency food aid and that food aid is mainly provided in kind or as food vouchers. Cash transfers to the country are avoided, presumably because of the high levels of corruption and the weak economic conditions. Given the nature of food aid received in Mozambique, as well as circumstances within the country, the positive effects of food aid on food security seem limited. The short-term focus and impact of the provision of food aid make the sustainability of its positive influences a matter of debate.

The next section of the chapter considered the four main arguments in the debate for and against food aid in the context of Mozambique. It concludes that (1) *targeting* of food aid in Mozambique can be made more efficient to decrease the possibility of it negatively affecting food security. It found that (2) *development* programmes and strategies implemented by food aid donors do assist in developing the four components of food security within the country. However, these programmes are initiatives undertaken by donors to Mozambique and not of the Mozambican authorities. It should therefore be taken into account that the sustainability of these programmes remains vulnerable, as they are dependent on donor intervention.

The third argument, (3) *disincentives*, was considered as part of the analysis pertaining to the fourth argument (4) *dependency*, as “disincentives” happens to be the first argument about negative

dependency. Arguments of dependency were analysed in the three categories identified by theories of dependency in Chapter 3 – negative dependency, positive dependency and denial of dependency. Considering the validity of arguments of negative dependency in the context of Mozambique, there does seem to be a correlation between food insecurity and food aid dependency in the country. Although arguments of positive dependency posit that food aid does allow citizens to avoid destitution in emergency situation, dependence on food aid provision prevents the country from creating more food-secure circumstances. No arguments were found denying Mozambique's dependence on food aid, especially not in emergency situations.

Overall the analysis in this chapter suggests that food aid is a necessity under certain circumstances in Mozambique – referring specifically to emergency situations. Although such aid allows members of the population to avoid destitution in emergencies, there does not seem to be a positive correlation between food aid received and the country's long-term food security.

In fact, it seems that food aid creates disincentives for the government to improve the country's resilience to threats, which influences food security negatively. The negative effects of food aid in Mozambique create a greater necessity for food aid, as food security is not improved. Based on the findings presented in this chapter, there seems to be a negative correlation between food aid received by Mozambique and the status of the country's food security.

Chapters 4 and 5 have indicated that the purported relationship between food aid and food security in Mozambique is more complicated than simply a negative or positive correlation. However, it is clear that food aid injections are not guaranteed to end hunger and improve the country's food security as is the common perception referred to in the research problem.

The second case study of this thesis, conducted over the following two chapters (6 and 7) will apply the conceptual tools identified in Chapter 3 within the context of Kenya. It will analyse the same factors considered in the case study of Mozambique (Chapters 4 and 5). By taking into account the findings of the Mozambican case study (Chapters 4 and 5), as well as the findings of the Kenyan case study (Chapters 6 and 7), a comprehensive response to the research questions as well as the problem statement of this thesis will be formulated.

## Chapter Six

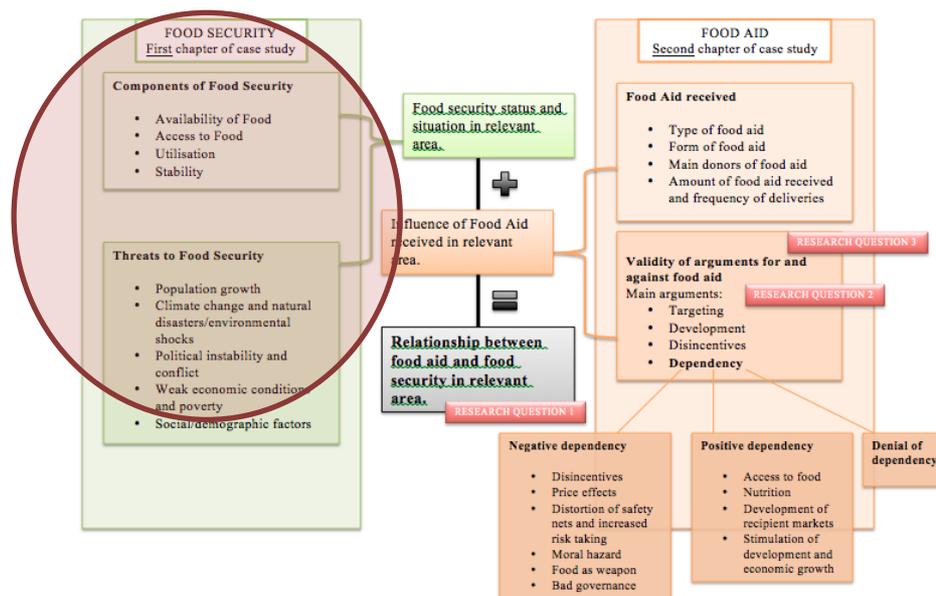
### Food security in Kenya

#### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter is the first of two that make up the second case study of this thesis – Kenya. As per the analytical framework and case study structure presented in Chapter 3, the first part of the analysis is focused on food security in Kenya. After a brief overview of the country – to ensure proper contextualisation of the analysis – Kenya’s food security is assessed by examining the four components of the concept: (a) availability of food, (b) the access to food, (c) utilisation, and (d) stability. This is followed by an account of the main threats to Kenyan food security, corresponding to the main threats to food security as identified in the literature. The extent to which these threats influence Kenyan food security is determined. This is done to acknowledge that various factors may influence the state of food security in the country, and to ensure that food aid (considered in Chapter 7) is not blamed exclusively for the consequences of these threats.

The conclusions of this chapter will assist in responding to the primary research question of this thesis in the context of Kenya. Along with the findings of Chapter 4 (which implemented the same structure in the Mozambican context) and by also considering the findings of Chapters 5 and 7, a response will be formulated to the primary research question in the greater context of Sub-Saharan Africa and ultimately to the problem statement of this thesis. The heuristic device (Figure 3.2) is reproduced below. The red circle indicates the part of the Kenyan case study analysed in this chapter.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

## 6.2. Country overview: Kenya

Similar to Mozambique, the Sub-Saharan African country of Kenya is located on the eastern side of the continent. It is situated more to the north than Mozambique, but shares the Indian Ocean coastline. Kenya also has a coast to the West, as it borders the renowned Lake Victoria. It is a country of great geographical and topographic diversity as its area of 58 647 square kilometres encompasses savannahs, lakes, mountains and a contiguous geographic trench known as the Great Rift Valley (African Studies Centre, 2019). The country is named after one of its greatest natural features, Mount Kenya. The word 'Kenya' is a derivative of the phrase "God's resting place", as earlier members of the Kikuyu and Embu tribes believed Mount Kenya to be the earthly throne of the divine (International union for conservation of nature, 2010).

Along the coast Kenya experiences a tropical climate similar to that of Mozambique. However, it also has two other climatic zones, hot and dry to the north, and temperate in the west and south-west (Climates to Travel, n.d.). These different zones contribute to disparities in livelihoods and methods of obtaining food and income.

Following the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, the British government founded the East African Protectorate in 1895, opening the fertile highlands to European settlers. This included the area known today as Kenya (Kenya Embassy of the Republic of Kenya in Japan, 2019). In 1920 Kenya was officially declared a British colony. During resistance to colonialism from the Mau Mau movement, Kenya was placed under a state of emergency in 1952-1959 and finally gained its independence in 1963. In 1964 the former anti-colonial activist Jomo Kenyatta was elected as the first president of Kenya after being released from detention (Kenya Embassy of the Republic of Kenya in Japan, 2019). Since independence, Kenya has held various controversial elections as corruption and tribalism have often complicated the process (Ruddick, 2013). After an unsuccessful election in 2017, and the eventual withdrawal of his opponent, Uhuru Kenyatta, son of Jomo Kenyatta, currently holds the title of president.

Second only to tourism and services, the agricultural sector is one of the greatest contributors to the prosperous Kenyan economy, of which the GDP has continuously grown since the 1960s (Esamwata, 2014: 3). Some sources consider agriculture to be the main driver of the Kenyan economy (Mohajan, 2014: 29; World Food Program USA, 2017). Since independence agricultural production has increased and today it is directly responsible for 24% of the GDP, while indirectly contributing an additional 27% through linkages with manufacturing and distribution (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012). The sector also generates 45% of total government revenue and employs more than 60% of the working population (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012).

Despite the fact that the majority of the country is rural and relies on smallholder, rainfed agriculture to meet local needs, the sector is responsible for more than 50% of the country's export earnings (Esamwata, 2014: 3, 5; International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012). Agricultural exports mainly consist of luxury goods such as tea, coffee and flora (Sadauskaite, 2014: 8). Thus, the sector does not focus on providing for the local population. This is a result of the neoliberal policies Kenya implemented in 1986 (Rosenberg-Carlson and Houser, 2012).

During the 1980s Kenya shifted from its unmet 'food self-sufficiency' goal to an outward strategy, manifested by an increase in food exports (Esamwata, 2014: 7). It implemented neoliberal policies, based on the theory developed during the 1970s which states that "human wellbeing can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free market and trade" (Rosenberg-Carlson and Houser, 2012: 4). Kenya now exports more than \$3 billion worth of food each year, and has also grown into one of the largest export markets for food and agricultural products in Africa (Ruddick, 2013, Amwata, Nyariki, and Musimba, 2016: 772). Most of the export companies are foreign owned, meaning that the majority of Kenyan resources benefit foreign stakeholders rather than the local population (Ruddick, 2013). These neoliberal policies have led to Kenya becoming dependent on advanced foreign economies (Amwata, Nyariki and Musimba, 2016: 771).

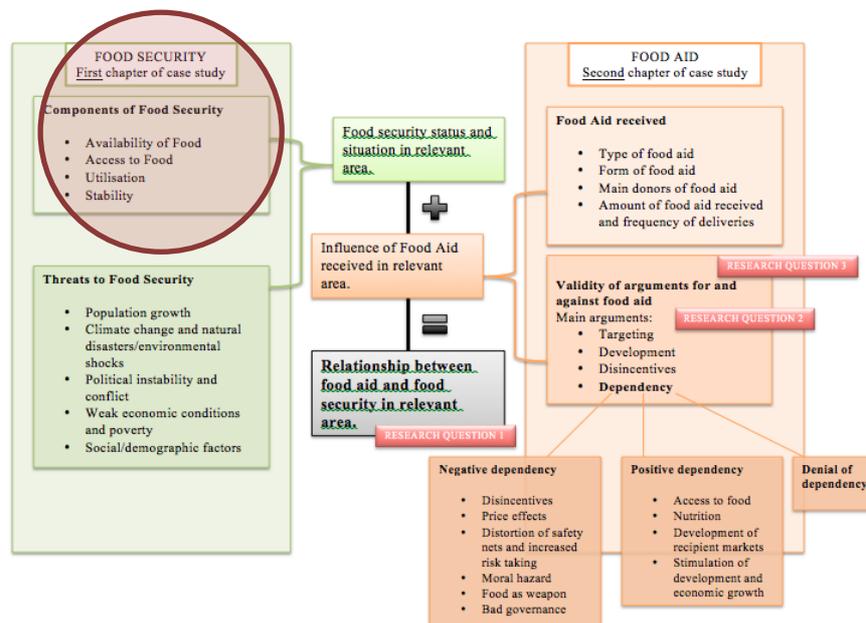
Although the country is classified as lower to middle income by the World Bank and has a stronger economy than most neighbouring countries, the population is poor (Sadauskaite, 2014: 7, World Food Program USA, 2017; World Bank, 2018b). 35.6% of Kenyans live below the national poverty line (World Bank, 2018b). This might be reflective of the fact that the country's riches and resources are not used to the benefit of its population. Along with poverty, the country also experiences a high level of food insecurity and has received food aid on varying scales since independence, after which the country was highly favoured by the donor community (Wabwoba and Wakhungu, 2013: 1; Wanjiru, 2014: 10; Ruddick, 2013; Mohajan, 2014: 35). More recent information on the food aid received is elaborated on in the third section of this chapter.

In 2018 more than 700 000 Kenyans were found to be acutely food insecure and more than half of the population lack access to adequate amounts of food of sufficient quality (Korir, Rizov and Ruto, 2018: 3; *The Star*, 2018). This is despite the country's Vision 2030 launched in 2008 and the new constitution implemented in 2010 (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012; Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 9). The goal of Vision 2030 is to "create a globally competitive and prosperous country with high quality of life by 2030" (Kenya Vision, 2019a), and the constitution states that every citizen has "the right to be free from hunger" (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). Despite Kenya's economic fortune, these ideals have not yet been met and there is still a long way to go.

### 6.3. Food security

As indicated by the red circle on the heuristic device (Figure 3.2) reproduced below, this section analyses the current state of food security in Kenya by considering the four components of food security identified in Chapter 2, namely (a) availability of food, (b) access to food, (c) utilisation, and (d) stability. The analysis draws on the latest available information on these components. The extent to which information is available, as well as the sources of the information, is taken into consideration as this may provide useful insight into the politics around food security in Kenya.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The Author

#### 6.3.1. Availability of food

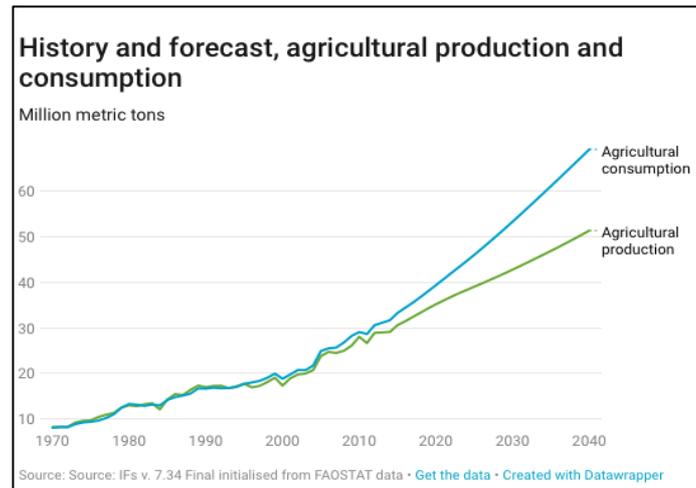
In their 2013 Kenya Food Security Brief, the Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS Net) defined *food availability* as “the physical existence of food, from a household’s own production or from markets, including commercial food imports and food aid” (FEWS Net, 2013: 4). They also stated that “adequate food availability is a prerequisite for people to meet basic food needs, but often the mere presence of food does not ensure access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food” (FEWS Net, 2013: 4). In Kenya, a country where food crises are recurring phenomena and threats of famine are frequent, immense pressure is placed on the underproductive agricultural sector to feed the national population (Esamwata, 2014: 5). As is the case in Mozambique, the Kenyan agricultural sector is one of the most important sectors contributing to the country’s economy, citizens’ livelihoods and national development.

After Kenya gained independence, the country experienced a great expansion of agricultural output (Esamwata, 2014: 5). The sector became such a cardinal part of Kenyan lifestyle to the extent that it currently supports the livelihood of roughly 75% of the population (FEWS Net, 2013: 5). The sector is responsible for the production of 65% of the country's total maize intake (Mohajan, 2014: 28). Although it is the staple food in Kenya, maize is currently in short supply as a result of production challenges and crop diseases (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012). Considering the country's great reliance on the agricultural sector, one is inclined to assume that it covers substantial physical space. However, the amount of arable land available for agriculture is extremely limited. This contributes greatly to the threat of food insecurity, as production capacity is limited and methods for agricultural expansion have not yet been realised. Estimates vary, but the percentage of Kenya's total area of land arable for farming is between 15% and 20% (Mohajan, 2014: 30; Maina, 2019; Nayioma, 2016: 64, 65; FEWS Net, 2013: 5). Most of this land is used by commercial agriculture and thus not used to boost local food availability (Mohajan, 2014: 30).

As mentioned in the country overview, neoliberal policies have greatly affected the Kenyan economy. These policies have, however, also impacted on the agricultural sector and food security of the Kenyan population. As most agricultural land is being used to produce exported products such as tea, coffee and flowers, limited land is left available for local food production. This increases the reliance on alternative methods of obtaining food, such as food aid and imports. In an upsetting paradox, Kenya is thus exporting agricultural products, while importing food aid (Esamwata, 2014)! Small-scale subsistence farmers dominate the limited land available for local food production (Korir, Rizov and Ruto, 2018: 3). These farmers have limited access to credit and farming inputs, which hampers production and consequently food availability (Wabwoba, 2017: 1; Kilonzi, 2013: 109; Michael, 2015).

Agricultural food production in Kenya is not nearly sufficient to meet the country's needs. Despite production having increased since independence, it has gradually stagnated in recent years and the country is experiencing an alarmingly growing gap between production and consumption (Maina, 2019; Kabara and Kabubo-Mariara, 2015: 2; FEWS Net, 2018b). The following graph (Figure 6.2) shows how agricultural consumption has increased at a disturbingly faster rate than agricultural production.

Figure 6.2. Graph indicating the history and forecast of agricultural production and consumption in Kenya 1970-2040



Source: ISS Africa, 2018

ISS Africa (2018) shockingly reports that agricultural production in Kenya must increase by 75% from levels recorded in 2015 in order to meet the expected levels of agricultural consumption in 2030. Research shows various reasons for the stagnation of agricultural production in Kenya. These include the lack of new technology, vulnerability to disease, poverty leading to insufficient access to farm inputs, weak irrigation systems, cultural practices and climate change. Over-reliance on rainfall increases the vulnerability of agricultural production. When Kenya experienced a drought in 2011, it became necessary to import food and there was a great increase in food aid. This created production disincentives within the country as local farmers were at a disadvantage because of the ready availability of inexpensive imported foods.

Although a wet rainy season is usually a prosperous time for Kenyan agriculture, in 2017 it brought with it a threat that has greatly reduced the availability of food during the past two years, fall armyworm. The pest attacked maize fields in 42 Kenyan countries (SciDev.Net Sub-Saharan Africa, 2018). Because maize is mainly produced by smallholder farmers, they lacked the resilience and capability to overcome the pest, thus losing immense amounts of their crops (SciDev.Net Sub-Saharan Africa, 2018). It is estimated that crops to the value of \$5 million were lost as a result of the infestation (Ontieno, 2018).

These circumstances restrict the availability of food in Kenya, consequently contributing to the increase of food insecurity and in turn posing a threat to food security. The majority of these ‘threats’ will be further analysed below.

Diversification of the agricultural sector might be part of the solution to Kenya's underproduction (Kabara and Kabubo-Mariara, 2015: 11; Aloo et al., 2017: 11833). Although it is facing challenges, aquaculture is currently the fastest growing sector of food production in Kenya (Aloo et al., 2017: 11833). It is still responsible for only 11% of the current total fish production in Kenya, but considering the extent of Kenya's coastline and lakes, there is still a lot of potential for the sector to develop (Aloo et al., 2017: 11833). Despite the potential of the sector, Kilonzi (2013: 112) states that the political will to improve local agricultural production is weak. This might be related to the fact that government funds generated by the agricultural sector mainly come from exports. Thus, the availability of food for the local population and the production levels of smallholder farmers are not prioritised.

Despite the government's perceived ignorance and lack of incentive, the need to improve food availability in Kenya is increasing (Mbachii and Likoko, 2013). Expected population growth for the country, where the increase in consumption is already outpacing the increase in production, is a staggering increase from 44 million in 2012 to 77 million in 2030 (FEWS Net, 2013: 5). The lack of sufficient food to fulfil the current nutritional needs of the population is a clear indication of growing food insecurity. Considering that the four concepts of food security – (a) availability of food, (b) access to food, (c) utilisation and (d) stability – are hierarchical, the findings in this section are related to and influence the analyses in the three sections to follow (Barret, 2010: 835). Similar to the Mozambican context, food availability proves to be a significant issue in Kenya. Limited arable land and its management, along with prioritisation of agricultural exports above national consumption needs, pose challenges to Kenyan food security. While large amounts of Kenyan agricultural products are exported, boosting the economy, the national population itself is dependent on imports and food aid. This inflow of agricultural products forms a vicious cycle, as it creates disincentives for local farmers and consequently lowers agricultural production.

### 6.3.2. Access to food

As mentioned in Chapter 4, this second component of food security is closely related to the capabilities approach. While food may be available, this component refers to whether or not individuals are capable of acquiring it. This study has found that in both the cases of Mozambique and Kenya, a distinction can be drawn between (1) *physical access* and (2) *economic access* to food.

Due to the insufficient availability of food for the Kenyan population, and the hierarchical order of the components of food security, one can assume that access to food within this context is also compromised. This proves to be the case as research has shown that approximately 50% of the Kenyan population lack access to adequate food (Korir, Rizov and Ruto, 2018: 3; Kilonzi, 2013: 112, 114; International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012). It is crucial to consider the meaning of the

term ‘adequate’ here, as it implies not just the amount of accessible food but also its quality (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012).

#### 6.3.2.1 Physical access

In Kenya challenges to physical access to food are different in rural and urban contexts. Although the availability of food affects general access to food, certain factors have a varying influence in rural and urban settings. In Kenya 51% of the rural population and 38% of the urban population are plagued by food insecurity (Kilonzi, 2013: 108). This is not necessarily indicative of the number of food-insecure people in these areas, as urban areas often have a higher population density. On average, rural communities produce 70% of the food they consume and purchase only 30% (Wanjiru, 2014: 11). This can be ascribed to the limited linkages that rural communities have to formal markets, along with traditions and cultural practices (FEWS Net, 2013: 30, 41). Household access to food in rural communities is thus equivalent to the household’s participation in agricultural practices. Participation in agriculture, however, is limited by the domination of commercial agriculture as well as by the availability of land. Many rural dwellers have resorted to renting land for cultivation, but as a result of structural agreements the productivity of such land is usually below potential (Muraoka, Jin and Jayne, 2018: 612). Although the rural sector is generally considered to be most vulnerable to the threat of food insecurity, the Kenyan Food Security Brief (2013: 34) states that in Kenya the urban sector represents a greater proportion of the food insecure and malnourished population.

Urbanisation is common in Kenya, most probably because of the limited opportunities in rural sectors. On average, urban dwellers earn higher incomes than those living in rural areas (Olielo, 2013: 5). This allows them greater dietary diversity, as their purchasing power is increased. Most of the food consumed by Kenya’s urban population is purchased, rather than produced by the consumer himself/herself (Olielo, 2013: 5). Although this increases the population’s capability of achieving dietary diversity, it also leaves them with a great reliance on markets as well as serious vulnerability to price variations and shocks (FEWS Net, 2013: 27; Korir, Rizov and Ruto, 2018: 3). Interview respondent 2 (2018) highlights the negative influence of ineffective food handling practices on access to food in urban areas.

Food imports and food aid are received in urban areas, which contributes to the trend towards urbanisation (Wanjiru, 2014: 22). Populations dependent on food aid and not producing their own food tend to cluster around these points of delivery (Wanjiru, 2014: 4). However, food aid and imports are not just for those living in cities and must also be transported to food-insecure rural populations. Therefore, the effectiveness of transport systems and infrastructure has a direct impact on the access people living in rural areas have to these food sources. As is the case in Mozambique, Kenya has very poor road network and consequently ineffective national distribution systems (Mbachi and Likoko, 2013: 55; Hassan, 2017: 3; Wabwoba, 2017: 2). This might be a consequence of the

government's focus having shifted towards outward, global sectors rather than towards national food provision. The poor road infrastructure not only impedes physical access to food, but also influences economic access. Interview respondent 2 (2018) states that "lack of efficient linkages in rural areas hinder access to food". Underdeveloped transport systems lead to very high transport costs, which in turn raise commodity prices, reducing purchasing power (Hassan, 2017: 43, 49). Two other factors hampering the Kenyan population's physical access to food are horizontal public policy inequalities (HPPI) and bias/discrimination against women.

The first leads to regional disparities in access to public goods, including food and the requirements for achieving food security (Hassan, 2017: 44). Interview respondent 2 (2018) considers marginalisation of communities as one of the main issues hindering their access to food. As in many other African countries, women play an important role in Kenya's agricultural sector. Despite the significant correlation between women's involvement in agriculture and access to food, customary values and cultural beliefs limit the rights of women in the sector (Po, 2017: i; Wabwoba, 2017: 3; Interview respondent 4, 2019).

Chapter 4 cites the findings of Mäkelä (2016) regarding methods of accessing food in Mozambique. That study also analyses habits related to accessing food in the context of Kenya. It found that the Kenyan population purchases greater amounts of food than the Mozambique population does (Mäkelä, 2016: 2). In Kenya it is less popular to present food products as gifts, but if this is done, it is more likely to occur in rural areas than in urban areas (Mäkelä, 2016: 2). Although there is no literature on or study providing a direct comparison of the availability of food in these two countries, the above findings may reflect the higher availability of food in Mozambique and Kenya's reliance on imports along with food aid.

#### 6.3.2.1 Economic access

The FEWS Net Kenyan Food Security Brief (2013: 32, 43) states that food security in Kenya is very closely related to the impact of poverty levels on access to food. Because of factors such as urbanisation, limited arable land, lack of access to land and a market dominated by imports and exports, many Kenyans purchase food products rather than producing them themselves. Consequently, their access to food is influenced by their purchasing power, which is compromised by poverty. Poverty is a great problem in Kenya, as the country has a National Poverty Index of 35.6% (World Bank, 2018c). Members of the population living below the poverty line lack access to basic services (FEWS Net, 2013: 6). These circumstances also hinder their access to food as they cannot afford to purchase food products that make up a balanced diet of sufficient quality and quantity.

Kenya's neoliberal policies and reliance on imports increase the pressure placed on the public's purchasing power, as they need money to access food. People's economic access to food is thus

inversely related to food prices. Wanjiru (2014: 18) notes that the transaction costs involved in distributing imports increase the price of products, which lowers the purchasing power of the community. Once again the importance of effective transportation systems is noted, as it influences both the physical and economic access to food. Wabwoba (2017: 3) states that the inability to purchase food because of a lack of purchasing power has increased the occurrence of theft of farm produce, especially by juveniles.

Although the Kenya Vision 2030 specifically focuses on creating “policy responses driven by the goal of economic growth”, and should therefore, as stated by Kilonzi (2013: 108), “assure adequate food availability and access”, poverty remains a pressing issue in the country.

This analysis found that both physical and economic access to food is compromised, with the main issues being, among others, insufficient transport systems, lack of access to land, poverty and therefore also a lack of purchasing power. These factors hamper the capability of individuals to acquire the products necessary for achieving food security. In terms of the capability approach, individuals’ lack of capability to fulfil their basic needs influences their wellbeing negatively. This section concludes that the Kenyan population’s insufficient access to food compromises their food security.

### 6.3.3. Utilisation

As stated above, the Kenyan agricultural sector is dominated by commercial agriculture. Products produced by these methods are mainly exported and the revenue contributes to the country’s economic wealth. As limited sections of the country’s little arable land is left available for the production of food products to be consumed locally, the population relies on food imports and food aid to meet their consumption needs. Although access to imported food is not always sufficient, there are limited challenges to utilising these food products. The main challenges to utilisation in the Kenyan context are related to the local agricultural sector that produces food for local consumption. This sector consists mainly of small-scale farmers. Research highlights three main challenges that prevent the local population from optimally utilising food from this sector.

The first, and probably the main, stumbling block is **insufficient education**. This does not refer to school education, as Kenya is considered to be one of the more highly educated African countries (Caritas Australia, 2019; Mohajan, 2014: 34). This education refers to information allowing for and leading to effective utilisation. There is a need to strengthen extension services that offer information necessary for utilisation to both farmers and consumers (Olielo, 2013: 2; Shaban, 2017; Maina, 2018). Consumers need to be equipped with information that enables them to make better decisions regarding nutrient consumption and dietary diversity (Hassan, 2017: 49, 55). The FAO identified a shortage of such information as a major factor contributing to food insecurity (Olielo, 2013: 2).

Limited access to information prevents farmers from achieving optimal production and utilisation of produce. Many farmers are producing without any access to information on modern farming methods and practices (Maina, 2018). Thus, they are limited to producing the same, or lower, yields than their predecessors, despite the increase in demand. In many cases small-scale agricultural production increases in relation to the amount of rainfall in a region (Samwel, Abutto and Otieno, 2018: 10). As a result of the rainfall volatility brought about by climate change, farmers need to have access to more reliable information in weather forecasts. As such information is not readily available to them and many struggle to understand the format of the information that they can acquire, many farmers have adopted a “wait and see” approach (Samwel, Abutto and Otieno, 2018: 24). This is incredibly ineffective as it stops them from making timely interventions that could increase production and utilisation (Wabwoba, 2017: 1).

The second factor challenging local utilisation of local produce is the **underdevelopment of the local agricultural sector**, specifically with reference to available technologies (ISS Africa, 2018; Mutanu, 2018). Kenya is not on par with the developed world when it comes to technology and scientific research (*The Star*, 2018b). Interview respondent 2 (2018) adds that the country has a serious “lack of adopting modern agricultural practices”. Although this limits their capacity to effectively utilise produce, *The Star* (2018b) notes that there is some advantage in the fact that they can tap into the technology and expertise already developed by more developed countries (*The Star*, 2018b).

Despite biotechnological maize being frowned upon by members of the population, Kenya’s national biosafety society approved conditional release, strictly for performance trials only (Mutanu, 2018). Mutanu (2018) reports that biotechnology is described as “the unused solution to food insecurity” and attributes the public’s aversion to the idea to a lack of objective information – which also relates to the factor of insufficient education. In 2018 President Kenyatta proclaimed that the country would focus on using technology and science to achieve food security and inclusive agricultural development (The Presidency, 2019). Although development is still limited, there seem to be promising future prospects that will contribute positively to utilisation (Mutanu, 2018; The Presidency, 2019).

The third factor hampering utilisation in Kenya is **post-harvest losses** (PHL). Samwel, Abutto and Otieno (2018: 4) state that a staggering 50% of yield is lost each year because of the impact of weather conditions. Interview respondent 3 (2019) identified ineffective post-harvest management as one of the main challenges to Kenyan food security. The effect of climate change calls for adaptation, which can be achieved through applying new technology and upgrading storage facilities (ISS Africa, 2018; (Milelu, Kigaru and Kuria, 2017: 97). Kimiywe (2015) states that since 2015 the Kenyan government has been taking steps towards improving post-harvest handling. Their actions include training farmers as well as extension staff and investing in community-based storage structures (Kimiywe, 2015).

Insufficient education, underdevelopment of the local agricultural sector and post-harvest losses prevent the local population from effectively utilising locally produced agricultural products. This analysis does find, however, that improvements are being made which raises hopes for more effective utilisation in the future. Along with the three factors already considered, there are two more factors which influence not just the utilisation of locally produced food products, but also those that are imported. The first of these factors is Kenya's **underdeveloped infrastructure**.

The previous section, which focused on access to food, found that Kenya's transport infrastructure is inadequate and often prevents food products from reaching those in need. Consequently, this compromises their ability to utilise the food products intended for them. The underdevelopment of Kenya's infrastructure also prevents sections of the population from accessing proper sanitation structures (Hassan, 2017: 14). A lot of communities depend on water sources that are unsafe for human consumption (FEWS Net, 2013: 37; Hassan, 2017: 14). This exacerbates the second factor, negatively impacting the utilisation of local and imported food products – the **prevalence of diseases**.

Kenya suffers a high burden of malaria outbreaks, tuberculosis and people living with HIV/AIDS (Mohajan, 2014: 34; FEWS Net, 2013: 6, 34, 36; Caritas Australia, 2019). As mentioned in the corresponding section in Chapter 4, these diseases prevent victims from optimally absorbing the nutrients to which they do have access. Because of the debilitating nature of these diseases, infected parents or household heads may also not be able to provide their dependants with sufficient food and nutrients. The high morbidity rate associated with these diseases, AIDS in particular, results in a loss of household income, which increases communities' dependency ratios and leads to a general decline in food security.

This section concludes that there are several factors within the Kenyan context that prevent individuals from “safely utilise the food available to them, and optimally absorb essential nutrients”, which is how *utilisation* as a component of food security is defined (Gibson, 2012: 20; Riely et al., 1999: 8; Kjeldsberg, 2017: 6; Stringer, 2016: 12). Although utilisation is automatically compromised through the insufficiency of available food and poor access to food, the government and national societies does have intentions to improve this component (Kimiye, 2015; The Presidency, 2019; Mutanu, 2018). If acted on, that may not lead to overall food security, but it will improve the circumstances of those individuals lucky enough to gain access to available food.

#### 6.3.4. Stability

This final component of food security refers to the stability of the preceding three components (availability of food, access to food and utilisation of food), as well as the resilience of these components in the presence of shocks (Wong et al., 2017: 46; Kjeldsberg, 2017: 6). Overall, the stability of food security is not well secured in the Kenyan context. The relevant components are

vulnerable to the influence of three factors: food price volatility, lack of resilience against crop diseases, and over-reliance on rainfall (for rainfed agriculture) in the presence of climate change. As mentioned, Kenya relies heavily on food imports to supplement national food availability. Not only does the inflow of externally produced food products create production disincentives within the country, but it also means that local food prices are greatly influenced by the global market. Volatile food prices that cannot be regulated by the local economy present a great threat to the population, which is already plagued by poverty and weak purchasing power (Mohajan, 2014: 34; World Bank, 2018d; FEWS Net, 2018b; Korir, Rizov and Ruto, 2018: 3).

The second factor hampering the sustainability of food security is the lack of resilience against crop diseases. The detrimental effects of this have been witnessed during the past two years with the infestation of the fall armyworm (Maina, 2018; *The Star*, 2018b; FEWS Net, 2018b). The pest is suspected to have entered the country through food imports from the United States (Al Jazeera, 2017). It could not have come at a worse time, as the country was already experiencing a shortage of staple food as a result of the severe drought (Al Jazeera, 2017). Mary Nzau, a county agricultural officer in Kenya, stated that a method to effectively control the pest has not yet been developed and thus farmers are attempting to do so through trial and error (Al Jazeera, 2017). In 2018 it was reported that maize harvest have been reduced by 25% due to the presence of these worms and the battle between farmers and fall armyworms is expected to continue well into the 2019 season (Al Jazeera, 2017a; *The Star*, 2018b)

The final factor leading to instability is over-reliance on rainfall for Kenya's rainfed agriculture, which becomes especially problematic in the presence of climate change (Interview respondent 2, 2018). The impact of climate change threatens to increase the number of food-insecure people globally (Kabubo-Mariara and Kabara, 2018). Yields from rainfed agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa could fall by as much as 50% by 2020, as a result of changes in rainfall patterns (Kabubo-Mariara and Kabara, 2018). Because the Kenyan agricultural sector is dominated by rainfed agriculture, shifts in rainfall patterns and unpredictable weather brought about by climate change significantly influence productivity and prosperity (Kabubo-Mariara and Kabara, 2018; Mohajan, 2014: 29; World Bank, 2018d). In 2017 a shortened rain season disrupted the usual timeline of agricultural production and resulted in a serious food shortage (Korir, Rizov and Ruto, 2018: 3). If food security is to be achieved, Kenya desperately needs to adapt to the changing climate. Kabubo-Mariara and Kabara (2018) suggest that early warning systems need to be improved and drought resistant crops should be cultivated in arid and semi-arid regions (which covers 84% of the land). Recognising climate change as a threat to the stability of food security, Kenya launched the "Climate-Smart Agricultural Framework Programme" in 2018 (UNDP, 2018). The programme is intended to assist in the sustainable management of natural resources and production in the face of climate change (Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2016).

The negative impact of the above-mentioned factors on food security has led people to resort to unsustainable coping mechanisms, which only worsen the situation in the long run. These actions include selling productive assets to buy food, resorting to child labour, over-exploitation of natural resources, and expanding farming to marginal lands, which results in land degradation and deforestation (Olielo, 2013: 4; Rosenberg-Carlson and Houser, 2012: 18, 43). In conclusion, the stability of food security in Kenya is compromised by the factors discussed above. Many of them are related to issues that also compromise the availability of food, access to food and the utilisation of food. Factors such as climate change and price volatility (economic conditions) are considered as threats to overall food security and will be further analysed in the following section of this chapter.

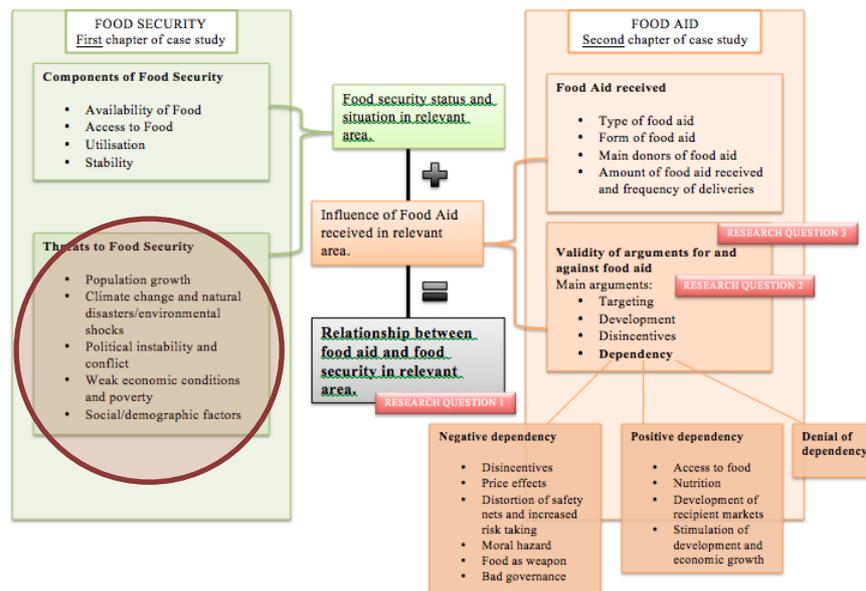
#### 6.3.5. Kenyan food security findings

In order to acquire an accurate understanding of the state of food security in Kenya, all four components should be considered. Although these components are hierarchical, they highlight various factors that impact negatively Kenyan food security. From this analysis the main challenges to food security in Kenya seem to be insufficient production, dependence on food imports, high levels of poverty and the impact of climate change. As this is an objective analysis of the available literature and information, it also mentions several positive measures that have been undertaken in an attempt to reduce Kenyan food insecurity. Such measures may prove successful in the future, but at this stage the country is still caught in the grip of food insecurity. In 2018 President Kenyatta announced that along with manufacturing, affordable housing and health coverage, food security is one of the “Big Four” issues on his agenda for the following five years (Komolo, 2018). Considering the findings in this section, this is entirely appropriate.

#### **6.4. Threats to food security**

Chapter 2 identified the main threats to food security and how they negatively influence the four components analysed above. Although some of these threats have already been mentioned in the above analyses, all of the threats identified in Chapter 2 that negatively influence food security in Kenya will be addressed below. The purpose of identifying the relevant threats is to acknowledge that they may contribute to food insecurity in Kenya. This precaution is intended to avoid an incorrect analysis which might falsely attribute food aid as the sole cause of food insecurity in Kenya. As Chapter 2 has already indicated how these threats to food security induce food insecurity, this section does not repeat that discussion, it merely establishes the prevalence of these threats in Kenya. The heuristic device (Figure 3.2) is reproduced on the following page, with the red circle indicating the part of the case study analysis conducted in this section of the chapter.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

The first identified threat to food security that is relevant in the Kenyan context is population growth. There is no doubt that the increasing population impacts negatively on the country's food security, as has been highlighted by various sources including Korir, Rizov and Ruto (2018: 3), Esamwata (2014: 6), FEWS Net (2013: 9, 16) and Aloo et al. (2017: 11834). Kenya has one of the fastest growing populations in the world, which puts increased pressure on the food deficit that is already being experienced (FEWS Net, 2013: 8; Aloo et al., 2017: 11834). During the past three decades the country's population has more than doubled, with an average annual growth rate of between 2 and 3% (FEWS Net, 2013: 8; Amwata, Nyarik and Musimba, 2016: 772; Worldometers, 2019). The annual growth rate increased until 2007, when it reached a turning point of 2.8%, and has since been slowly declining (Trading Economics.com, 2019a; Mohajan, 2014: 29). Despite the decline in growth rate, recorded as 2.48 in 2019, population growth is still taking place and widening the gap between food production and consumption needs (Worldometers, 2019; ISS Africa, 2018; Mohajan, 2014: 29).

Taking the current trend of population growth into consideration, it is estimated that Kenya will be home to 77 million residents by 2030 and 85 million by the year 2050 (FEWS Net, 2013: 8; Maina, 2018). As discussed in Chapter 2, the increasing population leads to increased pressure on food production, which is already taking place at an unsatisfactory rate in Kenya (FEWS Net, 2013: 8). ISS Africa (2018) reports that agricultural production will have to increase by at least 75% for Kenya to be able to feed its projected population of 77 million in 2030. As consumption needs are outpacing food production, the country's dependency on imports and food aid is increased (ISS Africa, 2018). Desperate measures to increase production have also resulted in land degradation, as marginal land is being used in attempts to intensify agricultural practices (Rosenberg-Carlson and Houser, 2012: 18).

Population growth and the food gap created as a result of increasing consumption needs and delayed production rates seriously hampers Kenyan food security. Because of the production challenges and limitations, dependency on external food sources is also increased.

The second factor identified as a threat to food security, and relevant in the context of Kenya is climate change and natural disasters/environmental shocks. All the experts who were interviewed identified climate change as one of the main threats to Kenyan food security and development (Interview respondent 2, 2018; Interview respondent 3, 2019, Interview respondent 4, 2019). Climate change increases climate variability, meaning that it has a serious impact on countries such as Kenya, where weather patterns are already variable (Kabubo-Mariara and Kabara, 2018; Mohajan, 2014: 30). Altitudes in Kenya range from sea level to areas located 5 000 meters above sea level (Mohajan, 2014: 28). Some Kenyan regions receive more than 2 000 millimetres of rain per annum, while rainfall in arid and semi-arid areas is sometimes as little as 250 millimetres per annum (Mohajan, 2014: 29). Despite these variations in rainfall, Kenyan agricultural production is over-reliant on rainfed agriculture (Kabubo-Mariara and Kabara, 2018; Wanjiru, 2014: 23). This is problematic, considering that changes in weather patterns disrupt the basis of rainfed agriculture.

Kenya has experienced poor rainfall, resulting in chronic drought, in seven of the past ten years (ISS Africa, 2018). Drought cycles in the country have also become dramatically shorter, changing from 5-7 year periods, to periods of only 2-3 years. Research highlights droughts that took place in 2008, 2011, 2016 and most recently in 2018, when a prolonged drought left 3 million Kenyans dependent on food aid (Mbachii and Likoko, 2013: 53; Olielo, 2013: 4; Population Connection, 2019; Korir, Rizov and Ruto, 2018: 3, 49). Other areas of Kenya experienced severe flooding during 2018 because of the heavy rains early in the year, proving the variability of the Kenyan climate (FEWS Net, 2019). Both droughts and floods lead to harvest failures and livestock losses, hindering agricultural production and consequently exacerbating food insecurity in Kenya (Kabubo-Mariara and Kabara, 2018; Kabara and Kabubo-Mariara, 2015: 15; Wanjiru, 2014: 2; Samwel, Abutto and Otieno, 2018: 4).

Authorities have taken note of these disruptive effects of climate change. Organisations, including the World Bank and Caritas Australia, have implemented programmes to aid in climate change adaptation, increasing resilience and food availability (Mbachii and Likoko, 2013: 55; World Bank, 2019b). The government of Kenya, in collaboration with the FAO and UNDP, recently launched Kenya's Climate Smart Agriculture (CSA) Implementation Programme (UNDP, 2018b). The programme will guide the implementation of CSA approaches, practices and technology, and is aligned with the Kenya Vision 2030 (UNDP, 2018b). Although the implementation of these necessary programmes contributes positively to the future prospects of climate change adaptation, climate change currently presents a great threat to Kenyan food security. Its negative impact is exacerbated by

the underdevelopment of the Kenyan agricultural sector responsible for local production, as well as its over-reliance on rainfall in an environment that experiences increasing weather variability.

The third threat to food security in the context of Kenya is political instability and conflict. As mentioned in the country overview, Kenya has a history of tribalism, which has occasionally resulted in tribal clashes. Cultural divisions have embedded tensions within Kenyan society, contributing to frequent outbursts of small-scale conflicts (Wanjiru, 2014: 12; Michael, 2015; The Presidency, 2019). Recent instances where conflicts arose were during periods of droughts or floods in arid and semi-arid regions – when resources and food are limited – and during periods following national elections (Wanjiru, 2014: 12, 14, 45; International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012; Singh et al., 2017: 2; Mukami, 2018; Nayioma, 2016: 31). Interview respondent 2 (2018) states that political instability in Kenya “is disruptive to activities of farmers and value chain but also sometimes leads to physical destruction of crop and livestock”.

To date the most serious outbreak of post-election violence occurred in 2008 after former president Kibaki won the presidential election held on 27 December 2007. The *New York Times* attributed the root of the conflict to tribalism, as Kibaki belonged to the Kikuyu tribe and his opponent, Odinga, to the Luo tribe (Gettleman, 2007). Despite cultural factors, there were serious allegations that the election process was flawed. Although the authenticity of more than a third of the votes was deemed questionable, this was never further investigated (Gettleman, 2007). These violent outbreaks seriously jeopardised food security, as food prices increased, distribution of food became less effective, and local production was compromised (Wanjiru, 2014: 40, 47). The events displaced more than 500 000 people, reducing their capability to meet their basic needs (Singh et al., 2017: 2).

In 2017 President Kenyatta won the election against Odinga, but the validity of the results was questioned and a second election was scheduled. Convinced that the system was still corrupted in Kenyatta’s favour, Odinga withdrew from the election – declaring that he is turning his opposition party (NASA) into a resistance movement (Moore, 2017). By default, Kenyatta was reappointed president. Political tension and instability flared up, and tension still remains high.

The presidential election is not the only instance in which corruption has occurred. There is a great lack of transparency and accountability within the Kenyan government (Wanjiru, 2014: 10; Mukami, 2018). Mukami (2018) reports that the government is plagued by corruption scandals, specifically related to land grabs, grain reserves and market prices (Mukami, 2018). Key stakeholders in the food security sector have been involved in multi-billion shilling corruption scandals, where deals are made to benefit the stakeholders at the expense of farmers and consumers (Mukami, 2018).

Related to political instability and conflict is the threat of terrorism. Terrorist activity in the Horn of Africa puts great pressure on Kenyan food security, as the country has to provide for large numbers of Somali refugees seeking asylum (Shaban, 2017). However, terrorist activity is not confined to the areas beyond Kenyan borders, as attacks have taken place in Kenya's most populated areas (United Kingdom Government, n.d.). The Shabaab group, which has issued public threats against Kenya following the country's military intervention in Somalia, has been identified as the executors of these attacks (United Kingdom Government, n.d.). Most recently, on 15 January 2019, the group carried out a terrorist attack on a hotel complex in the country's capital, Nairobi, killing 21 innocent victims (Ward, 2019).

Internal conflict and tension, corruption and terrorist activity are a definite feature of life in Kenya. These factors contribute to political instability and compromise the country's prospects of achieving food security.

The fourth factor identified as a threat to food security is weak economic conditions and poverty. Although these issues are relevant in the context of Kenya, recent developments have been positive. Kenya has a large economy that has experienced substantial growth since the country gained independence in 1963 (Esamwata, 2014: 3). Despite the negative impact of the 2008 global economic crisis, the past decade has been prosperous for the Kenyan economic sector (World Bank, 2018d; Wanjiru, 2014: 11). The GDP, to which the agricultural sector contributes 24% directly and 27% indirectly, has shown an average annual growth rate of 5.5% during the past ten years (Trading Economics, 2019b). Consequently, Kenya has become one of the fastest growing economies in Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2019a). Along with this economic growth, poverty levels have also been reduced from 46.6% of the population living below the national poverty line in 2006 to 35.6% in 2016 (Reuters, 2018). This decrease in poverty levels is most encouraging for the development of food security, should this trend continue. Poverty is directly correlated with food security, as it influences purchasing power and production capacity (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012). Thus, most research conducted in this study identified poverty, although declining, as one of the main drivers of Kenyan food insecurity (Olielo, 2013: 4; Sadauskaite, 2014: 7, 21; International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012; Wabwoba, 2017: 3; Korir, Rizov and Ruto, 2018: 3).

Economic conditions in Kenya have also been influenced by the implementation of neoliberal policies, as discussed above. These policies have shifted the focus of agricultural development to commercial agriculture in order to increase exports that benefit the economy. Sadauskaite (2014: 2) explicitly claims that the neoliberal trade regime is responsible for Kenyan food security, arguing that it has led the country to prioritize the economic sector and international market, rather than tending to the needs of the local population (Sadauskaite, 2014: 2). Economic growth as a result of neoliberal policies has led to the paradox of the presence of widespread poverty in one of Africa's leading

economies (Sadauskaite, 2014: 2). Focusing agricultural production on exported commodities has created dependence on imports to meet consumption needs (Sadauskaite, 2014: 8, 14; Wanjiru, 2014: 23). This has created production disincentives within the country and increased price volatility (Korir, Rizov and Ruto, 2018: 3; Wanjiru, 2014: 45, 46; FEWS Net, 2013: 16). Neoliberal policies have also increased the vulnerability of the Kenyan economy to internal and external shocks (World Bank, 2018d).

Overall, Kenya's economic conditions have been improving steadily since independence. Factors that do have a negative impact on the economy, and consequently on food security, have been noted above. Recent trends do not indicate that the threat of weak economic conditions is currently present to a great extent in Kenya. However, poverty (despite its decline) does still have a very negative impact on the food security of the Kenyan population and cannot be disregarded.

Being classified as a 'medium-development' country – according to its Human Development Index (HDI) score – puts Kenya ahead of Mozambique, which is ranked as a country of 'low development' (UNDP, 2018c). From 1990 to 2017 Kenya's HDI score rose by 26.1%, and has most recently been recorded as 0.590 (UNDP, 2018c). Social and demographic factors are the fifth threat to food security identified in the literature. Although Kenya's HDI score has been rising, in accordance with the decline in poverty levels, inequality is still present in the population (World Bank, 2018d). Disparities are the result of tribalism, ethnic and class-related chauvinism as well as horizontal public policy inequalities (HPPI) (Irungu, Ndirangu and Omiti, 2009: 2; Hassan, 2017). These factors result in unequal distribution of, and access to, resources, which lead to unequal capabilities and levels of food security among population groups (Hassan, 2017; Korir, Rizov and Ruto, 2018: 3).

Despite playing a predominant role in agriculture and food security, women suffer many restrictions in the Kenyan agricultural sector (Po, 2017: i; Omari, 2018): 16; Wanjiru, 2014: 2; Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2016). Women are considered primarily responsible for the provision of food for household consumption, while they are also expected to act as primary caregivers for children and other family members (Omari, 2018: 16; Po, 2017: 3). Although Wanjiru (2014: 2) notes that women are responsible for 65% of local food production, female-headed households are more likely to suffer from food insecurity than those headed by males (Wanjiru, 2014: 2; Milelu, Kigaru and Kuria, 2017: 99; Omari, 2018: 16). This is because cultural and traditional beliefs restrict women from accessing land and credit resources, decision making, education and training (Po, 2017: 62; Wabwoba, 2017: 3; Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2016; Omari, 2018: 16). Despite putting in the work, women are not allowed to reap the benefits of their actions. In this way, customary values inhibit agricultural development as well as the prospects for increasing food security.

As mentioned, the Kenyan population suffers from various debilitating diseases. HIV/AIDS in particular plagues more than 6% of the population and has a very high morbidity rate (Caritas Australia, 2019). Consequently, families of the victims suffer a loss of income, leading to an increase in dependency and ultimately a decline in food security. The high number of refugees in Kenya also increases dependence on the country's limited food production. Research has shown that, contrary to the common assumption, the presence of these displaced populations actually has a positive impact on Kenya's local economy (European Commission, 2018; World Food Program USA, 2017). Cash vouchers provided for refugees by international aid organisations create incentives for local production as food and agricultural inputs are purchased from local vendors (European Commission, 2018; World Food Program USA, 2017).

Another demographic factor of note is Kenya's increasing population of young people. The proportion of youth (15-24 years of age), to the rest of the Kenyan population is 24.3%, greatly exceeding the global average of 15.8% (Otuki, 2017). Otuki (2017) rightfully states that this increase in manpower holds potential for development and may hold great prospects for the future, if it is effectively employed. Despite these promising possibilities, potential progress stemming from the youth should not be focused exclusively on the enhancement of food security. Due to slow production rates and delayed agricultural development, many youths are abandoning family farms and moving to urban areas in search of higher income and better employment opportunities (Maina, 2018). Urbanization has become an increasing trend in Kenya, but— although it may contribute to the decline in poverty as more people are earning a steady income – it negatively influences local production and increases dependence on imported goods for consumption (FEWS Net, 2013: 16; Omari, 2018: 16).

The main social and demographic factors threatening food security in Kenya appear to be inequality, gender discrimination on the basis of customary beliefs, and the presence of debilitating diseases. Other factors such as the presence of refugees, the growing youth population and urbanization have the potential to undermine food security, but they do not seem to present severe threats at present.

This section has examined population growth, climate change and natural disasters/environmental shocks, political instability and conflict, weak economic conditions and poverty, and social and demographic factors as potential threats to food security in the context of Kenya. The extent to which these factors hamper food security has been ascertained and will be taken into account when answering the main research question of this thesis. This is important to ensure that food aid is not wrongfully regarded as the cause of circumstances that may only be a consequence these factors.

The next section of this chapter looks at the food aid recently received by Kenya. It determines the type, form and amount of food aid received, as well as the main donors of food aid and the frequency of deliveries.

## 6.5. Conclusion

This chapter used the first part of the case study structure formulated in Chapter 3, taking into account the relevant theoretical frameworks. It is focused on the first of the two main concepts of this thesis, food security. The findings of this chapter specifically contribute to addressing the primary research question of this thesis: “What is the purported relationship between food aid and food security in Sub-Saharan Africa?” To successfully answer this research question within the case study context, Kenya’s food security status must be assessed and the extent to which there are threats to food security must be determined.

Firstly, this chapter analysed the food security status of Kenya by examining the four components of food security – (a) availability, (b) access to food, (c) utilisation, and (d) stability – within the country’s context. This section concluded that the main challenges to Kenyan food insecurity include insufficient production, dependence on food imports, poverty and climate change. Kenya is currently food insecure, but the analysis did identify positive measures that have been undertaken, which indicates an awareness of the issue and which may lead to improvements in the future.

After the analysis of food security, this chapter ascertained the prevalence of the main threats to food security, as identified in the literature. All five threats were found to be present and hampering Kenyan food security. It should be noted that although the fourth threat analysed, “weak economic conditions and poverty”, is present in the country, there has been considerable progress made in improving these factors and future prospects for reducing this threat seem promising. The presence of these threats implies that food insecurity cannot simply be attributed to the influence of food aid. However, this study attempts to determine whether there is a correlation between food aid and food security. Therefore, the next chapter considers the food aid received by Kenya, as well as the validity of arguments made in favour of and against food aid within the country’s context.

The findings of this chapter, along with the findings of the next chapter (Chapter 7), will ultimately constitute the conclusions of the Kenyan case study. They will be used in conjunction with the conclusions from the Mozambican case study to respond to the research questions and problem statement in context of Sub-Saharan Africa.

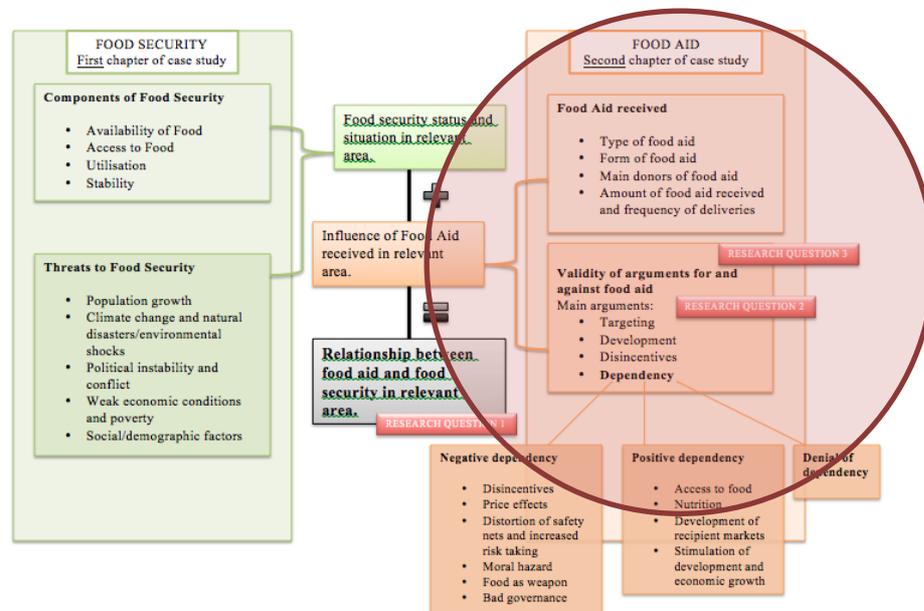
## Chapter Seven

### Food aid and its influence in Kenya

#### 7.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the second part of the Kenyan case study in accordance with the case study structure and analytical framework developed in Chapter 3. The findings of this chapter will be considered along with the findings of Chapter 6 to respond to the primary research question of this thesis in the context of Kenya. The analysis in this chapter is also specifically oriented towards answering the secondary research questions of this thesis in the context of Kenya. The part of the analysis conducted in this chapter is indicated by the red circle on the heuristic device (Figure 3.2) reproduced below.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

This second chapter of the Kenyan case study analysis is focused on the food aid recently received by the country. It considers the type, forms and amount of food aid received, as well as the main donors of food aid and the frequency of deliveries. As in the Mozambican context, it is important to remember that the accuracy of the study is subject to the availability of data on the various points of analysis. For this reason the sources of data as well as temporal factors are taken into consideration. Should there be a lack of data or limited availability, this is considered a useful finding as it may indicate the political aspects of food security and/or food aid in the case study context.

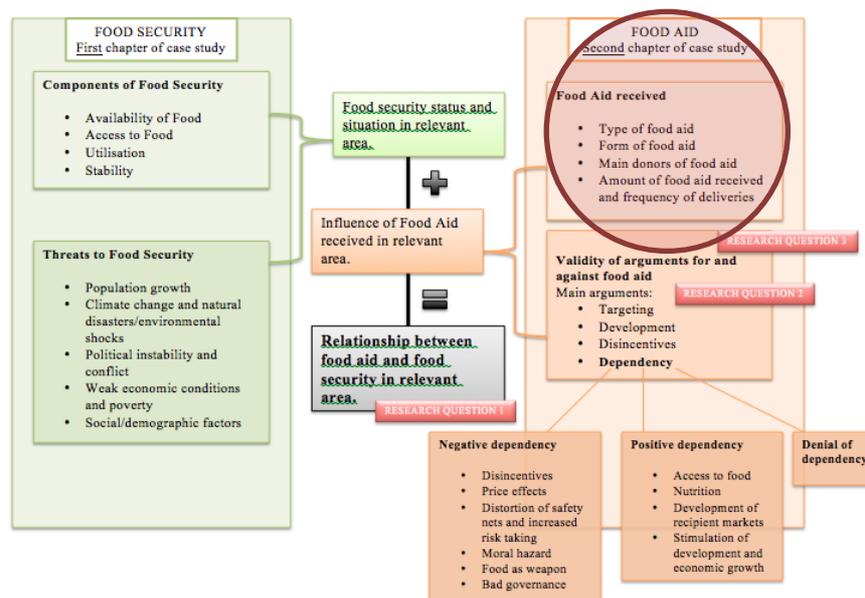
After examining food aid in the context of Kenya, the next part of this chapter determines the validity of arguments made for and against food aid, as identified in literature, within the relevant context. It takes into account (1) targeting, (2) development, (3) disincentives, and (4) dependency related to food aid in Kenya. As part of the analysis of dependency, arguments regarding (1) negative dependency, (2) positive dependency and, if relevant, (3) denial of dependency, is taken into account. The validity of such arguments within the Kenyan context is determined by the presence of their presumed symptoms, or lack thereof.

As mentioned before, no direct causality between food aid and symptoms of dependency may emerge, because of a lack of empirical studies, political issues, recipient and donor incentives, and external influences. The aim of this study is thus to determine whether or not there might be a correlation between these two factors.

## 7.2. Food aid in Kenya

This section uses data from the International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI) to provide an overview of the food aid received by Kenya from 2016 until February 2019. The same database has been used to provide data on food security projects in Mozambique, as presented in Chapter 5. The reason for this is to ensure the two case studies can be fairly compared and evaluated to effectively respond to the research questions of this thesis. Additional research on food aid in the context of each country is also undertaken to ensure a comprehensive overview of the sector in both contexts. The red circle on the heuristic device (Figure 3.2) reproduced below, the part of the analysis conducted in this section.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

Since 2016 34 programmes focusing on food aid and food security have been implemented in Kenya (IATI, 2019a). As with the data for Mozambique, information on geographic implementation and targeting is limited in the Kenyan context. Specific locations are provided simply for 5 of the 34 programmes. Two of these programmes are located in the country's capital, Nairobi, while the remaining three are located more to the north-east, along the border between the Meru and Tharaka-Nithi counties (IATI, 2019a). 30 of the programmes were concluded before February 2019. These include programmes focused on climate smart development, providing food aid for refugees, school feeding schemes and emergency food aid provision (IATI, 2019a).

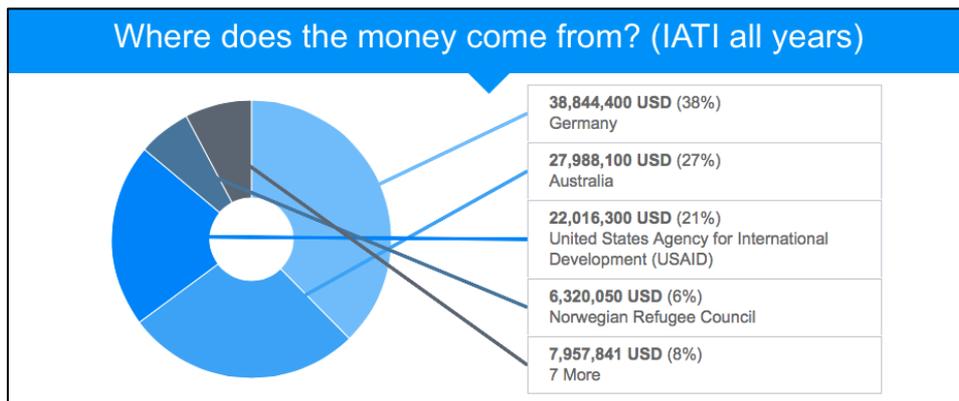
Three food aid and food security programmes remain active at this stage. The first is a Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) implemented by the British government's department of international development. The program provides cash transfers to approximately 100 000 food-insecure households in Kenya and to an additional 250 000 households during periods of emergency (IATI, 2019a). The programme will end in 2020 after complete ownership has been transferred to the Kenyan government (IATI, 2019a). This transfer is also described as a 'planned programme' in the IATI database and thus included in the total of 34.

The second active program is also implemented by the UK Department of International Development, and referred to as the 'UK Aid Match'. The UK government is matching the value of all food aid donations made by NGOs and public entities until 2020. This programme applies to a variety of recipient countries, but Kenya currently receives the greatest amount of aid (IATI, 2019a).

The final active programme recorded by the IATI is implemented by the WFP. The programme is focused on "strengthening national and county-level capacities in food aid and disaster risk management", and set to conclude only in 2023 (IATI, 2019a).

The graph on the following page indicates the main donors of food aid and funding for food security programs in Kenya during the relevant time period.

Figure 7.1. Graph indicating the main donors of food aid to Kenya from 2016 to 2019



Source: 2019a

The 8% of donors not specified in the graph include NGOs and national governments (IATI, 2019a). However, the majority of aid included in these programmes is provided on a bilateral basis. This corresponds with Wanjiru's findings on the basis on which most of Kenya's food aid is received (Wanjiru, 2014: 15). The following additional data will provide a comprehensive understanding of food aid in the Kenyan context.

Kenya is receiving food aid because it is unable to feed its population adequately (Wabwoba and Wakhungu, 2013: 2). During the past 12 years, the number of Kenyans relying on food aid has not once fallen below 1 million (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 1). Kenya was well favoured by donors during the early post-independence period and experienced a great increase in food aid provision (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 6; Mohajan, 2014: 35). After this boom, donations stabilised until recently, when they slowed down significantly (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012; FEWS Net, 2018b). This decrease in food aid may be a consequence of donor mistrust created by the threat of corruption and/or political instability. In 2017 Kenya launched an appeal for \$168, 8 million humanitarian aid, but a mere 19% of this has materialised (FEWS Net, 2018b). Currently, 3 million Kenyans depend on emergency food aid to alleviate the conditions brought on by the devastating drought of 2018 (Shaban, 2017; International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2018).

Emergency food aid comprises 77% of the total food aid distributed in Kenya (Wanjiru, 2014: 31). This is a response to the prevalence of food security threats such as climate change and natural disasters/environmental shocks, and conflict (Maina, 2019; FEWS Net, 2019). Although a lot of the food aid received by Kenya is delivered in kind, the capacity and interest in cash transfers have recently increased tremendously (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 12). This phenomenon is not just occurring in Kenya, but influencing food aid flows globally (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2018). In addition to alleviating hunger, cash transfers also

encourage communities to invest in agriculture and businesses, consequently increasing both physical and economic access to food (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2018). In Kenya cash transfers are done through M-PESA, a mobile phone transfer service that repurposes a phone account into a bank account and turns a phone into a wallet (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2018; McGath, 2018).

The revolutionary service was introduced in Kenya and is influencing cash transfer methods globally (McGath, 2018). Money received through M-PESA can be paid out by selected agents and collected physically (McGath, 2018). This form of electronic disbursement is less prone to the risk of corruption (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 23). In situations where aid has to be scaled up, however, some organisations do resort to direct cash transfers (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 23, 50). In reality, along with increasing the amount of aid provided, this method of cash provision also increases the risk of corruption. A lot more actors and admin are involved in the transfer and delivery process or direct cash transfers, making it vulnerable to inefficient and corrupt distribution (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 23, 50).

Overall, corruption is a pressing issue in the Kenyan food security and food aid sectors. This will be discussed in more detail in the following section on the *validity of arguments for and against food aid in Kenya*. Vouchers are not commonly used in food aid provision to Kenya (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 23; Eu Results - European Commission, 2018; Humanitarian practice network, 2012). This may be attributed to the limited capacity of local production, which increases the risk of vouchers being used to access food of insufficient quality or of people not being able to exchange vouchers for food due to limited quantities available (Humanitarian practice network, 2012; Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 50).

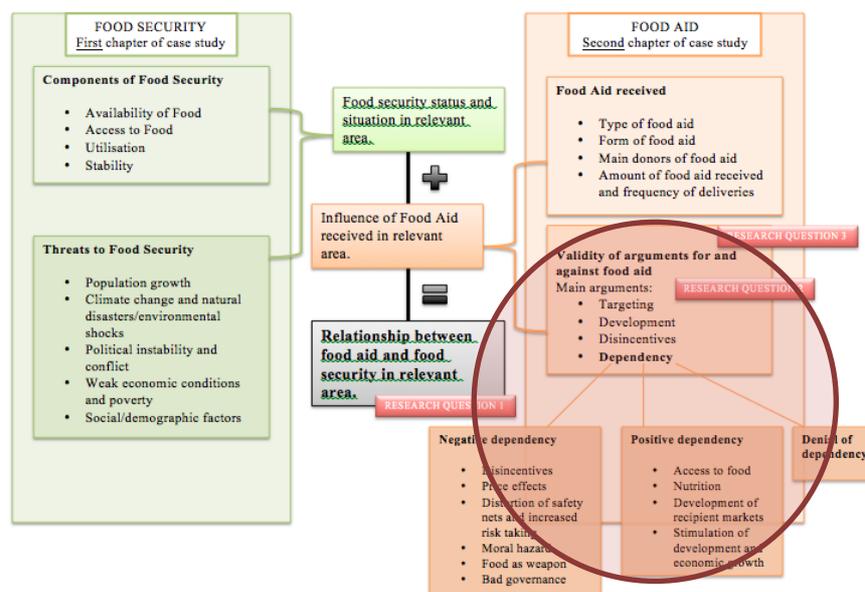
Additional research has confirmed the donors presented in the IATI graph as the main providers of food aid to Kenya currently (USAID, 2019; Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2016; Caritas Australia, 2019). Along with the provision of food aid, these parties are also implementing programmes aimed at improving food security, such as Feed the Future, Food for Peace and agricultural innovation campaigns (Maina, 2019; Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2016; USAID, 2019). An organisation of notable influence not mentioned in the IATI data is the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent societies (IFRC). The IFRC is extensively involved in humanitarian response activities in Kenya and at the forefront of providing aid through cash transfers in the country (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2018). The IFRC has also been highlighted by the majority of experts as a crucial role player in Kenyan food aid programmes (Interview respondent 3, 2019; Interview respondent 4, 2019).

In conclusion, Kenya has relied on food aid to meet its food security needs for more than three decades. Recently, the provision of food aid to Kenya has decreased significantly. The aid that is provided consists mainly of emergency food aid, distributed as a response to climatic conditions and/or conflict. Data on the specific values of aid provided are limited in this context. This might be due to the recent decrease, leading donors to promote the development programmes implemented rather than the amount of dollars donated. Risks associated with food aid are often noted and their prevalence appears to be high – especially the risk of corruption.

### 7.3. Validity of arguments for and against food aid in the context of Kenya.

This section considers the validity of the main arguments made for and against food aid, as identified in the literature. While contributing to answering the primary research question of this thesis, the findings of this section are a specific response to the secondary research question: *How valid are the arguments presented in the debate, regarding the relationship between food aid and food security in the case of Kenya.* It examines (1) targeting, (2) development, (3) disincentives and (4) dependency related to food aid in Kenya. As some of these topics have already been touched on in Chapter 6, as well as the preceding section of this chapter, only the main points are highlighted. Targeting of food aid, and the developmental effectiveness of food aid is addressed first. Disincentives have been identified as one of the main arguments made against food aid, but also as one of the main arguments on negative dependency; thus it is not discussed as a separate topic, but rather as the first factor of negative dependency. Negative dependency is discussed under dependency, the fourth argument made for/against food aid, along with positive dependency and the denial of dependency. The red circle on the heuristic device (Figure 3.2) reproduced below, indicates the part of the analysis taking place in this section.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

### 7.3.1. Targeting

Targeting is related to the efficiency of aid provision. It refers to the extent to which the coverage of an intervention is restricted in order to ensure that assistance is received by those most in need and that money is spent effectively (Grace, Wei and Murray, 2017: 869). As food is a crucial resource required for people to survive, targeting is of critical importance in the provision of food aid (Barrett, 2002). Ineffective targeting may compromise the influence of food aid and lead to the failure of interventions (Barrett, 2002).

As stated in Chapter 5, there has not been much evaluation of the effectiveness of targeting of food aid. This makes it difficult to determine the extent to which it is successfully done in Kenya. As in Chapter 5, targeting will be evaluated by determining the extent to which the consequences of ineffective targeting are present in Kenya. If these conditions prevail, this may indicate that targeting is not done successfully. The consequences of ineffective targeting have been identified in Chapter 2. The first is **donor mistrust**, as ineffective targeting may lead donors to be doubtful about where the aid provided by them is being allocated, and whether the perceived need for assistance is genuine.

Weak and unclear policies in the face of an emergency, along with political instability, are also expected to create donor mistrust in Kenya (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 50; Humanitarian practice network, 2012). Lack of transparency within the Kenyan aid sector and the disconnect between donors and the realities of distribution create an environment in which ineffective targeting is likely to occur (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: ix; Abdullahi, 2010: 28). As mentioned above, corruption risks are high for certain methods of food aid distribution in Kenya, giving donors more reason to lack confidence in the system (Humanitarian practice network, 2012). Evidence suggests that donor mistrust is one of the reasons contributing to the decrease in aid provided to Kenya in recent years.

The second consequence of ineffective targeting is that food aid becomes a **weak tool** for increasing capabilities and improving food security. It is difficult to ascertain the prevalence of this consequence, as Kenyan food insecurity remains high, but poverty has decreased in recent years. Because of the disconnect between Kenya's growing economy and the local food security and agricultural sector, the decline in poverty may be a consequence of economic development unrelated to the effectiveness of food aid.

The final consequence of ineffective targeting is that food aid is used for **unintended purposes**. Once again the high risk of corruption increases the likelihood of aid being used for purposes other than those intended (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 8; Humanitarian practice network, 2012; Abdullahi, 2010: 29). The prevalence of bribery and weak accountability mechanisms within the food aid distribution sector allows corrupt elites and officials to use the resources for their personal

advantage (Abdullahi, 2010: 29; Humanitarian practice network, 2012). Targeting is often disregarded as members of Parliament use food aid distribution as a tool to improve their public image (Humanitarian practice network, 2012).

Additional considerations regarding the effectiveness of food aid targeting include the challenges associated with the ineffective transport systems (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 8, 16; Rancourt et al., 2013: 3). Corrupt transport companies present a high risk of looting or selling transported goods for their own gain (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 23). Because of the underdevelopment of transport structures, a large section of the total cost of food aid is allocated to distribution methods (Rancourt et al., 2013: 3). Poor information flow and communication systems also compromise the effectiveness of targeting and delivery (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 25; Abdullahi, 2010: 53). An interviewed expert is in agreement with this, stating “food aid donations are not very reliable... not enough food aid is distributed to meet the needs of the people” (Interview respondent 3, 2019). This leads to erratic deliveries, which have often led to complaints (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 46; Abdullahi, 2010: 15).

The increase in cash transfers and the utilisation of the M-PESA mobile cash transfer service are definite positive developments in the effective targeting of Kenyan food aid. As mentioned, cash transfers through M-PESA pose a significantly smaller risk of corruption and distribution and make it easier to ensure that food aid reaches the intended beneficiaries (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 23; Humanitarian practice network, 2012).

Because of the lack of studies specifically evaluating targeting in Kenya, it is difficult to draw a reliable conclusion. However, it is very likely that at least two of the three consequences of ineffective targeting are present in the country’s food aid sector. Additional considerations regarding transport, delivery and communication strengthen the case that there is ineffective targeting in Kenya. Although cash transfers provide a more effective way of targeting and distributing food aid, the overall findings lead one to believe that targeting can still be improved.

### 7.3.2. Development

One of the main arguments in favour of food aid is that it promotes development in recipient countries. It is necessary to determine the validity of this argument in the Kenyan context in order to respond to the research questions of this thesis. The rationale behind this argument is that food aid stimulates the accumulation of productive assets and increases productivity (Barrett, 2006).

It is difficult to determine what kind of development has taken place as a result of food aid as one has to rely exclusively on information provided in reports of food aid programmes. As these reports are published by the donor and/or distribution organisations themselves, there is a high possibility of

them being biased towards promoting the success of such programmes. The most objective way to approach this analysis is therefore to consider the development that has occurred in the context of Kenya, along with the food aid received during the same period. This allows one to determine whether or not there is some correlation between these two factors.

The Kenyan Vision 2030 has been the highlight of the Kenyan development sector since its launch in 2008. The programme is described as a “blueprint for development” and pursues the goal of “creating a globally competitive and prosperous country with high quality of life by 2030” (Nayioma, 2016: 128; Esamwata, 2014: 6). This national vision is based on social, economic and political pillars (Mohajan, 2014: 29; International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012). In 2018, at the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the programme’s launch, Dr James Mwangi, Chairman of Kenya Vision 2030, delivered a progress report (Kenya Vision, 2018). The report was positive and a clear indication that development had in fact taken place during the first decade of the programme’s implementation. He stated that during this period various big companies had moved their headquarters from other countries to Kenya’s capital city, Nairobi (Kenya Vision, 2018). With regards to infrastructure, he highlighted that a trans-national railway is being developed and that 13 000 km of the country’s 164 000 km roads have been paved (Kenya Vision, 2018). In the social sector, affordable housing has been promoted and 200 000 housing units have been provided annually (Kenya Vision, 2018). The national healthcare infrastructure is also being expanded (Kenya Vision, 2018). Although GDP has continually risen during this period, the chairman made brief reference to the economic sector – stating that trade, manufacturing and financial sectors have had mixed success (Kenya Vision, 2018). Food security was not included as an aspect of the report.

In 2017 President Kenyatta revealed his Big Four Agenda for development. The four sectors identified as the main focus areas are (1) food security, (2) affordable housing, (3) manufacturing, and (4) affordable healthcare for all (Keya, 2018). Food security is the only focus area mentioned in President Kenyatta’s Big Four Agenda that was not included in Dr Mwangi’s report (Kenya Vision, 2018). This may indicate that food security has not been made a priority in terms of the country’s development.

Egler (2015: iii) holds that unlike non-emergency food aid, which may increase poverty, emergency food aid has no significant influence on poverty levels. This illuminates why poverty levels in Kenya have declined during the past decade, despite the large amounts of emergency food aid received by the country (Reuters, 2018). Along with the declining poverty levels, another positive developmental factor is the steady increase in Kenya’s GDP over the past ten years (Trading Economics, 2019b). In addition to these economic developments, Kenya has also been classified as a medium-development country, because of the increase in its Human Development Index (HDI) score (UNDP, 2018c). The HDI is a measure of a country’s development based on three dimensions: (1) the ability of citizens to

live a long and healthy life, (2) access to knowledge, and (3) the ability of citizens to attain a decent standard of living (UNDP, 2018c). In a way, the index relates to the capability approach, as it determines the capability of individuals to meet these measures. Kenya's HDI score increased from 0.468 in 1990 to 0.590 when the latest measurement was conducted in 2017 (UNDP, 2018c). It is important to remember that the HDI is based on averages, which means that it masks inequalities of human development across the country's population (UNDP, 2018c). This consideration may be useful in understanding why the HDI and GDP of Kenya have increased, along with a decrease in poverty levels, but food insecurity and malnutrition remain pressing issues (Sadauskaite, 2014: 35, 37; Tanton, 2017; Mohajan, 2014: 29).

Despite the paradox regarding development indicators and food insecurity in Kenya, food security and development are generally thought to go hand in hand. This is because better nutrition increases productive and developmental capacity, and development promotes the components of food security. Thus, various food aid programmes that also include a developmental aspect have been implemented in Kenya (Wabwoba and Wakhungu, 2013: 2). Examples of such programmes include Feed the Future and resilience-building programmes implemented by USAID, food aid programmes also encouraging enterprise development implemented by the US African Development Foundation, and food aid programmes implemented by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, which additionally transfers knowledge and technology in an attempt to trigger development (Maina, 2019; Tanton, 2017; Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2016). School feeding programmes should be singled out as an innovative method of delivering food aid while stimulating development. Various such programmes are active in Kenya and studies have shown that providing meals at schools have led to an increase in attendance (Sadauskaite, 2014: 25, 26; Mohajan, 2014: 36). As education is a cornerstone of development, increased attendance is a promising indicator.

Except for the school feeding programs, reports have generally found that food aid development programmes and initiatives in Kenya have had limited success and been unsustainable (Wabwoba and Wakhungu, 2013: 2; Kilonzi, 2013: 111; Wanjiru, 2014: 16). Wanjiru (2014: 16) ascribes this to the interference of foreign stakeholders, precipitated by the Kenyan government's over-reliance on food aid to support these programmes. Kilonzi (2013: 112) states that until recently the political will and commitment to reduce food insecurity has not been strong enough. Kenyan authorities should take the lead in the implementation of these programmes. This might be the way of the future, considering that food security is included on the President's Big Four Agenda.

Despite the ineffectiveness of the above-mentioned programmes, this section concludes that there has been development in Kenya over the past two decades. This was also the time during which the country received high levels of food aid. It is therefore possible that there is a correlation between

food aid and development. However, food insecurity remains high and to date the developmental focus seems to have been on other sectors such as the economy and infrastructure. The weak incentive to directly address food insecurity may be related to the country's reliance on food aid. If food aid were not available, there would be a lot more pressure on the Kenyan government to improve the components of food security and develop the country's self-sufficiency. The release of the Big Four Agenda, with the inclusion of food security, however, does indicate the government's awareness of the issue and creates positive expectations for the future.

### 7.3.3. Dependency

The substantial growth of the Kenyan economy in recent years leads one to the conclusion that this sector is not dependent on international aid. However, overwhelming evidence presented in this chapter indicates that the Kenyan food security sector is dependent on international assistance. Factors including slow local production, vulnerability to threats, and the focus being directed to exports rather than internal food security force the population to rely on food aid for survival. Wanjiru (2014: 2) states that Kenya has been dependent on food aid for so long that it has become part of their food security strategy (Wanjiru, 2014: 2). The majority of experts on Kenyan food security indicated that they perceive Kenya as a heavily food aid-dependent country (Interview respondent 2, 2018; Interview respondent 4, 2019).

This section will consider the arguments around negative and positive dependency, and if relevant, those that deny dependency in Kenya. The main arguments on negative and positive dependency were outlined in Chapter 3 under theories of dependency. The relevance of these arguments in the context of Kenya will be established. This will assist in answering both the primary and secondary research questions as analysis considers whether or not dependency is a feature of the relationship between food aid and food security as well as whether such a relationship is positive or negative.

#### 7.3.3.1. Negative Dependency

Negative dependency ensues when the current needs of recipients are met through aid at the cost of reducing their capacity to meet their basic needs without external assistance in the future (Lentz, Barrett and Hoddinott, 2005: 12). Mohamed (2017: v) states that Kenyan communities have abandoned self-reliant means of achieving food security, such as farming, and are now simply waiting for food aid to be provided (Mohamed, 2017: v). With reference to the above conceptualization of negative dependency, Mohamed (2017: v) thus implies that this phenomenon is present in Kenya. However, this study pursues a more comprehensive analysis and will consider various other arguments. By determining the validity of the arguments regarding negative dependency within the Kenyan context, this section will determine whether or not the country's relationship with its food aid donors is indeed one of *negative* dependency.

#### 7.3.3.1.1. Disincentives

The first argument asserting a negative dependency on food aid is that it creates disincentives. As shown in Chapter 5, the most accurate way to find out whether or not food aid has created disincentives in Kenya is to consider the outcomes achieved during a period when food aid was received. The past decade has been challenging for Kenyan food security and consequently a large amount of food aid – especially emergency food aid – was provided. During the same period the country's local production sector slowed down significantly, specifically the agricultural production sector (Wabwoba, 2017: 3; Kabubo-Mariara and Kabara, 2018; Mohamed, 2017: 37). The fact that the GDP and HDI increased during this period leads to the conclusion that they are not heavily influenced by this production sector. Although Abdulai, Barrett and Hoddinott (2005) argue that circumstances under which food aid is provided to Africa rarely create disincentives, there seems to be a correlation between food aid flows and disincentives in Kenya. The first areas in which disincentives have been identified in the literature as well as indicated by outcomes are labour and production. Various sources confirm that the constant availability of food aid has created a “culture of laziness” among beneficiaries (Wabwoba, 2017: 3; Wanjiru, 2014: 16; Mohamed, 2017: 37). This creates a production disincentive as well as a disincentive to engage in productive manual labour (Wanjiru, 2014: 16; Mohamed, 2017: 37). This has encouraged rapid urbanisation, as citizens abandon farms and agricultural production areas to look for white-collar jobs in the cities (Olielo, 2013: 5). The continuous detrimental impacts of threats to food security also highlight the country's disincentive to improve resilience. The constant availability of food aid may mask the pressing need to strengthen the sustainability of the food security components identified in the first section of this chapter.

The Kenyan government has been criticised for lack of incentives to implement developmental and food security policies. This study finds that Kenyan authorities recognise the need for development and improved food security (Kenya Vision, 2018; Keya, 2018). A clear intention to promote development and food security is expressed in The Kenya Vision 2030 (Kenya Vision, 2018; Kenya Vision, 2019b). Whether the authorities are committed to acting upon these issues remains to be seen.

In conclusion, the decrease in production and the rise in urbanisation during the period that food aid was provided suggests a correlation between these factors. Unlike the case in Mozambique, food aid does seem to have created disincentives in local labour and production within the Kenyan context. This conclusion is directly supported by the input of an expert who participated in the research (Interview respondent 3, 2019).

#### 7.3.3.1.2. Price effects

The analysis of this factor reveals a situation similar to the one in Mozambique, as food aid to Kenya is also mainly delivered under emergency circumstances. In most situations where emergency food aid is required, there is a dire shortage of food in the recipient region. Consequently, the donated food

products do not create market competition, as locally produced consumption goods are not available for purchase. This is exacerbated by the fact that the majority of agricultural products that are produced in Kenya are exported. If food aid was provided under non-emergency circumstances, when food products produced by the stagnating local production sector were available, it might have led to a reduction in food prices as the supply would increase in relation to the demand. However, this is not the case.

Rather than food aid, the greatest effects on food prices have been induced by the country's adaptation of neoliberal policies. These policies have led Kenya to become reliant on imports, making prices very vulnerable to external circumstances. Price volatility as a result of import dependence has contributed to the country's food insecurity. Because of the slow pace of local production, citizens are left either to depend on food aid, or to purchase imported food when available (Abdullahi, 2010: 10). Recent increases in the price of imported food products have negatively influenced the purchasing power of the already poor population, increasing dependency on food aid, stimulating the cycle of food insecurity (Shaban, 2017).

#### 7.3.3.1.3. Distortion of safety nets and increased risk taking

Safety nets and social protection strategies have recently become an area of focus in Kenya. A study on the *State of Social Protection in Kenya* conducted by the Hakijamii economic and social rights centre (2014: 25) describes the sector as being in the "nascent stage" of development, but having potential for the future. Such programmes are key to promoting a country's efforts to reduce poverty and build resilience (Hakijamii, 2014: 25; Policy Brief, 2017). Beesley (2011: 3) holds that these programmes are also intended to reduce a country's dependence on humanitarian aid. Ironically, Kenyan safety nets and social protection programmes rely heavily on international investments and resources provided by international donors (Beesley, 2011: 5; Hakijamii, 2014: 25). This may be indicative of dependency, reducing the country's capacity to develop nationally funded strategies without external assistance.

Safety nets and social protection in Kenya are implemented in three different ways. The first is through cash transfer programmes, encouraging school attendance and providing access to basic health care (Policy Brief, 2017; FEWS Net, 2019). This category of implementation is closely related to food aid provision, as it may coincide with or even form part of development strategies implemented by donors or organisations to improve food security. In this way food aid flows may either influence the effectiveness of these strategies positively or negatively. The second method is through the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), which provides social protection to formal and informal workers. As will be discussed, the targeting of these efforts is seriously skewed, leading to the neglect of the informal sector (Policy Brief, 2017). The third method of implementation of social protection and safety nets in Kenya is through social health insurance provided by the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) (Policy Brief, 2017).

Despite Irungu, Ndirangu and Omiti reporting in 2009 that social protection is ineffective because of a lack of political will, a policy brief by the partnership for African social and governance research (Policy Brief, 2017) stated that recently political leaders have shown a commitment to the implementation and development of such programmes through multi-annual budget commitments (Irungu, Ndirangu and Omiti, 2009: 10; Policy Brief, 2017). This may be related to the ideology championed in Kenya Vision 2030, which has been gaining support. There are, however, several flaws preventing social protection and safety net programmes from optimal development in Kenya. Although it may not be possible to identify the specific relation between food aid flows and the development of these programs, identifying these issues and considering their possible ties to food aid may be useful. The first three challenges to these programmes in Kenya do not seem to be related to food aid in any direct way. These issues are 1) ineffective coordination of strategies (Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 51; Irungu, Ndirangu and Omiti, 2009: 8; Policy Brief, 2017) 2) ineffective targeting (Irungu, Ndirangu and Omiti, 2009: 10; Policy Brief, 2017; Hakijamii, 2014: 21); and 3) inadequate graduation mechanisms (Policy Brief, 2017). There are three issues that are possibly related to food aid.

The first is the dependency of social protection and safety net programmes on external funding. Although the Kenyan government has shown a commitment by allocating 0.9% of the national GDP to social assistance, 70% of social protection funding comes from international donors (Policy Brief, 2017). Over-reliance on food aid inhibits the country's ability to fund its own social protection strategies, making it dependent on external assistance and increasing the vulnerability of these strategies.

This is related to the second issue that may have a bearing on food aid dependency, namely lack of transparency and weak accountability within the development and implementation structures of these programmes (Hakijamii, 2014: 26). Great influence from external entities results in prioritisation of upward accountability, rather than accountability towards the citizens and beneficiaries of these programmes (Hakijamii, 2014: 26). An increased risk of corruption is the third issue that may be related to food aid dependency. High levels of corruption may also be the cause of the limited transparency associated with these social protection and safety net programs.

Kenya still has a long way to go regarding the effective implementation of social protection programmes and safety nets. Dependence on food aid for programmes related to these strategies, as well as over-reliance on donor funds specifically for social protection programmes, hampers the country's ability to develop these strategies in a sustainable way. In addition to these factors, this section also considers the influence of food aid dependency on risk taking. Knowing that, or relying on the fact that, food aid will be provided influences the reasoning of dependent citizens. In Kenya

this has led people to adopt measures that they would not otherwise consider had they been responsible themselves for the food that they consume. Wanjiru (2014: 17) presents an example of this behaviour, where rural citizens sell all their surplus products rather than storing them for the dry season, as they are certain that food aid will be available during that period (Wanjiru, 2014: 17). Dependence on food aid also makes individuals vulnerable to changes in targeting, delivery and/or availability. In these cases, food insecure citizens are likely to resort to unsustainable coping mechanisms that further exacerbate their food-insecure status. These mechanisms include deforestation and overgrazing (Olielo, 2013: 4).

Although social protection strategies and safety nets became areas of focus in Kenya only recently and have potential for the future, the country's dependency on food aid does negatively influence the capabilities of these programmes (Interview respondent 3, 2019). Specifically, food aid dependence leads to over-reliance on international funding for these programmes as well as to limited transparency and accountability towards the Kenyan population. Risk taking has also increased as a result of food aid dependence. In conclusion, this argument to show negative dependency appears to be realised in the context of Kenya.

#### 7.3.3.1.4. Moral hazard

There is little evidence on the extent to which moral hazards are caused by food aid dependency in Kenya. The definition of a moral hazard, as noted in Chapter 5, is: "a situation in which the person makes a decision about how much risk to take, while someone else bears the cost if things go badly" (Oxfam, 2014). The lack of information on this topic may be ascribed to the fact that donors and food aid organisations are biased towards releasing information focused on the positive effects of their actions. Contributing to the moral hazard created by food aid dependency in Kenya are factors that have already been identified, such as corruption, lack of transparency, lack of accountability and ineffective targeting.

An issue related to food aid in Kenya that may be considered a moral hazard is the case of genetically modified (GM) food products. Overall, the deployment of GM products in Africa is hindered by ethical and health concerns, as well as regulatory issues (Kimenju and De Groot, 2008: 6). In Kenya specifically, members of the population not in favour of GM products fear that they may destroy indigenous farming and/or foster the emergence of super pests (Food Logistics, 2014). Ironically, authorities hold that the use of GM crops may have prevented the outbreak of the devastating fall armyworm (Mutanu, 2018). Support for GM products have been linked to levels of education and income, hence populations residing in urban areas such as Nairobi have been found to be more willing to accept GM products (Kimenju and De Groot, 2008: 6; Mutanu, 2018). Kenya's national regulations on GM imports and food aid have varied during the past couple of years. From 2009 to 2012 the country allowed imports of GM food aid as relief during the dry season (Food Logistics, 2014). In 2017 the country banned the import of GM products, although levels of food insecurity were

high (AATF Africa, 2019). In 2018 Kelley reported that Kenya is easing its opposition to GM crops and predicted that the country would most likely permit the planting of such crops in the commercial sector during 2019 (Kelley, 2018). The controversy around the topics of GM food products creates the possibility that GM food aid would create a serious moral hazard in a food aid-dependent country to citizens that do not share the opinion of decision-making authorities on this topic.

#### 7.3.3.1.5. Food as a weapon

Macrae and Zwi (1992: 1) state that food can be used as a weapon of war through its omission and provision. Research shows no evidence of food currently being used as a weapon in Kenya. Dependence on food aid and high levels of food insecurity do, however, create the opportunity for authorities to do so. Through manipulating food aid flows and controlling delivery, those with influence and control over commodities can use food aid as leverage to impose their will on hungry individuals. Through withholding food aid deliveries to some areas, those in control may intend to inflict suffering on groups viewed as opposition (Nicholis, 2017). Although this is not done in Kenya, it is currently the case in South Sudan. Due to the South Sudanese authorities withholding food from the population, the number of refugees fleeing from South Sudan to Kenya is increasing (Nicholis, 2017). Thus, the use of food as a weapon in a neighbouring country does have an influence on Kenyan food security.

It is likely that food aid does not lead to food being used as a weapon in Kenya, because there is no war currently in the country. Should a war break out, the political instability, corruption and food aid dependence in the country could create the circumstances under which this could become a reality.

#### 7.3.3.1.6. Bad governance

As concluded in Chapter 6, political instability is an issue in the context of Kenya (Wanjiru, 2014: 11; Irungu, Ndirangu and Omiti, 2009: 10). Corruption is both a cause and a consequence of this instability (Interview respondent 3, 2019). Although it can also be linked to various other sectors, corruption has a definite link to the country's dependence on food aid (Egler, 2015: 5; Mukami, 2018; Humanitarian practice network, 2012). Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo (2012: 8) identify food aid as one of the sectors most at risk from corruption. The constant inflow of food aid thus exacerbates the tendency towards corruption practices already present in Kenyan society – particularly in the political system and bureaucracy. Unlike within the Mozambican context, where donors dominated decision-making on food aid, the Kenyan government is involved in the coordination of the food aid received (Mwega, 2009). Although conditionalities are still imposed, their influence is limited by the input of national authorities. The dark side of the government's involvement is that it has led to the politicisation of food aid as well as a number of corruption scandals around food aid and government officials (European Commission, 2009; Harmer, Harvey and Odhiambo, 2012: 8; Abdullahi, 2010: 29).

In the 2018 Global Food Security Index, the Economic Intelligence Unit cited two recent scandals related to food aid and corrupt officials within the Kenyan food security sector (Mukami, 2018). The first was a multi-million shilling corruption scandal, which involved officials colluding with traders and paying them for maize supplies at the expense of farmers (Mukami, 2018). The report states “traders disguised as farmers were irregularly paid 1.9 billion shillings by the National Cereal and Produce Board” (Mukami, 2018). The second incident cited in the report occurred when the Kenyan government colluded with Afgri Trading Pty Ltd to supply Kenyan taxpayers with maize at a much higher price than regulated by the market (Mukami, 2018). These two cases present evidence of how government involvement in food aid and food imports creates opportunities for skewed intentions to manifest as/through corruption.

Until recently, dependence on food aid has been linked to the Kenyan government’s disincentive to improve food security. As food aid limits the direct impacts of food insecurity (such as hunger), it at the same time reduces the pressure placed on the government to improve the country’s food security status. Consequently, related policy making and implementation have been ineffective, and political will to increase food security has been weak (FEWS Net, 2018b; Humanitarian practice network, 2012; Wanjiru, 2014: 19; Kilonzi, 2013: 112). In this way food aid dependence has induced bad governance. One expert stated, “If Kenya stopped receiving food aid the government would be forced to prioritize food security” (Interview respondent 3, 2019).

The inclusion of food security in President Kenyatta’s Big Four Agenda (related to the Kenya Vision 2030) has the potential to prompt a shift in the unsatisfactory behaviour that has been evident thus far (The Presidency, 2018). This shows the intention of the Kenyan government to proactively pursue food security, a venture that must include the eradication of corruption and mismanagement within the sector. If this is realised, the prospects for Kenyan food security in the future are positive. However, as long as corruption is embedded in the system, any honest intentions of the government or other authorities to reduce food insecurity will be hampered.

In conclusion, dependency on food aid exacerbates the worst traits of the already unstable and corrupt Kenyan political system. Consequences of bad governance, realised in the food aid sector, hinder attempts to fairly improve food security through effective food aid distribution.

Determining the validity of arguments related to negative dependency in the context of Kenya has shown that food aid dependency negatively influences incentives to improve the situation as well as the quality of governance within the country. Food aid dependence has led to increased risk taking and a correlation may be drawn between food aid dependency and the distortion of safety nets and social protection programmes. Dependency on food aid does potentially also create a moral hazard to food-insecure Kenyan citizen, depending on their opinion regarding the country’s policies on the

import and cultivation of GM food products. There is no evidence of food currently being used as a weapon in Kenya. The conclusions of this section are similar to the findings in the corresponding section in Chapter 5 on Mozambique. This is considered a valuable insight and will be reflected on further when both case studies are used to address the research questions of this thesis in the concluding chapter.

#### 7.3.3.2. Positive dependency

Barret (2006) describes positive dependency as dependence on external assistance that is considered welfare enhancing when the alternative is destitution or worse. He adds that positive dependence is always an intended circumstance of aid provision, whereas the manifestation of negative dependency is unintended (Barret, 2006). As is the case in Mozambique, the alternative to receiving food aid in the Kenyan context is often destitution. This is because the food aid provided consists mainly of emergency food aid, which is supplied in the wake of devastation, when citizens have no other means to acquire sufficient food.

Theories of dependency discussed in Chapter 3 presented positive dependency as the second argument, after negative dependency. In order to determine whether there is a relationship between food aid and food security, and whether the purported relationship is positive or negative, all arguments must be taken into account. Therefore, this section assesses the validity of the four main arguments around positive dependency in the context of Kenya. It determines the extent to which positive dependency, with reference to food aid, is experienced within the country's context.

##### 7.3.3.2.1. Access to food

The majority of food aid provided to Kenya is emergency food aid. This implies that it is provided when extreme circumstances prevent food-insecure citizens from accessing sufficient food. Factors hampering access to food in Kenya include poverty, lack of purchasing power, physical inaccessibility (including weak transport systems and infrastructure), and the lack of availability of food.

Emergency food aid to Kenya is mainly provided through cash transfers as this has a lower risk of being affected by corruption. These transfers increase recipients' capability of accessing available food through giving them purchasing power. Provision of in-kind food aid directly increases recipients' physical access to food, but this is not provided as often. Overall, emergency food aid *does* improve access to food upon delivery. Because of the nature of the aid provided, the access gained is often not sustainable, as the focus is to immediately alleviate hunger and suffering. Attaining sustainable access to food will require great effort from authorities in pursuit of Kenyan food security. Korir, Rizov and Ruto (2018: 3) note that inaccessibility to food is linked to poverty. The reduction in Kenya's poverty levels may therefore be an indication of increased access. This thesis, however, is

not able to prove whether or not the reduction in poverty and possible consequence of increased access has any correlation to the country's dependency on food aid.

#### 7.3.3.2.2. Nutrition

According to Barrett (2006), food aid has the potential to improve the general nutrition of recipients, remedying malnutrition despite creating dependence. Kenya experiences high levels of malnutrition. Ironically, both under-nutrition and over-nutrition are present in the country (Kamenwa, 2017). The poorest 10% of the population consume 918 calories per day, while the wealthiest 10% consume 3 330 calories per day – which is twice the daily requirement (Kamenwa, 2017). The double burden of over- and under-nutrition is indicative of the country's inequalities. It may also be a consequence of the ineffective targeting of food aid identified above (Kamenwa, 2017).

Malnutrition is the greatest contributor to child mortality in Kenya (Kamenwa, 2017; Reliefweb, 2017b). 30% of the population under the age of 5 is undernourished, while 1 out of 10 children from this age group is obese or overweight (Kamenwa, 2017). Stunting is globally recognized as the main indicator of malnutrition as it “indicates long-term cumulative effects of inadequate nutrition” and therefore gives a broad representation of a country's nutritional status (Kamenwa, 2017). In Kenya 26% of the population under the age of 5 currently suffers from stunting (USAID, 2018b; Kamenwa, 2017).

Kenya's nutritional status deteriorated during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Kamenwa, 2017; Transform nutrition, n.d.). Since 2010 it has slowly been improving, as the percentage of the population suffering from wasting, stunting and being underweight has declined (Kamenwa, 2017; Transform nutrition, n.d.; USAID, 2018b; Reliefweb, 2018b). The country's improved nutrition may be related to the decline in poverty levels that took place during the same time period. Greater purchasing power and higher income levels allow citizens to purchase more diverse and higher-quality food products, which influence nutrition positively. Despite the improvement, malnutrition remains a pressing issue in Kenya and is expected to cost the government approximately \$38.3 billion between 2010 and 2030 (USAID, 2018b). This expense is the consequence of a reduced workforce, as malnourished citizens are incapable of effectively participating in labour and development (USAID, 2018b).

It is unlikely that food aid dependency has contributed to the positive trend in Kenya's nutritional status. This is because of the type of food aid received. Although emergency food aid improved nutrition levels in the wake of the 2017 drought disaster, the impact is not sustainable (*The Star*, 2018c; Reliefweb, 2018b). Dietary diversity and the nutritional quality of food products (which are necessary to achieve sustainable, sufficient nutrition) are not prioritized in situations where emergency food aid is received (M'Kaibi et al., 2017). In these contexts the main focus is on rapidly providing immediately available food products to food-insecure victims who would otherwise not be

able to survive. Dependency on emergency food aid may in fact challenge the nutritional sustainability of recipient communities. As indicated above, it may create disincentives to develop local production and consequently hinder the improvement of local dietary diversity, which is critical for attaining sufficient nutrition.

Kenya's nutritional status has improved over the past decade, during which it has also been receiving large amounts of food aid. It is, however, unlikely that there is a correlation between these two circumstances, considering the unsustainable influence of emergency food, as well as shortcomings regarding targeting and distribution. The only way in which food aid may have contributed to the country's improved nutrition is through development programmes accompanying food aid provision. Food aid programmes implemented during this period, with a specific focus on nutrition, include the National Nutrition Action Plan, school feeding programmes, nutritional plans implemented by the International Medical Corps and developmental assistance from the United Kingdom Department of International Development specifically allocated to improve Kenya's nutritional status (Transform nutrition, n.d.; Ministry of public health and sanitation, 2013; International Medical Corps, 2019; Aid and international development forum, 2018). In conclusion, food aid dependency in Kenya does not seem to directly be contributing to sustainably improving the country's nutritional status. This is mainly because of the nature of the food aid provided.

#### 7.3.3.2.3. Development of recipient markets

There is a lack of numerical evidence on the influence of food aid on the Kenyan market. As no specific figures on market trends are available, this section examines the circumstances created by food aid provision and the ways in which these might influence the market. There are two possible responses to determining the validity of the argument that food aid promotes the development of recipient markets. The first response considers the influence of cash transfers on recipient markets. As mentioned above, the majority of food aid provided to Kenya is done through cash transfers to counter risk of corruption and take advantage of the use of the effective M-PESA distribution system. Cash transfers give purchasing power to recipients, logically increasing market sales. However, because of the lack of availability of food, stagnated local production, and neoliberal policies adopted during the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Kenyan market is heavily dependent on imported food products (Kabubo-Mariara and Kabara, 2018; Mohamed, 2017: 16; Rosenberg-Carlson and Houser, 2012). The increase in market sales therefore does not contribute to the development of the local market, but rather increases imports (Rosenberg-Carlson and Houser, 2012). Barrett (2006) states that food aid helps to “nurture competitive, effective channels through which food can flow from producers to final consumers”. In the case of Kenya, these channels are not locally rooted, but rather flow from external, international producers into the Kenyan market, contributing to creating disincentives within the local production sector (Mohamed, 2017: 14).

The second response to the influence of food aid on local Kenyan markets takes into account the provision of in-kind food aid, although this form of food aid is not provided as often within the Kenyan context. Similar to food imports, in-kind food aid creates production disincentives within local markets (Mohamed, 2017: 14). It also creates labour disincentives, as recipients have no need to earn an income to purchase food when it is provided to them for free (Mohamed, 2017: 15).

The lack of information on the influence of food aid on local Kenyan markets may be a consequence of the type of food aid provided. As emergency food aid is provided in circumstances where the alternative is destitution, its influence on local markets is not a primary concern. However, should the influence of emergency food aid be considered, the logical conclusion is that the food aid provided to Kenya does not contribute to the development of local markets.

#### 7.3.3.2.4. Stimulation of development and economic growth

It is not necessarily possible to prove that food aid is directly responsible for the circumstances considered. Therefore, this thesis looks for a correlation between trends and acknowledges the possible influence of food aid, if relevant. With regards to the stimulation of development and economic growth, Barrett (2006) claims that food aid has the potential to stimulate productive assets and increase human capital. Despite the stagnation of the Kenyan production sector, the country has experienced an increase in GDP, a rising HDI score, and a reduction in poverty levels over the past decade. During this period the country has also been receiving large amounts of food aid, which has developed a sense of dependency. In the light of these factors, there appears to be a positive correlation between the inflow of food aid and Kenya's growing economic prosperity – despite the stagnation of the country's production sector.

In agreement with Barrett (2006), Wanzala (2018) states that providing people with food increases their output capabilities. Well-fed citizens are better able to contribute to the country's GDP. To confirm this, Kenya has experienced an increase in employment during the past decade of food aid provision (Trading Economics, 2019c). Unemployment rates have steadily declined from 12.17% in 2009 to 11.47% in 2017 (Trading Economics, 2019c; Statista, 2019). It is possible that this trend is stimulated by the steady provision of food aid, as people are physically in a position to carry out satisfactory work performance. Despite the increase in employment, production has stagnated, which may be indicative of increasing urbanization. An increasing number of people are abandoning the rural sector to search of better opportunities near cities or industrialised environments. Consequently less input is available for production in rural environments, negatively affecting agricultural production. The growing labour force in urban areas, however, does positively influence the country's economic growth and stimulate the development sector.

Developmental programmes accompanying food aid provision may also have an influence on the Kenyan development sector. These programmes include food-for-work initiatives, school feeding

schemes, resilience-enhancing projects and educational programmes. Although these programmes do enhance the development capacity/capabilities of communities, their impact lacks sustainability and Wabwoba and Wakhungu (2013: 2) claim that their influence often fades after funding ends.

In conclusion, it is possible that the constant receipt of food aid contributes positively to Kenya's development and economic growth. This emerges from a correlation between trends measuring these factors. This section has also determined that food aid dependency does not contribute positively to the development of local Kenyan markets. Although food aid may enhance the country's nutritional status and improve access to food upon delivery, these effects are not sustainable. The unsustainability of improved access and nutrition is mainly the result of the nature of the food aid provided, as the focus is on preventing destitution in the wake of emergencies rather than on reducing food insecurity sustainably. If preventing destitution was considered the only definitive characteristic of positive dependency – as suggested by Barrett (2006) – it would be present in the context of Kenya. However, the four arguments on positive dependency explored in this section are not all valid in the Kenyan context (especially with regards sustainability) and therefore the influence of food aid dependency cannot conclusively be considered as promoting positive dependency.

#### 7.3.3.3. Denial of dependency

After arguments of negative dependency and positive dependency, the third theory of dependency, as presented in Chapter 3, is the denial of dependency. There are no arguments in recent literature stating that Kenya is not dependent on food aid, nor has any evidence been found that might support the denial of dependency. All research participants with specialized knowledge about Kenyan food security stated that the country has indeed developed a sense of dependency on food aid (Interview respondent 2, 2018; Interview respondent 3, 2019; Interview respondent 4, 2019). Two of the three interviewed experts on food aid and food security in Kenya are wholly convinced that Kenyan food security depends on food aid, while the third expert acknowledged that a sense of dependency has been developed, but not to the same extent (Interview respondent 2, 2018; Interview respondent 3, 2019; Interview respondent 4, 2019).

As shown above, the main type of food aid distributed in Kenya is emergency food aid. The country's lack of resilience, along with the prevalence of threats to food security, leads to frequent situations in which emergency food aid is required. Factors stemming from the reception of food aid, as well as some embedded in the Kenyan society, have resulted in the onset of food aid dependency.

## 7.4. Conclusion

The analysis has enabled this chapter to draw conclusions about the nature and consequences of the food aid received by Kenya as well as the validity of arguments made for and against food aid in the country's context.

The conclusion is that most of the food aid received by Kenya is emergency food aid, preferably provided through cash transfers. The reason cash transfers are preferred is its effectiveness and the reduced risk of corruption involved when transferred through the M-PESA system. This differs from Mozambique where cash transfers are avoided, specifically because of the risk of corruption associated with it in the country's context. The M-PESA network is one of the positive measures undertaken in Kenya that may potentially contribute to the reduction of food insecurity in the future. Similar to the situation in Mozambique, the nature of food aid provided in Kenya limits the sustainability of attempts to promote positive development through its provision. Emergency food aid is provided mainly to avert destitution as it focuses on immediate relief rather than long-term progress.

The chapter then considered the four main arguments in the debate for and against food aid in the context of Kenya. It concludes that, although the effective cash transfer system contributes to more efficient targeting, (1) *targeting* of food aid in Kenya can still be improved. It is determined that (2) *development* has occurred in Kenya during a period that food aid was received. Consequently, the possibility of a correlation between food aid and development is recognized. However, development programmes linked to food aid provision are not often sustainable and have limited effectiveness.

(3) *Disincentives* was the third argument in the debate regarding food aid and food security. As per the framework formulated in Chapter 3, this was examined within the analysis pertaining to the fourth argument (4) *dependency*. Arguments around dependency were analysed according to three categories identified by theories of dependency – negative dependency, positive dependency and denial of dependency. Five of the six arguments on negative dependency on food aid were found to be valid in the Kenyan context. The argument found to be invalid is the use of food as a weapon, as there is no evidence indicating such circumstances in the country. Considering the arguments on positive dependency, the possibility of food aid dependency contributing to development and economic growth was recognized. Although food aid dependency seems to improve nutrition and increase access to food for a short term, these positive impacts were found to be unsustainable. The argument stating that food aid dependency develops recipient markets was proven to be invalid in the Kenyan context. Finally, the analysis found no arguments denying dependency. On the contrary, the experts who were interviewed attested to the country's dependency on food aid.

The conclusions of this chapter substantiate the conclusions of Chapter 6, which state that food aid is required in Kenya as a result of food insecurity and the prevalence of threats to food security. This chapter found that the main type of food aid provided is emergency food aid. The country has become dependent on the food aid received, which has had negative consequences. These consequences hamper food security, creating a greater need for food aid and thus perpetuating a cycle of dependency. Despite these negative circumstances, positive initiatives regarding Kenyan food security

have also been identified. Such initiatives – including the Kenya Vision 2030 and the inclusion of food security in President Kenyatta’s Big Four Agenda – may positively contribute to food security in the future. Awareness of the food insecurity issue, and the country’s intention to take responsibility for these circumstances, are positive findings within the Kenyan context.

Evidence shows that until now there has not been a sustainable, positive relation between food aid dependency and Kenyan food security. It must be noted, however, that there is a possible correlation between food aid received and economic growth and development within the country, as indicated by the rising GDP and HDI scores. In conclusion, food insecurity has been sustained throughout the period that food aid has been received. Thus, the common perception that food aid ends hunger and establishes food security (as referred to in the research problem) is not validated. The relation between these two concepts is much more complicated and influenced by various factors as established through this analysis.

## Chapter Eight

### Conclusion

#### 8.1. Revisiting the research problem

Widespread hunger is one of the greatest problems facing the global population. It is considered the most pronounced crisis the world has faced since the end of the Second World War (Al Jazeera, 2017; BBC News, 2017). Hunger compromises livelihoods, wellbeing and the fulfilment of human rights. Physical hunger for food is related to the mental and psychological *hunger* for development, equality, peace and justice. Perhaps the most unsettling consideration of this condition is its paradoxical coexistence with excess consumption and surplus food production on a global scale. This unsettling reality showcases some of the disturbing traits of human society, such as greed, gluttony and relentless self-interest. Taking into account the fact that enough food is produced globally to feed the entire population, referring to the above-mentioned problem simply as *hunger* limits its scope as a phenomenon and prevents comprehensive understanding of its causes and consequences. Rather, the issue plaguing the less fortunate sections of the global population should be referred to as food insecurity.

While hunger refers to the lack of food, food insecurity encompasses the availability of food, access to food, the ability to effectively utilise food and the stability of these factors. These four components of food security are compromised by various factors, producing a variety of consequences, of which the most pronounced are explored in this thesis. Influenced by power structures, economic conditions, politics and trade relations, among other things, food insecurity is mainly concentrated in less developed regions. In contrast to the developed Western world, this thesis focuses on food security in the region of sub-Saharan Africa considered an exemplification of underdevelopment. The unequal global distribution of food creates the potential for food-insecure regions to receive assistance from regions with sufficient, or even surplus, food by means of food aid donations.

The rationale behind this thesis is the debate on the relation between food aid and food security. Food aid is commonly provided with the apparent intention of improving the food security of recipients. However, the reality that in some cases the recipient countries remain food insecure and underdeveloped has led to critics calling the effectiveness of food aid into question. Advocates of food aid highlight the potential of positive consequences to improve local food production and create development incentives. The opposing camp in the debate holds that food aid creates dependency, which compromises recipient countries' chances of escaping the cycle of food insecurity and underdevelopment.

Sufficient food consumption is a prerequisite for human existence. If food aid is considered a response to food insecurity, it is of critical importance that it be effective in alleviating the circumstances threatening a society. The research questions of this thesis are formulated to investigate the specific relation between food aid and food security, as well as the validity of arguments pertaining to the effectiveness and consequences of food aid provision. Should any indication be found that food aid is not supportive of the food security status of recipients, research should be used to improve response strategies and formulate methods of alleviating food insecurity without entrenching debilitating circumstances such as dependency and disincentives. If food aid does prove to assist in the alleviation of food insecurity and the development of recipients, however, it will be necessary to determine why recipient countries often struggle to establish sustainable food security and to improve local development.

## 8.2. Overview of chapters

This research report started by presenting a review of the literature on the main topics. That was followed by an investigation of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that speak to the challenges identified in the research problem. Two case studies were then conducted, on Mozambique and Kenya, each spanning two chapters.

The thesis employs three theoretical tools in its quest to clarify the relation between food aid and food security. The first of these is the concept of **human security**. Rather than simply referring to a theory, exploring the issue of human security is considered a fundamental approach guiding the research for this thesis. The five principles of human security<sup>9</sup> underlie the study as well as the formulation of the research questions and case study framework. Food security is an integral part of human security and thus should not be investigated without proper consideration of the broader context. A human security approach to the research allows for proper contextualisation of information as well as the recognition of unconventional causes and consequences of food insecurity. The intrinsic relation between food security and human security lies at the heart of this study, as threats to food security or practices compromising food security also have a negative impact on human security.

The second theoretical tool employed in this study, also as an approach rather than a specific theory, is the **capabilities approach**. It highlights the importance of individual context and capabilities when analysing food security. Although case studies are conducted in national contexts, the research acknowledges the influences of and on individual citizens. It takes into account individual actions, aspirations and abilities, acknowledging that root causes of food insecurity may include factors other than the physical lack of food availability. As food aid influences individual capabilities, the use of

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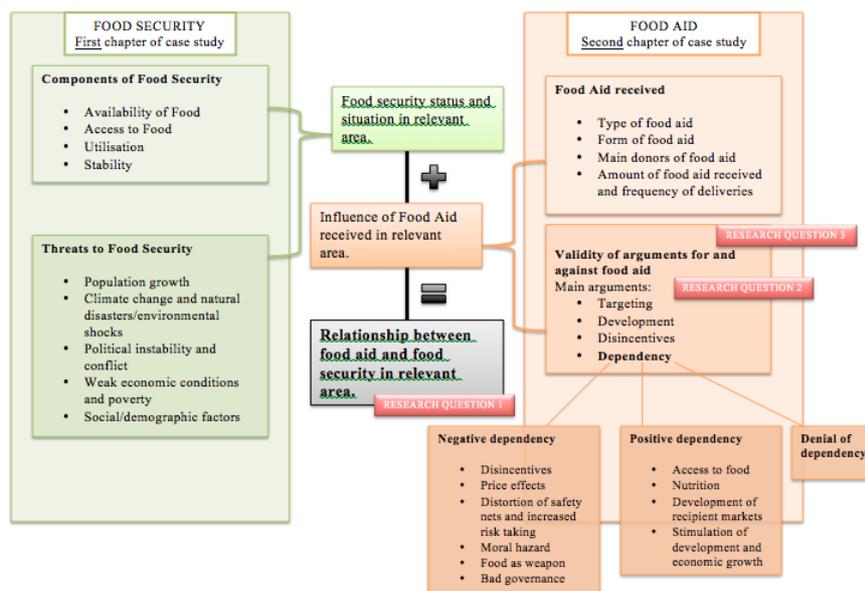
<sup>9</sup> (1) People centered, (2) multi-sectoral, (3) comprehensive, (4) context-specific and (5) prevention oriented.

this approach in this thesis contributes to the establishment of a possible relation between food aid and human wellbeing – related to food security.

The third and final theoretical tool employed in this thesis is **theories of dependency**. This study has explicitly explained the difference between this theoretical framework and that of dependency theory. Although both are acknowledged, only one is relevant to the research conducted. Theories of dependency are the only theoretical tool employed not as an approach but as an actual part of the framework according to which the case studies are conducted. In the context of this study, dependency refers to a condition that is either imposed on individuals within recipient countries by the actions and conditionalities of food aid donors, or that develops within recipient countries as consequence of receiving food aid. Although the prevalence of dependency does relate to the relation between food aid and food security referred to in the primary research question, this theory is specifically employed to formulate a response to the secondary research questions of this thesis. The structure of this thesis applies all three of these theoretical tools in its analysis of the two countries selected as case studies. In doing so, it not only evaluates national circumstances and international relations, but also takes into account individual factors and concerns – this is important because both food aid and food security are concepts that influence and are influenced by large-scale as well as small-scale components.

Selected as case studies, **Mozambique** and **Kenya** represent the region of sub-Saharan Africa on which the primary research question and problem statement are based.

Figure 3.2. Heuristic device for analysis of relationship between food aid and food security



Source: The author

Both countries receive food aid on a frequent basis and are classified as developing countries – which is typical of food aid recipients. The countries were selected because of their similarities and differences. Mozambique and Kenya seem to have enough similarities to make for a fair comparison, but their differences are pronounced enough to ensure a fair representation of the region. The case study structure is applied to both case study countries. This allows for comparison between the two cases as well as for interpreting findings within the broader context of sub-Saharan Africa. The third section of this chapter will draw on the findings of the case studies to answer all research questions explicitly, as well as to respond to the problem statement, but first it is deemed necessary to point out similarities and differences between the countries identified in the two analyses. This will contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the answers presented in following/third section. Without considering specific and detailed causes, the findings for both countries may seem to be quite similar. **Similarities** were identified in the assessment of the components constituting the countries' food security, threats jeopardising the countries' food security, the food aid received by the countries as well as the validity of the arguments related to the theories of dependency.

With regards to food security, access to food is compromised in both Mozambique and Kenya as a result of rural and urban disparities, weak transport systems, the prevalence of poverty and the fact that food prices are inversely related to the level of food security. In both countries the utilisation of food is challenged by insufficient and underdeveloped infrastructure, a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, and extensive post-harvest losses. Further reducing food security in both countries is the failure to improve resilience against threats to food security. Of the five threats to food security assessed in the study, four plague the food security of both Mozambique and Kenya – namely population growth, climate change, political instability and conflict, and social and demographical factors. Not surprising in the international political and economic climate of today, the two social and demographic factors threatening food security in both countries are inequality and discrimination, particularly on grounds of gender.

While both case study countries have been receiving food aid for a long time, donations in both areas have declined over the past few years. Not surprisingly, there are similarities in the main food aid donors to both countries – as a limited number of developed countries make up the cluster of major food aid donors globally. Regarding food aid delivery, it was determined that in both countries targeting should and can be improved. An important finding indicates that both countries are in fact dependent on food aid to *attempt* to uphold food security – it is an attempt specifically because of the fact that, although food aid does provide relief, both case study countries fail to address all four components of food security, thus remaining food insecure.

With regards to negative dependency, the most striking similarities are that both countries experience a disincentive to improve resilience against threats to food security, food aid does not positively

influence local food prices, the subject of genetically modified food aid poses a moral hazard in both context, food aid is not being used as a weapon in either cases, and both countries experience bad governance – related to food aid in various ways. When evaluating arguments of positive dependency, the research indicated that food aid does improve recipients' access to food upon delivery, both countries have experienced improved nutrition, and the type of food aid most often provided in both cases (emergency food aid) has little influence on the development of local markets. In both case studies no evidence was found of arguments denying dependency of some kind.

Because the same framework was applied to both case studies, comparison can be drawn. In doing so the following **differences** emerged between the contexts of the two countries. It is necessary to note these differences, as they may contribute to various conclusions used to respond to the research questions in the third section of this chapter. They may also explain complexities in the findings and conclusions of this thesis. Firstly, while rural residents in Mozambique are more inclined to purchase their food, those in Kenya rely predominantly on their own produce. With regards to food aid, the most prominent difference in donations is that cash donations to Mozambique are limited (because of the dangers of corruption, misuse and bad targeting), while in Kenya cash transfers are becoming more and more popular because of the M-PESA electronic transfer system developed in the country.

As far as development is concerned, it is found that Mozambique has experienced stagnation in GDP growth and has one of the lowest recorded HDI scores in the world. Kenya, on the other hand, has shown very positive economic development during recent years and the country's HDI score has risen. Along with these trends towards prosperity, poverty in Kenya has also declined during the past decade – but this has not been the case in Mozambique. The differences in development and economic growth between the case study countries are significant. Whether these are related to food aid received is uncertain. It is possible that the neoliberal policies implemented by Kenya have contributed to the country's prosperity – but this prosperity is limited to the economy, as the research shows the policies have not benefited the food security of local citizens. This is because the external focus has compromised improvement of local production, food availability and access to food.

There is a correlation between food aid and disparities in development between the case study countries when considering the method of food aid delivery. This thesis cannot prove causality, but it is possible that the increasing use of cash transfers in Kenya (compared to the limited use of this transfer method in Mozambique) has contributed to the country's economic and developmental growth. Receiving cash transfers may enable the Kenyan authorities to utilise food aid in a way that is favourable to the economy and is related to development. Limiting cash transfers to Mozambique may prevent the utilisation of food aid in this positive way. It must, however, be taken into account that cash transfers to Mozambique are avoided because of the dangers related to corruption and the

absence of an advanced transfer system such as M-PESA – such threats and lack of technological innovation may in itself prevent the country from achieving economic prosperity and development.

The findings discussed in this section are intended to answer the research questions as well as to respond to the problem statement. This will be done explicitly in the following section.

### **8.3. Answering the research questions**

The following section will provide answers to the primary research question as well as the two secondary research questions on the basis of the findings of this study.

#### 8.3.1. Primary research question:

#### **What is the purported relationship between food aid and food security in sub-Saharan Africa?**

When answering this research question it is important to consider the use of the term '*purported*'. It refers to something that appears to be a certain way, or that is stated to be true. The word is appropriate, as this thesis is based on desktop research as well as expert opinions of survey participants, some of whom have first-hand experience of relevant circumstances. Thus, the findings regarding the relationship between food aid and food security are not necessarily definitive or empirical.

The current circumstances in sub-Saharan Africa means that food aid is needed to overcome the immediate threat of hunger. This condition may be the result of the lack of development of other methods to do so. The extent to which food aid contributes to the creation of these threatening circumstances cannot be determined with certainty, but this study has shown that there is a high possibility of the presumably humanitarian practice of providing food aid preventing sub-Saharan recipients from escaping the circumstances that lead to them requiring food aid in the first place. The relationship between food aid and hunger is different from the relationship between food aid and food security. Although food aid does provide immediate relief from hunger, this study finds that it does not necessarily provide relief from food insecurity, despite the common assumption that it does.

By unpacking the concept of food security and analysing its four components, this study is able to consider the relationship between food aid and food security in a comprehensive way. It found that food aid, specifically emergency food aid, provides a 'quick fix' and temporary relief from hunger, but does not address all the components required for food security to be achieved. The absence of hunger is only a single consequence of food security. The temporal scale on which food security is evaluated is much longer than the timeframe of the relief provided by emergency food aid. In direct response to the primary research question, this thesis concludes that food aid does not seem to promote food security.

As a result of circumstantial factors, this study cannot explicitly prove that food aid has a negative relation to food security, but through case study analysis and examination of extensive research on the topic, it finds that the common assumption that *increased food aid is directly related to increased food security* is not correct.

The purported relationship between food aid and food security is defined by its consequences. In the light of the research and findings of this thesis it may be conclusively stated that food aid does not increase food security and has the potential to inhibit the capability of recipients to escape food insecurity. Key to this conclusion is the distinction between hunger and food security, as well as recognition of the longer temporal element according to which food security is evaluated.

### 8.3.2. Secondary research questions:

#### **What are the main arguments presented in the debate regarding the positive or negative relationship between food aid and food security?**

The main arguments presented in the debate regarding the positive or negative relationship between food aid and food security were identified at the beginning of this thesis and incorporated into the framework according to which the case studies were conducted. The arguments revolve around targeting, development, disincentives and dependency. Employing the theoretical tool of theories of dependency, extensive consideration is given to the arguments related to dependency. These arguments are divided, according to the theories of dependency, into arguments of *negative dependency*, *positive dependency* and *denial of dependency*. The six arguments stating that food aid creates negative dependency are as follows: (1) Food aid creates disincentives; (2) Food aid has a negative effect on prices; (3) Food aid leads to the distortion of safety nets and increased risk taking within recipient countries; (4) Food aid poses a moral hazard to recipients; (5) Food aid increases the risk of food being used as a weapon; (6) Food aid increases the likelihood of bad governance. Arguments stating that dependency induced by food aid is *positive dependency* are the following: (1) Food aid provides access to food; (2) Food aid increases nutrition in recipient countries; (3) Food aid aids the development of recipient markets; (4) Food aid stimulates development and economic growth in recipient countries. In neither of the case studies were any arguments identified denying that food aid may potentially create dependency.

#### **How valid are the arguments presented in the debate, regarding the relationship between food aid and food security in the cases of Kenya and Mozambique?**

In the second of the two chapters of which each case study is comprised, the validity of arguments presented in the debate on the relationship between food aid and food security is determined in the

specific contexts of Mozambique and Kenya respectively. With regards to the first argument it was determined that the detrimental consequences of weak targeting were present in both case studies and that targeting should and can be improved in both countries. The development of the M-PESA transfer service in Kenya proved to contribute positively towards appropriate targeting in that context. The importance of effective targeting is highlighted in this study and arguments alluding to this have been substantiated.

The second topic presented in arguments regarding the relationship between food aid and food security is development. This was found to be one of the main disparities between the two case study countries. In Mozambique food aid has not contributed significantly to development within the country. The country did not manage to foster development during a period that large amounts of food aid were received. In Kenya the situation is quite different. The country has developed significantly during the period that food aid was received. This establishes a correlation between food aid received and development in the country's context. As previously noted, the development was mainly concentrated within the economic sector – raising the possibility that the M-PESA cash transfer service may be responsible for this positive feature.

The third topic addressed is dependency. Applying the framework of theories of dependency, arguments on negative dependency, positive dependency and denial of dependency were examined. Overall arguments relating to negative dependency proved more valid than those on positive dependency or denial of dependency, considering the extent to which the arguments were realised in the case study countries. In both countries arguments related to *negative dependency*, stating that food aid dependency leads to disincentives and fosters bad governance, proved highly valid. Arguments on negative dependency stating that food aid dependency has a negative effect on prices, that it leads to the distortion of safety nets and increased risk taking, and that it poses a moral hazard have also been proven to be valid, but to a lesser extent. The only argument of negative dependency that is not valid in either of the case studies is that food aid leads to food being used as a weapon.

With regards to *positive dependency* the arguments stating that food aid improves access to food were found to be partially valid. Food aid provided in the case study countries is mainly emergency food aid. This type of food aid does improve access to food in recipient countries upon delivery, but these circumstances are not sustainable. There is no convincing evidence that food aid dependency improves nutrition in case study countries and because of the nature of the food aid received, the arguments stating that it aids the development of recipient markets were found invalid. Related to arguments of development, the claim that positive dependency stimulates development and economic growth in recipient countries proved to be valid in the context of Kenya, but no support for this argument was found in the context of Mozambique.

Neither of the case studies provided any evidence of arguments *denying dependency*. Nor were any grounds identified on which arguments of such a nature could be justified in the context of Mozambique or Kenya.

#### **8.4. Solving the research problem**

Many actors assist food-insecure areas by providing them with food aid in an attempt to increase their food security. However, some recipients of food aid remain food insecure and struggle to promote local development. As indicated in the problem statement, this calls into question the effectiveness of food aid in reducing food insecurity.

In addressing the problem statement of this thesis, the study concludes that the positive argument that food aid creates incentive for production and development is not valid in the two case studies. Much more likely to be realised are the negative arguments which state that food aid creates disincentives, that development promoted by food aid programmes is not sustainable, and that food aid fosters a sense of dependency that prevents recipients from escaping the cycle of food insecurity and underdevelopment.

Through extensive research and case study analyses, this thesis concludes that food aid is not directly related to food security. The situation in both case study countries is complex, however, as the type of food aid received is mainly emergency food aid. This means that it is provided during periods in which failed food aid provision may lead to starvation and/or destitution. In these circumstances, emergency food aid does provide immediate relief, but this condition is not sustainable. Dependence on food aid under such circumstances inhibits incentives and the ability of recipients to increase resilience and consequently become more food secure which would reduce the need for emergency food aid. To state that the provision of food aid should be halted is neither helpful nor realistic. In emergency circumstances, such as those threats to food security described in the case studies, food aid is required urgently. As seen when comparing the situation in Mozambique to that in Kenya with the influence of the M-PESA cash transfer system, the method of transfer, targeting and terms of provision can greatly influence the consequences of providing food aid.

Food aid provision should not be abandoned, but must no longer be understood as a method of increasing recipients' food security. Stability is the fourth component that must be satisfied for food security to be achieved, and it cannot be met by food aid provision (as it is currently being implemented). This study finds that food aid (especially emergency food aid) should be considered a necessary evil in some cases, but with it comes the responsibility of taking precautions to limit its debilitating and negative consequences. This in turn means that these consequences must be recognised and addressed. Factors referred to include bad governance, poverty, lack of resilience and conflict. Through addressing these issues, food aid-dependent countries, such as Kenya and

Mozambique, will become more capable of enhancing food insecurity and reducing dependence on food aid.

It must be acknowledged that the conclusions of this study are mainly based on correlations drawn between factors. Because of the possible influence of a multitude of unrelated factors, causation for findings cannot be decisively established in all contexts. Distinct trends in the vast body of research conducted, however, do allow the researcher to arrive at reliable conclusions and formulate comprehensive responses to the research questions and problem statement.

### **8.5. Further areas for exploration and recommendations for future research**

Emergency food aid is the main type of food aid provided in both case studies and thus the findings of this thesis are more specifically based on the provision of emergency food aid rather than on programme or project food aid. Given the circumstances under which emergency food aid is provided, its impact is often evaluated on a short-term or immediate temporal scale. This means that long-term consequences seem far removed from their actual cause (which is food aid provision). This thesis has attempted to draw and/or clarify the correlation between food aid provision, the consequences thereof, and the influence of these consequences on food security, allowing for greater awareness to develop among food aid donors and recipients. The findings of this study may thus assist in the development of more effective practices to address the root causes of food insecurity, and enable food aid-dependent countries to recognise their weaknesses in order to promote positive and sustainable development that will improve food security and reduce the necessity for, and dependency on, food aid.

This thesis did not anticipate that both case studies receive predominantly emergency food aid, and hence that the findings of this study would thus be based mainly on food aid of this nature. The lack of existing empirical evidence on the relationship between food aid and food security was also unforeseen. The limited amount of information available on the consequences and evaluation of food aid provision is also interesting. The lack of information and evidence on these topics did, however, make a contribution to the study, as their absence is just as telling as its existence would have been.

Within the case studies themselves, the researcher was surprised by the disparities within the countries. Specific reference must be made to the situation in Kenya. It is astounding how a country that is so economically prosperous and rapidly developing suffers such high levels of food insecurity. This situation is a clear indication of prioritisation of global concerns and external relations, over the internal and local concerns.

This study identified a lack of information on evaluation and monitoring of food aid targeting. Information regarding targeting should be gathered and reviewed in order to increase the effectiveness

of food aid provision and limit negative consequences. As this study mainly considers emergency food aid, it is recommended that research be conducted focussing specifically on programme and project food aid. Comparison of circumstances related to each of these types of food aid may aid the development of a more beneficial and less debilitating method of food aid provision.

In practice, rather than relying on food aid, greater consideration should be given to the root causes of food insecurity. Resilience against threats to food security, as identified in this study, must be improved. Long-term effects and influence of development programmes implemented by donors should also be monitored. Such programmes should be made more sustainable through empowering recipient communities to continue or build upon/expand these programmes once donors withdraw their inputs. There is a lack of, and thus an opportunity for, empirical studies and evaluations of the long-term effects of food aid on recipient countries. A comprehensive understanding of these consequences will allow for more sustainable interventions and minimisation of negative impacts.

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## Tables

### Table 2.1.

Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2018a. *FAO Cereal Supply and Demand Brief*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.fao.org/worldfoodsituation/csdb/en/> [Accessed on 7 April 2018].

### Table 2.2.

World Food Programme, 2018b. *Contributions to WFP in 2017 | WFP | United Nations World Food Programme - Fighting Hunger Worldwide*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.wfp.org/funding/year/2017> [Accessed on 20 May 2018].

## Figures

### Figure 2.1.

Global Hunger Index. 2018. *2018 Global Hunger Index Results - Global, Regional, and National Trends - Global Hunger Index - Official Website of the Peer-Reviewed Publication*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.globalhungerindex.org/results/> [Accessed on 17 September 2018].

### Figure 5.1.

IATI. 2019. *Mozambique - IATI Registry*. [Online] Available at: <https://iatiregistry.org/dataset/afdb-mozambique> [Accessed on 18 February 2019].

### Figure 6.1.

UNDP. 2018d. *Human Development Index (HDI)*. [Online] Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi> [Accessed on 17 September 2018].

### Figure 6.2.

ISS Africa. 2018. *Food security under threat in Kenya - ISS Africa*. [Online] Available at: <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/food-security-under-threat-in-kenya> [Accessed on 7 January 2019].

### Figure 7.1.

IATI. 2019a. *Kenya - IATI Registry*. [Online] Available at: <https://iatiregistry.org/dataset/afdb-kenya> [Accessed on 24 November 2019].

## **Interviews**

Interview Respondent 1. 2018. 'Interview with respondent 1'. Non-governmental organisation. Skype. 1 October.

Interview Respondent 2. 2018. 'Interview with respondent 2'. International research and consultancy organisation. Skype. 5 September.

Interview Respondent 3. 2019. 'Interview with respondent 3'. Civil Society. Skype. 1 March.

Interview Respondent 4. 2019. 'Interview with respondent 4'. Non-governmental organisation. Skype. 1 March.

Interview Respondent 5. 2019. 'Interview with respondent 5'. Intergovernmental organisation. Skype. 2 April.



## Ethical Clearance: Notice of Approval

REC Humanities

25 June 2018

Project number: 7064

Project Title: Curse or Cure? Food aid and food security in sub-Saharan Africa.

Dear Miss Landi Ehlers

Your REC Humanities New Application Form submitted on **31 May 2018** was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities.

Please note the following for your approved submission:

### Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
25 June 2018	24 June 2021

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

**If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.**

Please use your SU project number (7064) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

### FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)

### Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Research Protocol/Proposal	L. Ehlers MA Research Proposal	23/04/2018	1
Data collection tool	interview guideline	25/04/2018	1
Informed Consent Form	consent to participate in research	30/05/2018	2
Informed Consent Form	consent to participate in research	30/05/2018	2