PROTRACTED CONFLICT AND FOOD INSECURITY IN AFRICA: CASE STUDIES OF DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO AND SOMALIA

by

Natalie Zarb
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Committee:

_____ Chair of Committee
_for Monika Wohlfeld_

_for Derek Lutterbeck_

_for Sandra Cheldelin_

_____ Graduate Program Coordinator

_____ Director, School for Conflict
_for Andrea Bartoli_ Analysis and Resolution

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Fairfax, VA
University of Malta
Valletta, Malta

Protracted Conflict And Food Insecurity In Africa: Case Studies Of Democratic Republic Of The Congo And Somalia

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science at George Mason University, and the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Malta

By

Natalie Zarb
Bachelor of Arts
University of Western Ontario, 2010

Director: Monika Wohlfeld, Professor
Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies

Fall Semester 2011
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

# DEDICATION

Dedicated to my parents and brother. Without your support this would not have been possible.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ADFL:  Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberations of Congo-Zaire
CAP: Consolidated Appeal Process
FFW: Cash for Work
CSB: Corn-Soya Blend
DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECHO: Humanitarian Aid Department of the European Commission
FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FFA: Food for Assets
FFT: Food for Training
FFW: Food for Work
FNI: Forces Nationalistes et Intégrationalistes
FSNAU: Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
GIEWS: Global Information and Early Warning Systems
IFPRI: International Food Policy Research Institute
IDP: Internally Displaced Person
IMF: International Monetary Fund
IO: International Organisation
IRC: International Rescue Committee
JMC:  Joint Military Commission
LDC: Least Developed Country
MDG: Millennium Development Goal
MONUC: United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO: United Nations Organization, Stabilization Mission in the Democratic
Republic of the Congo
NGO: Non-governmental Organization
ODA: Official Development Assistance
PRRO: Protracted Relief and Recovery Operation
SACB: Somalia Aid Coordination Body
SNA: Somalia National Alliance
SNM: Somali National Movement
TNG: Transitional National Government
TSF: Targeted Supplementary Feeding
UN: United Nations
UNITA: National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

UNHCR:  United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNOSOM: United Nations Operation in Somalia
USAID: United States Agency for International Development
USD: United States Dollar
WFP: World Food Programme
WHO: World Health Organization

# ABSTRACT

PROTRACTED CONFLICT AND FOOD INSECURITY IN AFRICA: CASE STUDIES OF DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO AND SOMALIA

Natalie Zarb, MS, MA

George Mason University, 2011

Thesis Director: Dr. Monika Wohlfeld

Food insecurity exists when people do not have adequate physical, social or economic access to food. This impacts millions of lives every day and often times countries that are food insecure have populations that are more likely to live below the international poverty line. Although the international community is committed to halving the proportion of people suffering from malnutrition from 1990-2015, the efforts to accomplish this goal have been limited and is still significantly far away from its target. Africa suffers immensely from food insecurity; the prevalence of conflict makes it difficult to address the problem because the violence results in fragmented communities, instability, and individuals leaving their homes to find alternate food solutions. This in turn results in lowered food production due to an inability to cultivate the land because it is either too unsafe to do so or because the land has been abandoned. Subsequently, due to lowered food production African countries' economies are negatively impacted

because agriculture accounts for a large proportion of their gross domestic product and employment. As a result of a lowered production rate, the dependence on international aid increases.

In some cases, violence and food insecurity have become commonplace and organisations have failed to resolve the issue for decades. If the goal to reduce and eventually eradicate global hunger is to be achieved, it is necessary that food insecurity and conflict are properly dealt with. Humanitarian organisations must go beyond short-term response mechanisms and implement long-term measures as well. Even though some countries may have achieved positive peace after conflict has ceased, it is not guaranteed that food security will result and that future grievances may not be expressed. It is imperative that organisations commit to assisting countries to achieve stability, transparent governments, and productive economies so as to avoid future occurrences of food insecurity and conflict.

This study assesses the relationship between protracted conflict and food security in Africa. By assessing the factors that contribute to conflict and weaken a country's food security, it was found that there is a direct correlation between the two factors however it is not guaranteed that food insecurity will result in conflict. The study analyses the response mechanisms that have been adopted by international organisations and evaluates their effectiveness at addressing the immediate problems and long-term consequences associated with conflict and insecurity. The Democratic Republic of the Congo and

Somalia are case studies that are used to examine the impacts of food security as a result of conflict. Both countries demonstrate how a lack of functioning, transparent government and prevalence of violence throughout the country severely impacts people's lives and accessibility to food which results in mass displacement. This makes it extremely difficult for humanitarian organisations to implement response mechanisms to improve the livelihoods of individuals, and while immediate food aid is helpful, it is only a temporary response.

In order to properly address protracted conflict and food insecurity, it is necessary that humanitarian organisations develop response mechanisms that address immediate food needs as well as help to reduce the prevalence of conflict. In addition, it has proven to be beneficial to take into consideration other factors that are impacted as a result of conflict and food insecurity; addressing gender needs as well as ensuring access to education have both proven to significantly improve individuals' livelihoods. Ensuring that these needs are addressed will help reduce the prevalence of food insecurity and conflict in the world and also help to work towards the other Millennium Development Goals to improve the lives of the world's poorest. This requires long-term commitment on the part of international organisations that are willing to ensure that the symptoms that result in protracted conflict and food insecurity are properly dealt with. Otherwise, there lies the risk of cyclical outbreaks of violence and food insecurity which negatively impacts individuals' livelihoods and moves further away from achieving the goal of eradicating world hunger.

# 1.  INTRODUCTION

**Background of the Study**

The prevalence of poverty and malnutrition in the world severely impacts the lives of millions of people every day. The 2010 statistic from the Food and Agriculture Organisation, (FAO), states that 925 million people were undernourished that year representing a decline and thus an improvement from the previous year's 1, 023 million. Despite the slight reduction in the number of malnourished individuals in the world, the severity of the issue remains. The countries that are impacted by food security problems are some of the poorest and conflict-ridden in the world. Research has shown that food security – the availability, access to, and affordability of food – is severely affected in so far as violent conflict affects all key aspects of food consumption: rural labour supplies are disrupted as peasants are conscripted into armies, farms and agriculture infrastructure are destroyed, land is mined and social cohesion is weakened as families and communities not only lose members but are also turned against one another.[1] In addition, environmental conditions often impede the ability for food production to take place thus

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[1] Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Introduction: The Causes and Costs of War in Africa: From Liberation Struggles to the 'War on Terror,'" in *The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs*, eds. Alfred Nhema and Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, (Oxford: James Currey Ltd., 2008), 24.

worsening the state of food security and forcing individuals to leave their homes in order to seek other available food resources. The complexity of food insecurity contributes to the difficulty of resolving the problem. Often times, governments of food insecure countries are unable to, or care not to, address the issue. This is coupled with the fact that many of these countries have authoritarian, militant or sometimes non-existent governments which makes it extremely difficult for international organisations to intervene. This impedes the ability to improve livelihoods for the majority of the population who lack a political voice in the decisions being made on their behalf thus prolonging the problem.

This study intends to analyse the factors that contribute to food insecurity and protracted conflict and how these two factors are related. Although conflicts tend to create or exacerbate conditions of food insecurity, the opposite is not necessarily true; however, conflicts related to food insecurity tend to become cyclical in nature. This is because once a conflict commences, individuals are often forced to leave their homes to seek refuge either within the country in another region not affected by the conflict thus becoming an internally displaced person, (IDP), or in a nearby country. Whilst individuals are away from their homes as a result of conflicts, it is very likely that their land be sold, mined or scorched, among other things, thus destroying any opportunity for food production. This adds to food insecurity while at the same time perpetuating grievances among these individuals which may lead to another conflict taking place and thus continuing the cycle of protracted conflict and food insecurity.

Food security is an extremely important issue that urgently needs international attention. Countries suffering from food insecurity, in addition to being exposed to olent conflicts, are losing innocent lives and food security deaths outnumber war deaths by a factor of at least 5 to 1.[2] The international community has committed to halving hunger in the world by 2015 as part of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. It is difficult to make progress on this goal in particular especially when conflict plays a prevalent role in many countries exposed to food insecurity. Moreover, conflict is responsible for disrupting individuals' lives because often times they are forced to leave their homes in large numbers to find safety; the overcrowding and unsanitary conditions of refugee centres may also result in the outbreak of preventable diseases thus leading to more lives lost. The overall disruption that is caused by conflict and food insecurity prohibits any progress to be made in the other Millennium Development Goals which aim to improve universal education, health, and combat diseases. Specifically speaking, in sub-Saharan Africa, 239 million people are undernourished; this area has also demonstrated the least amount of improvement in resolving its food security problem and is also one of the most conflict-ridden regions in the world. Presently, millions of people are exposed to the dangers of violence as a result of militant regimes and rebel fighting groups who compete for what little resources are available in these countries, while at the same time fighting for their own survival in search of enough food to keep themselves alive. The severity of the issue begs the international community's involvement to not

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[2] Walter P. Falcon and Rosamond L. Naylor, "Rethinking Food Security for the Twenty-First Century," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 87 (2005): 1114.

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just stop the conflicts taking place and assist in bringing food aid to countries that are suffering from food insecurity but to also set long-term goals to eradicate the prevalence of hunger and poverty worldwide. This in turn will likely help countries make progress towards the remaining Millennium Development Goals. This study intends to identify factors that contribute to food insecurity in relation to conflict and how individuals' lives are negatively impacted as a result. It examines factors that contribute to perpetuating the violence and prolonging food insecurity. In addition, response mechanisms and reforms are analysed to determine how international organisations have addressed this problem and how they have contributed to improving food insecurity or not.

**Statement of the Problem**

Considering that sub-Saharan Africa accounts for more than a quarter of the world's total undernourished individuals, coupled with the fact that there exists a prevalence of conflicts within the region, what is the relationship between food security and protracted conflict within the region? Extensive research has been conducted on the roots of African conflicts (Sikod, 2008; FAO, 2003, 2010; Lecoutere, et al, 2009; Flores et al 2005) and food insecurity (Berck and Bigman, 1993; Runge, 2003; Kracht 2000; IFPRI, 2010) and the measures that have been taken to address the issue. While there is much research on addressing food insecurity, the information and application of reforms is highly theoretical and lacks evidence of a successful implementation of a response mechanism that addresses both food security and protracted conflict in the short and long-term. Even though initiatives are taken to address food security problems in

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developing countries, it is not unusual that the projects are poorly monitored and are not

scaled up enough to achieve national impact.[3] Therefore, the initiatives are often

ineffective in addressing the overall food security problem in the country because it is

incapable of helping everyone in need.  The FAO states that it is imperative that

responses to protracted conflict take into consideration gender issues which have largely

been ignored[4] in developing mechanisms to address food insecurity in protracted

conflicts. Recognising the different needs of men and women impacted by protracted

conflict would require a sound analysis which, in the past, has not been done thus failing

to provide any successful long-term relief to beneficiaries.


**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between food security and

protracted conflict in Africa. Secondly, it seeks to understand the response mechanisms

that were introduced by international organizations and which initiatives were best suited

to address the problem in both the short and long-term. Thirdly, this study analyses how

food insecurity and protracted conflict negatively impacted certain groups of individuals,

specifically women and children and the importance of developing response mechanisms

that catered to these groups to ensure that the problem was properly addressed. Lastly,

two case studies were used to demonstrate how food security and protracted conflict were

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[3] IFPRI, 2010, *Halving Hunger: Meeting the First Millennium Development Goal Through Business as Unusual,* Rome, 10.
[4] FAO, 2010, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Addressing Food Insecurity in Protracted Crises,* Rome, 22.

prevalent in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia which explored how individuals' lives were impacted and the efforts of the international community to address the problem.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo was chosen as a case study because as a mineral-rich country, its resources should contribute to the overall wealth of the country but the political fragmentation and widespread distribution of resources has led to the formation of several informal governance structures[5] thus making it a resource cursed country that lacks stability and control. Violence and conflict within the country have forced people to leave their homes and abandon their land where food production may have taken place thus resulting in finding other food alternatives.

Somalia was studied because it is one of the poorest countries in the world that has not had a functioning central government for nearly two decades and has been plagued with armed conflict. Environmental conditions, such as drought, contribute to its food insecurity because it limits food production and militant groups such as al-Shabaab have denied access to international humanitarian organizations bringing aid to areas under their control.[6] The severity and currentness of the issue demonstrate the importance and necessity of the international community to eradicate food insecurity and protracted conflicts in this country.

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[5] Roberto Beneduce, Luca Jourdan, Timothy Raemaekers and Koen Vlassenroot, "Violence With a Purpose: Exploring the Functions and Meaning of Violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," (*Intervention,* 2006): 3.
[6] WFP, 2011, *Tackling Hunger and Food Insecurity in Somalia,* Somalia Emergency Operation 20081, Rome, 1.

**Significance of the Study**

The significance of this study offers insight to understanding the complexity of addressing food insecurity and the difficulty that is involved in reducing the number of malnourished individuals in the world especially with the prevalence of conflict within Africa. Moreover, the cyclical nature and spillover effect of conflicts contribute to the challenge of localising incidences of food security and conflict therefore adding to the challenge of making progress towards the first Millennium Goal of halving the proportion of people who suffer from hunger.

While the study will not create new knowledge because data was collected from existing studies, it will stress the importance of policies being flexible. This is the idea presented by Margarita Flores, Yasmeen Khwaja and Philip White who state that flexibility is one of the most important policies given that the factors contributing to food insecurity in the context of protracted conflicts are likely to change throughout the implementation of an initiative aimed at achieving positive peace and food security.[7] The results of the study will emphasise the increased importance of addressing food security needs in both the short and long-term which is an idea put forth by the FAO Twin-Track Approach that simultaneously addresses immediate food needs and long-term reforms.[8] It is crucial that international organisations work together to address food insecurity and

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[7] Margarita Flores, Yasmeen Khwarja and Philip White, "Food Security in Protracted Crises: Building More Effective Policy Frameworks," *Disasters* (2005, 29): S40.
[8] Deborah Cohen, "Achieving Food Security in Vulnerable Populations," *British Medical Journal* 331 (2005): 776.

protracted conflict because the issue requires multiple factions to be simultaneously addressed in order to improve affected areas.

Although non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are frequently involved in multiple initiatives which include tackling the root causes of poverty, hunger, disease, and suffering; advocating for human, racial, gender, economic and political rights; encouraging democratic institution building, conflict resolution practices, and fair electoral practices; and building sustainable agriculture, a healthy environment and the infrastructure of a civil society,[9] the efforts of neither humanitarian, human rights nor conflict resolution NGOs will be included in this study. Humanitarian NGOs primarily respond to natural and man-made disasters,[10] while human rights NGOs attempt to define and promote the basic rights of all people regardless of beliefs or background and to prevent political and economic repression.[11] Conflict resolution NGOs may be recruited to act as impartial intermediaries within the negotiation, working with opposing parties, facilitating negotiations and helping to uphold accepted solutions.[12] NGOs experience significant limitations that hinder their ability to successfully administer aid programmes especially in conflict-ridden countries. Assessing the effectiveness of NGOs in protracted conflict and food insecure regions goes beyond the scope of research for this study; while some literature exists, there is little specifically related to protracted conflict and food

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[9] Pamela Aall, Lt. Col. Daniel Miltenberger and Thomas G Weiss, *Guide to IGOs NGOs and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations,* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2000), 93.
[10] Ibid., 121.
[11] Ibid., 141.
[12] Ibid., 167.

insecurity. Subsequent research addressing the impacts of NGO initiatives related this

problem would be beneficial to help develop programmes along with international

organisations of how best to improve the livelihoods of millions of people exposed to

violence and malnutrition. In addition, the fact that NGOs maintain a strict policy of

neutrality, lack advanced security means and have no obligations to enter, remain or pull

out of a situation[13] makes it difficult to effectively assess the initiatives implemented by

non-governmental organisations and the impacts that they have in addressing conflict-

ridden and food insecure regions.  As this study will demonstrate, it is imperative that in

order to successfully rectify the repercussions of protracted conflict that impact food

security, response mechanisms must be maintained long after conflict has ceased. With

no obligation to commit to long-term relief, NGOs may hinder the success of relief

operations which is why their efforts will not specifically be taken into consideration

when comparing response mechanisms that have been implemented to protracted conflict

and food insecure regions.


 **Research Questions**

The following are research questions that are addressed to determine what,

whether or not there is a relationship between food insecurity and protracted conflict and

Africa:

1. If there is a relationship between food security and conflict, what are the

   contributing factors?

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[13] Ibid., 110.

2. What steps have international organisations (IOs) taken to address protracted conflict and food insecurity, how can this problem be better addressed and what steps must they adopt to eradicate conflict and hunger altogether?

To answer these questions, information was focused to within Africa because of the prevalence of both violence and food insecurity within many of its countries. Information was gathered to understand historical contexts of countries involved in food insecurity to determine the factors that led certain countries to mass numbers of malnutrition, starvation and poverty. In order to determine what methods were being used to address both food insecurity and protracted conflict, research was conducted on international organisations predominantly involved in addressing humanitarian emergencies and the response tactics they adopted in order to diffuse the problem.

**Hypothesis**

There is a link between food security and protracted social conflict because conflict negatively impacts food security. By not addressing the factors that contribute to this issue, the problem will continue to prevail and force more people to suffer from undernourishment and starvation. The link is evident because countries that experience both food insecurity and conflict are characterized by long-lasting or recurring crises and are often limited or have little capacity to respond. This exacerbates food insecurity problems because appropriate responses that should be used differ from those required in

short-term crises or in non-crisis development contexts.[14] Moreover, the countries that

suffer from food insecurity tend to be some of the poorest in the world; therefore it is not

surprising that recent econometric work indicates that the presence of poverty is a key

determinant of whether or not a civil war will develop in a country.[15] Furthermore, the

relationship between food security and protracted social conflict will demonstrate how

conflicts can exacerbate food security problems which in turn may cause subsequent

conflicts to take place. The two factors are connected in such a way that makes it

necessary to address both food security and conflict simultaneously, otherwise it is likely

that the problem will prevail, if not worsen.

**Limitations**

The study has limitations because field research was not conducted by the author

in countries affected by food insecurity and protracted conflict because of the time

allotted to complete the study. As such, information is based on available data from

predominant researchers and organizations catering to this problem.

Secondly, while the study aims to understand food insecurity and protracted

conflict within Africa, it focuses on two countries specifically; therefore the

circumstances in other countries within the continent may vary but arguably much of the

factors that contribute to food insecurity and conflicts are similar.

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[14] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 1.
[15] Falcon and Naylor, 1115.

**Organization of the Study**

This research study is presented in eight chapters. Chapter One includes the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, significance of the study, research questions, hypothesis and limitations to the study. Chapter Two presents a review of literature pertaining to food security and protracted conflict and presents the current state of knowledge related to this issue. It provides a comparison of authors' different perspectives in response to the issue and outlines some of the main ideas explored throughout the study. Chapter Three presents an introduction to understanding food security and the initiatives that the global community has developed to address this serious problem. Moreover, it addresses the issue of the responsibility to protect and the right for countries to intervene in countries where human rights violations are taking place. Chapter Four analyses the relationship of food security and protracted conflict, the causes and impacts of conflict and how a cyclical pattern of conflict is likely to take place. In addition, it details the role that governments play and the negative impacts that both food insecurity and conflict has for women, children and internally displaced persons. Chapter Five identifies an array of response mechanisms that have been implemented by international humanitarian organisations and the advantages and disadvantages of each. Lastly, Chapter Six and Seven offer an in depth analysis of food insecurity and protracted conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia and the response mechanisms that were introduced in each country and whether or not they proved to be successful. The final chapter, Chapter Eight, provides a summary of the main findings and suggests areas for future research and development in an effort to

explore how food security and protracted conflict can be better addressed to improve the

livelihoods of millions of people.

# 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the rationale for conducting research on the relationship between food security and protracted conflict in Africa. Both food security and conflict are analysed to understand how one impacts the other and the importance of finding ways to address this serious issue that affects millions of people every day. The study sought to understand the efforts that have been made internationally to help eradicate and prevent future incidents of food insecurity and protracted conflict; it also analyses the challenges that have made it such a difficult problem to solve. The following literature review represents findings that are most applicable to understanding the relationship between food security and protracted conflict and the measures that have been implemented to address this problem.

Within the last three decades, the prevalence of food emergencies has risen; the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization states that the number of food emergencies has increased from an average of 15 a year in the 1980s to more than 30 since 2000 with the majority of crises reflecting continuous vulnerability rather than one-off crisis events.[16] Despite the fact that the international community, specifically the United Nations, is aware of the fact that food insecurity and conflicts are seriously affecting millions of lives each year, the efforts to improve the livelihoods of the 925

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[16] Colin Andrews and Margarita Flores, "Vulnerability to Hunger: Improving Food Crisis Responses in Fragile States," (*United Nations University, 2008)*: 1.

million malnourished individuals in the world has fallen short of the goal of halving

world hunger by 2015.[17]


**International Community and Human Security**

In order to eradicate problems of food insecurity, C. Ford Runge et al., argue that,

like ozone depletion and climate change, food security operates on a global scale and

must be considered in large part as a shared international responsibility.[18] As such,

without a dedicated international commitment to the problem, it is unlikely that it will be

resolved. Moreover, food security must be considered as part of a wider concept of

human security[19] and the international community must reconsider why it should

intervene in countries that do not uphold the universal human right to food and security

as outlined in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Despite a country's

sovereignty, food security problems and protracted conflicts are unlikely to stay within

one country's national boundaries due to spill over effects and an increased volume of

people seeking refugee status in neighbouring countries. Thus, these threats must be

recognised at both the national and global level. Therefore, where national governments

fail to protect its people, the international community must intervene. It is not enough for

the international community to stand by idly and wait to see how the emergency unfolds;

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[17] Prabhu Pingali, Luca Alinovi and Jacky Sutton, "Food Security in Complex Emergencies: Enhancing Food System Resilience," *Disasters* (2005, 29): S6.

[18] C. Ford Runge, Benjamin Senauer, Philip G. Pardey and Mark W. Rosegrant, *Ending Hunger in Our Lifetime: Food Security and Globalization* (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 103.

[19] Edward Clay and Olav Stokke eds., "Introduction: Food Aid and Human Security," in *Food Aid and Human Security,* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 17.

too often, the severity of the issue cannot be addressed with emergency response mechanisms that fail to address long-term needs, hence why the problem still persists today. Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun's theory of Responsibility to Protect redefines the right to intervene and evaluates issues from the point of view of those needing support and therefore changes the scope of how to address this humanitarian problem.

**Response Mechanisms**

There have been multiple initiatives introduced by humanitarian aid organizations in response to food security and protracted conflict. Often times there are varying perspectives on the effectiveness of aid distribution, specifically, the type of aid being delivered. Of particular interest is food aid which for some including the FAO, have stated can undermine local economies and damage local agricultural production.[20] This idea is seconded by Ellen Messer, Marc J. Cohen and Jashinta D'Costa who explain that food aid has been criticised as a component of asymmetric food flows that lower domestic food prices, discourage local production, contribute to rural poverty and crisis and delay livelihood recovery once emergencies subside.[21] Essentially, food aid is not a long-term solution and is ineffective at addressing many of the protracted conflicts impacting food security especially since, as was already mentioned, many of these crises

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[20] FAO, *State of Food Insecurity,* 32.
[21] Ellen Messer, Marc J. Cohen and Jashinta D'Costa, "Food From Peace: Breaking the Links Between Conflicts and Hunger," *Food, Agriculture and the Environment Discussion Paper,* 24 (1988): 30.

reflect continuous vulnerability rather than one-off events. As such, food aid may prove

to be advantageous to an unforeseen crisis, however, the fact remains that the majority of

conflicts have been occurring for much longer than can be addressed with emergency

response mechanisms. If and when food aid is used as a response mechanism, it should

be done so with the intention of it being temporary relief while local people reorganise

and restore livelihood security.[22] Messer et al. add that aid is often delivered without a

plan for when the aid-giver will leave[23] which therefore adds to the disrupted markets,

undermining of local economies and damaged agricultural production. However, others

such as Mark Duffield and John Prendergast state that food aid saves lives of many who

might otherwise starve in conflict situations.[24] It is a difficult decision to determine the

response mechanism that best suits the particular conflict impacting food security. This

problem is further challenged when countries receiving aid refuse to cooperate with

donor governments.


**Governments**

Despite the fact that most countries recognise food as a basic human right, it is not

certain that every country acknowledges this right to the same degree. In theory, one may

argue that the onset of a food crisis or outbreak of conflict indicates a clear opportunity

for the international community to exercise its responsibility to protect by providing some

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[22] Ibid., 32.
[23] Ibid., 32.
[24] Ibid., 30.

form of aid assistance. However, the willingness of donor governments to provide

assistance may be hindered when the recipient country spends more on the military

expenditure thus burdening the country's development.[25] In the past, aid has been

reduced or halted completely as a result of governments increasing its spending on arms.

This occurred in Ethiopia and Eritrea; British aid to Ethiopia was halved and that to

Eritrea was put on hold.[26] The decision was defended by then UK Secretary of State,

Clare Short who said "I do not believe that anyone in the UK believes we should be

providing long-term assistance to a country which is increasing its spending on arms each

year."[27] On the one hand, the decision can be supported because the United Kingdom was

not in favour of allowing the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments to purchase arms to

continue the conflict instead of improving the livelihoods of their citizens. On the other

hand, some may argue that it is wrong to punish those who suffer at the hands of an

irresponsible government that fails to address the human rights and needs of its people.

As such, the combination of untimely response and insufficient amount of humanitarian

aid coupled with inefficient governments within Africa all contribute to the cyclical

nature of protracted conflicts and food insecurity.

**Protracted Conflicts as a Cycle**

There are multiple factors that cause, as well as contribute, to the cyclical nature

of conflicts. Uwe Kracht posits that the political and socio-economic nature involving

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[25] FAO, 2003, *Armed Conflicts and Food Security,* Rome, FAO, 4.
[26] Philip White, "War and Food Security in Eritrea and Ethiopia 1998-2000," *Disasters* (2005, 29): S104.
[27] Ibid., S105.

discrimination against certain population groups along racial, ethnic religious and other ethnic lines[28] are significant factors that cause conflict. Alternatively, Deborah Cohen, opposes arguments that cite ethnic or religious tension for reasons that cause conflict because she feels they do not hold up well under cross-sectional scrutiny.[29] She instead presents the argument of Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler which states that conflict is caused by the lack of income opportunities in agriculture or in the formal labour market;[30] others such as James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin suggest that poverty and hunger may be a proxy for bad government and that governance is the causal variable that results in the onset of conflict.[31] Slobodanka B. Teodosijevic combines the aforementioned arguments and states that the causes and consequences of conflicts are often a complex mix of inter-linked economic, environmental, political, cultural and religious factors.[32] Arguably, some factors may play a more significant role than others but the combination of so many variables such as race, ethnicity, lack of income opportunities in agriculture and poor governance, among others, compound together and add to the weakening of the state and exacerbate the likeness of a conflict occurring. The cyclical nature of conflict is demonstrated by using Collier and Hoeffler's argument about conflicts occurring because of the lack of income opportunities in agriculture markets. Agriculture accounts for a third of protracted crisis countries' gross domestic

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[28] Uwe Kracht, "Humanitarian Crises: Food Security and Conflict Prevention," in *Food Aid and Human Security,"* eds. Edward Clay and Olav Stokke (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 134.
[29] Falcon and Naylor, 1115.
[30] Falcon and Naylor, 1115.
[31] Ibid., 1115.
[32] FAO, *Armed Conflicts,* 3.

product and two-thirds of their employment.[33] As such, armed conflicts destroy

agriculture and its resource base land irrigation works, rural markets, means of transport

and other infrastructure.[34] Therefore, while conflicts may start because of lack of income

opportunities in agricultural markets, armed conflicts exacerbate the problem by reducing

available opportunities in this sector which aggravates grievances and results in the onset

of conflict once again. In order to resolve this issue, humanitarian organisations must

reassess their allotment of aid especially since, in 2009, only 4 percent of total

commitments globally were allocated for agricultural use.[35] Despite the initiatives that are

implemented by international humanitarian aid organisations, if food security problems

and protracted conflict are to be resolved, a different approach is needed that focuses

more on long-term solutions to prevent future outbreaks of conflict and eradicate the

problem of malnourishment in the world.

**Improving Livelihoods**

The International Food Policy Research Institute, (IFPRI), states that the first step

in reducing poverty and hunger in developing countries is to invest in agriculture and

rural development.[36] Moreover, to address current and future threats to food security,

Shenggen Fan and Joanna Brzeska recommend a comprehensive agenda that incorporates

the important roles played by emerging countries both internally, by strengthening their

own food security, and externally by promoting trade investment and aid linkages along

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[33] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 1.
[34] Kracht, 125.
[35] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 28.
[36] IFPRI, *Halving Hunger,* 20.

knowledge exchanges.[37] This is significant because, as Simon Levine and Claire Chastre

point out, within the African Great Lakes region, in the past, responses were often

implemented without a proper analysis of the problem, instead relying on untested

assumptions.[38] Without proper analysis of the factors that have contributed to the

protracted conflict and food insecurity situation, it is no wonder that progress has been

limited in resolving this problem. In order to ensure that the problem is addressed

effectively, the FAO states that livelihood assessments should be undertaken early in all

crises incorporating not only an assessment of basic life-saving needs but also an

assessment of the causes of longer-term vulnerability to food insecurity for all groups.[39]

This assessment will help understand both short-term and long term needs. Margarita

Flores insists that,

> Policy frameworks' focus must promote immediate and longer-term food security
> but policy frameworks must also provide a more nuanced specification of how
> objectives for availability, access and stability relate to each other in the short and
> longer term and how these aims are influenced by, or linked to, other goals. These
> include protecting or promoting livelihoods, combating HIV/AIDS and other
> major epidemics, assisting refugees and displaced persons, reducing chronic
> poverty, promoting peace or combating terrorism.[40]

The complexity of food security and protracted conflicts makes it very difficult to apply

the aforementioned policy strategy. However, the interconnectedness of multiple factors

such as disease, displaced persons, poverty and terrorism must be taken into

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[37] IFPRI, 2010, *The Role of Emerging Countries in Global Food Security.* Washington,
DC: International Food Policy Reserach Institute, 3.
[38] Simon Levine and Claire Chastre, "Missing the Point: An Analysis of Food Security,"
*Humanitarian Practice Network* 47 (2004): 19.
[39] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 21.
[40] Flores et al., S40.

consideration when developing response mechanisms. In addition, it is equally important

for the policies of food security to be flexible, efficient, and managed as close as possible

to those in need[41] because the fluidity of armed conflict and protracted conflicts will

result in certain factors at certain times requiring more attention than others. Policies that

fail to adapt to the challenges that may occur during a protracted conflict will be

ineffective at addressing the most pressing needs. Case studies are used in this study to

assess the policies implemented by humanitarian organisations and the impacts they had

within their respective countries.

**Case Studies: Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia**

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Somalia have both suffered

from reoccurring conflicts. Discontent with both countries governments led to the

formation of rebel movements who gathered to expel the ruling parties. Although both

countries have similar histories related to recurring conflict, the factors that have resulted

in their state of food insecurity developed in very different ways. The DRC has an

abundance of natural resources that are widely distributed throughout the country which

makes it difficult to monitor and, as such, many non-government forces have taken

control of these resources and prolonged the conflict in the country. Humanitarian

organisations have assisted the DRC with a variety of response mechanisms including

food assistance, vaccines, cash for work, training and education. While the programmes

are beneficial, they require a response that directly addresses violence in the country.

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[41] Ibid., S45.

Ulloa et al, emphasise the importance of security being the first entry point of long-term reform and recovery because the international community has been unable to bring war in the Kivus to a stop and has not dealt with armed groups who switch allegiances in order to keep control of the natural resources.[42] Rehabilitation of the DRC will require the international community ensure food insecurity is addressed while at the same time ensuring other sectors, specifically the economy is less susceptible to adverse shocks due to overconcentration in one sector, such as mining.

Somalia's authoritarian government was overthrown by rebel groups which resulted in chaos within the country due to clans competing for resources that had previously been controlled by the Barre regime. The instability of the country worsened due to the lack of a functioning governing body. Moreover, the concentration of employment in the agricultural sector made the economy susceptible to shocks especially when countries, such as Saudi Arabia, imposed bans on livestock. The international community has made efforts to address both the lack of government situation and the economy. Other efforts have focused on the improvement of health and nutrition as well as education. However, despite any previous attempts to address conflict and food insecurity in Somalia, the current situation has unfolded into one of the largest food emergencies in 50 years and requires the assistance of the international community in order to improve the livelihoods of millions of people. At this time it is very difficult to introduce long-term mechanisms that intend to rebuild communities especially when so

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[42] Alfie Ulloa, Felipe Katz and Nicole Kekah, *Democratic Republic of the Congo: A Study of Binding Constraints,* 2009, 243.

many individuals have left their homes to look for food elsewhere. Somalia represents a devastating case of food insecurity and protracted conflict which can hopefully be resolved by humanitarian aid organisations committed to implementing and monitoring a flexible response mechanism that prevents future outbreaks of food crisis emergencies in the region and working toward eradicating global hunger.  Although literature encourages response mechanisms to be flexible and address short and long-term needs simultaneously, there are still some factors that have not been thoroughly addressed when developing programmes to address conflict and food insecurity. The areas that have been overlooked weaken the overall success of response mechanisms and by including these missing factors, it is arguable that the success of reforms addressing food security and protracted conflict would be more successful.

**Gaps**

In order to properly reduce the number of hungry people in the world and the prevalence of conflict, the international community must cooperatively demonstrate its dedication to the cause. There are still some gaps in addressing food security and protracted conflict. One of them is the fact that every situation is different, although similar characteristics may apply, it is necessary that each case be individually assessed and have its own response mechanism applied. Unfortunately this has not been done in the past; Levine and Chastre state that agencies use the same narrow range of responses

in nearly all circumstances... and they deal with symptoms and not causes[43] thus,

improving the situation on a short-term basis but failing to address long-term needs

which therefore contributes to the cyclical pattern that was previously explained.  One

area that is commonly overlooked when designing response mechanisms for food

security and protracted conflict is gender. Overlooking this extremely important factor

can be detrimental to the success of improving these situations. Conflicts impact gender

roles as women and children tend to suffer the most. Not only are women affected by the

violent nature of conflict, specifically the traumas of rape and violence, but as Elizabeth

Ojaba et al.  state, women are vulnerable to excessive workload and increased

responsibilities with men away fighting; guilt and the loss of self-esteem also comes from

the actual or perceived inability to care for their families.[44] When proper analysis is not

conducted to determine how individual livelihoods are impacted, it therefore weakens the

effectiveness of the response mechanism. Therefore, as the FAO explains, a gender

perspective can assist in the profiling and understanding of vulnerabilities and capacities,

assist humanitarian agencies channel resources to those most in need, and also assist in

the mobilization of a significant proportion of the population whose capacities are often

underestimated.[45] As the literature suggests, a gender perspective is lacking in the

development of response mechanisms for protracted conflicts impacting food security.

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[43] Levine and Chastre, 21.
[44] Elizabeth Ojaba, Anne Itto Leonardo and Margaret Itto Leonardo, "Food Aid in Complex Emergencies: Lessons from Sudan," *Social Policy and Administration* 36 (2001): 665.
[45] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 23.

Taking this into consideration and uniquely addressing other factors impacted are both important to improving areas that are impacted by this problem.

Literature related to food security and protracted conflict demonstrates the causational factors that impact these variables, their relationship to the problem and the mechanisms that have been implemented by humanitarian organizations to address this issue. The prevalence of conflict and hunger in the world demands international commitment to remedy the problem; it is the responsibility of the international community to intervene in countries where violations of human rights and needs are taking place. While intervention is necessary, the response mechanisms that are adopted must effectively address short and long-term needs by addressing the food scarcity issue but also investing in improving the livelihoods of those involved and preventing recurrences from happening. Moreover, it is necessary that when analyses are conducted, they are done so to specifically take into account particular groups of individuals such as women, to determine how to address their needs accurately, so as to improve their livelihoods. Using these ideas as a guiding context is central to this study as it outlines and emphasises the importance of understanding how certain responses can be useful to addressing the problem and others may be less so. More importantly, the responses must be flexible so as to address the most pertinent needs at any given time. The study will examine each of these things and also take a closer look at the two countries introduced in this chapter and outline the conflicts and how they were addressed by humanitarian aid organisations. If progress is to be made to halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger, this issue must be a priority to the international community.

# 3. FOOD INSECURITY IN THE WORLD

**Millennium Development Goals**

There is enough food in the world for every single person, yet, in 2009 the estimated number of undernourished individuals in the world was 1,023 million; this number has since declined to 925 million in 2010 which represents almost 16 percent of developing countries.[46] Moreover, two thirds of undernourished individuals live in seven countries: Bangladesh, China, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia and Pakistan; over 40 percent live in China and India alone.[47] The issue of food security is very serious and is internationally recognised as a concern that needs to be addressed. At the turn of the millennium, world leaders gathered to address world poverty and multiple deprivations;[48] together they pledged to set goals, known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), to improve the lives of the poorest people in the world within a fifteen year timeframe.[49] Eight goals were created that seek to end poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower

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[46] FAO, 2010, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Addressing Food Insecurity in Protracted Crises.* Rome, 4.

[47] Ibid., 10.

[48] "The Millennium Development Goals: Eight Goals for 2015," *United Nations Development Programme,* Accessed 15 July 2011, http://.beta.undp.org/undp/en/home/mdgoverview.html

[49] IFPRI, *Halving Hunger,* 10.

women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop global partnership for development. In particular, the first MDG targets poverty and hunger; it seeks to halve the percentage of people suffering from malnutrition between 1990 and 2015, and it also calls for halving the proportion of people living in poverty and achieving full employment.[50] The Millennium Development Goals present a challenge to the global community especially since the effort to meet the target has swerved off track[51] in that the number of hungry individuals has fluctuated up and down instead of gradually decreasing each year.

Due to the economic crisis, the number of undernourished people in the world increased sharply from 2006 to 2009, but it has since decreased slightly.[52] Currently, in order to reach the target of the first MDG, the number of undernourished needs to drop by 436 million from 2009-2015; this would mean a decline of 73 million per year.[53] Although the total number of undernourished in the world has failed to steadily decrease each year, some countries such as China, have managed to improve their rates of impoverished individuals. China has reduced its poverty by cutting the share of people living on less than $1.25 per day from 85 percent of the population in 1982 to 16 percent in 2005 which has subsequently reduced the number of poor people from 835 million to

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[50] Ibid., vii.
[51] Ibid., 1.
[52] FAO, 2010, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Addressing Food Insecurity in Protracted Crises.* Rome, FAO, 1.
[53] IFPRI, *Halving Hunger,* 1.

208 million people.[54] There are 578 million undernourished individuals in the Asia and Pacific region which represents approximately 64 percent of the global total. Even though the percentage of undernourished people in Asia and the Pacific region is so high, one must take into consideration the fact that this region includes two of the world's most populated countries. Despite this fact, Asia and the Pacific have made the most progress toward reaching the target of the first Millennium Development Goal. Addressing issues of food insecurity in the world will help governments address the other Millennium Development Goals; not only will it help eradicate hunger, it will help to reduce child mortality and improve maternal health. Most importantly it will help break the cycle of poverty.[55] Improving global food security will improve human health and nutrition through preventative measures designed to promote the welfare and productivity of people whose immunity to disease is strengthened by balanced and nutritious diets.[56] It is clear that food security is directly linked to the success of reaching the seven other Millennium Development Goals and countries must commit themselves to these goals and help others improve the livelihoods of the world's poorest.

**Food Security Defined**

Despite any marginal improvement that has been made toward the target of halving the number of hungry people in the world, even if the target is met in 2015 there

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[54] IFPRI, *The Role of Emerging Countries*, 1.
[55] Cohen, 777.
[56] Runge et al., 104.

will still be 600 million people in the developing world who will go hungry.[57] Ultimately,

the best solution would be to eliminate global hunger altogether and strive to ensure that

affected countries can develop a state of food security. Food insecurity exists when

people do not have adequate physical social or economic access to food;[58] at the World

Food Summit in 1996, food security was defined as a situation that exists 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.[59]

There are three variables that food security depends on: availability of food, access to

food and nutritious diet, and proper use of food to ensure maximal nutrition and

hygiene.[60] Other factors include both the national and international economic

environment, population growth, infrastructure, climate, the level of investment and

donor commitment, access to appropriate training and job skills, asset base, conflict,

access to pasture and the quality of diet and sanitation.[61] It is evident that food security

issues are complex and involve multiple factors that contribute to populations not having

enough access to food to meet their dietary requirements for a healthy life.

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[57] IFPRI, *Halving Hunger,* 1.
[58] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 8.
[59] Colin Andrews and Margarita Flores, "Vulnerability to Hunger: Improving Food Crisis Responses in Fragile States," (*United Nations University,* 2008): 2.
[60] Cohen, 775.
[61] Ibid., 775.

In particular, this study will focus on Africa and its vulnerability to food

insecurity as a result of protracted conflicts; other factors that hinder certain countries'

ability to maintain a reputable level
of food security will also be taken
into consideration. As Figure 3.2.1
indicates, Sub-Saharan Africa
accounts for 239 million
undernourished individuals;[62] nearly
half of the population lives below the
international poverty line, it has the
highest prevalence of
undernourishment and has shown
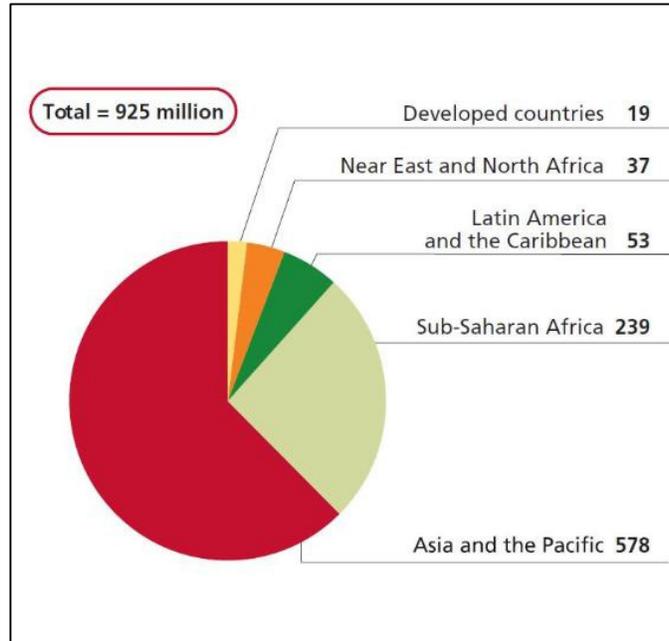


**Figure 3.2. 1 - Undernourishment in 2010, by region (millions)**
Source: FAO *The State of Food Insecurity*, 2010

little progress in reducing this is the

last 30 years.[63] There are many

internal factors that are directly related to conflict and food insecurity within a country.

These factors include: the nature of power on the continent, a winner takes all mentality,

zero-sum political games, centralization of power through manipulation of the

constitution, lack of accountability, lack of transparency, lack of rule of law, lack of

peaceful transitional mechanisms and absence of human rights, all of which are set

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[62] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 10.
[63] Fondo Sikod, "Conflicts and Implications for Poverty and Food Security Policies in Africa," in *The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs,* eds. Alfred Nhema and Paul Tiyambe Zaeleza (Oxford: James Currey Ltd. 2008), 200.

against poverty, low levels of education and a background of deep-rooted ethnic and religious mindsets.[64] Chapter Four identifies the nature of power in Africa and specifically assesses governance and how the lack of democratic governing bodies severely hinders the progress toward food security. Finding a solution for food insecurity is challenging on its own but where conflict is prevalent, the focus changes and different strategies must be adopted because it depends on protecting peace where conflict is imminent, achieving peace where conflict is active, and sustaining peace where conflict has ended.[65] Humanitarian organisations must commit to monitoring their efforts for a long period of time to ensure success in promoting an improved livelihood and hopefully moving toward reduced poverty within a country.

**Food Security and Poverty**

When a country is food insecure, it is more likely to have a population that lives below the international poverty line which is also directly correlated to the likeliness for conflict to take place. This is due to the fact that poor, food insecure individuals may, in desperate circumstances, perceive no option but to engage in conflict to secure their access to resources to future well-being.[66] Food insecurity deaths outnumber war deaths by a factor of at least 5 to 1 and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), estimates

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[64] Ibid., 201.
[65] Kracht, 143.
[66] P. Berck and D. Bigman, "The Multiple Dimensions of the World Food Problem," *Food Security and Food Inventories in Developing Countries,* eds., P. Berck and D. Bigman (Wallingford: CAB International), 71.

that 5 million children die from hunger-related causes per year.[67] The agriculture sector

accounts for an average of 32 percent of protracted crisis countries' gross domestic

product and employs an average of 62 percent in their populations;[68] as many as four out

of every five people make their living off the land.[69]  As such, climate disasters are

extremely detrimental to the livelihoods of many individuals because it damages the land

and can destroy food production capabilities therefore impacting the employment of the

vast majority of the population.

Individuals may be forced to struggle with the repercussions of droughts which can

sometimes turn into flooding and landslides; as such, individuals are forced from their

homes and displaced in other regions of the country or sometimes they may seek refuge

in other nearby countries in search of food. Without access to food and shelter, and

fearing for their lives every day, these countries turn to the international community to

help improve the situation by diffusing the conflict and bringing food aid and other

response mechanisms to address and prevent future outbreaks of food insecurity.


**Human Rights, Human Security, and the Responsibility to Protect**

Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that,

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the well-being of
himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and
necessary social services and the right to security in the event of unemployment

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[67] Falcon and Naylor, 1114.

[68] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 1 .

[69] Global Exchange, "WHO? The World Trade Organization," *Review of American Political Economy* 32 (2005): 164.

sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.[70]

The right to food is a basic human right and a basic human need; this right is recognised directly or indirectly by all countries in the world to some degree or another.[71] Evidently, despite this recognition, there are still 925 million individuals whose human right to food is violated daily because of countries failing to improve that situation; often times food scarcities are manifested in a number of ways, the most dramatic is when the entire food supply in a region is wiped out by drought, flood, war, political strife, or other disasters.[72] There is something fundamentally wrong with the fact that in most of the developed world, access to food resources is nowhere near as destitute as it is in less developed countries. Food is amply produced with large surpluses in the developed world yet one must wonder if the responsibility to ensure global food security should fall in the hands of developed countries to ensure that the human right to food is recognised worldwide.

While there is enough food in the world for every person, there is a clear imbalance in the way that food is distributed between the developed and developing world. The disproportionate distribution of food demonstrates a violation of the human right to food in countries experiencing food insecurity. Food security is less a problem of production as it is an issue of distribution and national governments' commitment to institute social and economic policies to ensure that adequate food resources reach the

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[70] "United Nations Declaration of Human Rights," *United Nations,* Accessed 12 June, 2011 http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a25
[71] FAO, 1998, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights 50th Anniversary*, Rome.
[72] Berck and Bigman, 2.

hungry.[73] Some believe that food security operates on a global scale and must be

considered in large part as a shared international responsibility.[74] From an international

standpoint, disagreement continues about whether there is a right of intervention, how

and when it should be exercised and under whose authority.[75] The discrepancy of whether

or not to intervene in countries not upholding human rights or experiencing conflict has

led some individuals to feel that the international community takes too long to respond[76]

thus prolonging preventable crises. History has demonstrated the horrific and gruesome

nature of humankind; examples of ethnic cleansing, war crimes and genocide have

flooded news headlines and yet the response or lack thereof by the international

community frequently comes under scrutiny. The mass atrocities that have occurred

within the last two decades have presented the international community with some of its

biggest challenges. Those opposed to intervention cite the Westphalian system of

international relations that guarantees state sovereignty. Article 2 Section 1 of the United

Nations Charter states that "a sovereign state is empowered by international law to

exercise exclusive and total jurisdiction within its territorial borders and states have the

corresponding duty not to intervene in its international affairs."[77]  As such, it is the

responsibility of the government to ensure that human rights within a country are

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[73] William D. Schanbacher, *The Politics of Food: The Global Conflict Between Food Security and Food Sovereignty,* (California: Praeger, 2010), 8.
[74] Runge et al., 103.
[75] Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, "The Responsibility to Protect," *Foreign Affairs* 81 (2002): 99.
[76] IFPRI, 2009, *Food and Nutrition Emergencies in East Africa: Political, Economic and Environmental Associations* ,Discussion Paper, Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute, 23.
[77] Evans and Sahnoun, 102.

recognised and that any violation is properly addressed. However, this argument is weakened due to the fact that while the state may exercise exclusive and total jurisdiction within its borders, it may actually be responsible for committing the violations of international law that require intervention from the international community.

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun counter sovereign exclusivity by encouraging the argument to be reframed; instead of considering the "right to intervene," the "responsibility to protect" is a better way of approaching the situation.[78] They argue that there are three advantages in considering intervention as protection: first it implies evaluating the issues from the point of the view of those needing support rather than those who may be considering intervention; second, this formula implies that the primary responsibility rests with the state concerned and third, the "responsibility to protect" is an umbrella concept enhancing not just the "responsibility to react" but the "responsibility to prevent" and the "responsibility to rebuild" as well.[79] Essentially this approach is preventative and proactive in avoiding crises and in the case that they do arise it places the civilians at the forefront of importance. The responsibility to protect is not a mechanism that comes without challenges. Even when it is clear that an intervention needs to take place, authorisation still needs to be approved by the United Nations Security Council. Interventions depend on the number of available personnel; at the end of 2004 there were more than 60 000 peace keepers deployed in 16 missions around the world; if international efforts stay on track to end several long-standing wars in Africa,

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[78] Evans and Sahnoun, 101.
[79] Ibid., 101.

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the number of peace keepers will soon substantially increase.[80] While the Security

Council is fundamental in approving interventions, it is limited by other factors including

political, financial and extensive military limitations.[81] Even though the effectiveness of

the Security Council has improved, its credibility has been damaged because it has not

always been equitable in its actions nor has it acted consistently or effectively in the face

of genocide or other atrocities.[82] If any improvement is to be made in less developed

countries that are conflict-ridden then it is imperative for the international community to

work together to ensure that intervention takes place in an efficient and timely manner.


The Report of the Secretary General's High-level Panel entitled *A More Secure*

*World: Our Shared Responsibility* states that the case for collective security today rests

on three basic pillars:

> Today's threats recognise no national boundaries, are connected, and must be
> addressed at the global and regional as well as national levels. No state, no matter
> how powerful, can by its own efforts alone make itself invulnerable to today's
> threats. And it cannot be assumed that every state will always be able, or willing,
> to meet its responsibility to protect its own peoples and not to harm its
> neighbours.[83]

The first pillar regarding no national boundaries is very important especially with respect

to intervention. Governments increasingly understand that they cannot afford to look the

other way because fundamental threats to their own security, whether from refugees or

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[80] United Nations, 2004, "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility," *Report of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change,"* 68.
[81] Ibid., 79.
[82] Ibid., 79.
[83] United Nations, "A More Secure World," 9.

terrorists, the potential destabilization of an entire region or a miasma of disease and crime, may well have their origins in conditions once thought to be within a state's exclusive domestic jurisdiction.[84] Although the Treaty of Westphalia guarantees state sovereignty of land and people, it is imperative that the international community recognises when this can be overstepped because the repercussions of conflict can spread and impact other neighbouring countries. In doing so, a more positive peace can be achieved in the world based on international cooperation to address conflicts and atrocities in countries where the government cannot uphold its responsibility to protect its citizens.

In order to make progress in accomplishing the Millennium Development Goals, it is imperative to address the problem of food security in the world. Progress made toward one goal will simultaneously result towards accomplishing the other seven goals. Yet, in order for this to be accomplished, it is imperative that the commitment made by the international community is long-term and dedicated to reducing the number of undernourished individuals in the world each year. Efforts toward achieving this goal have not been consistent, and the deadline of 2015 is fast approaching. Individuals depend on international support to help them improve their livelihoods and if the number of undernourished individuals is not reduced by 73 million people each year for the next four years then it is likely that faith in the international community will diminish. Evidently, certain factors challenge the ability to consistently reduce the number of

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[84] Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Security, Solidarity and Sovereignty: The Grand Themes of UN Reform," *The American Journal of International Law* 99 (2005): 625.

undernourished people in the world, such as climate and conflict but efforts must be made to improve the livelihoods of individuals affected by food insecurity in the short and long-term. Conflict is detrimental because it impacts agriculture; the fact that in many food insecure regions the majority of the population is employed in this sector exacerbates the problem which is why it is crucial that international community intervene to address this problem. The fact that every state is just as vulnerable to its neighbours' threats emphasises the importance of international cooperation and applying the theory of the responsibility to protect. Food insecurity and conflict are both very difficult to address but by maintaining its commitment, the international community may be able to achieve, if not surpass and eradicate, the goal to reduce the number of undernourished individuals in the world as well as the prevalence of conflict.

# 4. IMPACTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF FOOD SECURITY AND PROTRACTED CONFLICT

**Food security and protracted conflict – The Relationship**

      Conflict and food insecurity are directly related due to the fact that conflicts can result in a region or country becoming food insecure, however, the opposite is not always necessarily true. There is no guarantee that areas already suffering from food insecurity will eventually result in the outbreak of conflict.[85] The onset of conflict, although partially related to hunger, is connected to political and socio-economic factors involving discrimination against certain population groups along racial, ethnic and other lines. Individuals may experience discrimination specifically related to food security such as access to land, water and other productive resources which can become an underlying cause of conflict.[86] This chapter will analyse many of the factors that contribute to food insecurity as a result of conflict. It will also take into consideration how certain individuals, such as women and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), fare during conflicts and the negative consequences they are forced to deal with as a result.

      Countries in protracted conflict are characterised by long-lasting or recurring crises, extensive breakdown of livelihoods and very little constitutional capacity to

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[85] Kracht, 133.
[86] Ibid., 134.

respond.[87] Other definitions state that for a country to be considered in protracted crisis, it

must appear on the Global Information and Early Warning Systems (GIEWS) list for

eight years or more between 2001 and 2010 or twelve years or more between 1996 and

2010.[88] The context of each protracted crisis is unique although most share general

characteristics: institutional dysfunction or collapse; large scale displacement; and

disruption and dysfunction of livelihoods or a substantial part of them.[89] Therefore, when

trying to resolve protracted crises, it is necessary to conduct a thorough analysis of each

of the factors contributing to conflict so as to ensure the best response mechanism is

applied accordingly. Africa demonstrates how protracted conflicts severely impact food

security; protracted conflicts have deadly impacts and have caused more than half of the

continent's food crises in recent years [90] and most of Africa's recent famines have

occurred within the context of armed conflicts.[91] In addition, it is estimated that 20

percent of sub-Saharan Africa's population now live in countries that are at war with

themselves and low-intensity conflict has become endemic to other countries.[92] This

trend is not recent, since 1980 no less than 29 sub-Saharan African states have been at

war; as a result, there have been over 9.5 million refugees and hundreds of thousands of

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[87] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 1.
[88] Ibid., 12.
[89] Pingali et al., S14.
[90] IFPRI, 2009, *Food and Nutrition Emergencies,* 21.
[91] Ibid., 12.
[92] Luka Biong Deng, "Confronting Civil War: A Comparative Study of Household Assets Management in Southern Sudan," *IDS Discussion Paper 381* (England: Institute of Development Studies, 2002), 1.

people have been slaughtered.[93] Not only have many people lost their lives as a direct result of the conflicts but many have been uprooted from their homes and forced to flee in search of safety, and as a result, their access to food becomes threatened and many individuals starve.

**Causes and Consequences of Conflict**

There are many factors that can help explain the reasons that contribute to food insecurity and its relation to protracted armed conflict in Africa. The complex nature of protracted crises are influenced by factors such as the interaction between economic factors; geography and history are also found to impact the risk of war significantly.[94] In addition, many African countries are susceptible to natural disasters, such as droughts, which ultimately lead to flooding and thus result in damaged food production resources thereby limiting access to food.  The fact that this region is susceptible to natural disasters, coupled with the likeliness that armed conflict will take place explains why these conflicts are dangerous not only for those directly involved in the conflict but for the noncombatants who continue to suffer even as the conflict ceases. The lack of access to food, damaged land, stolen cattle and no homes to return to are just some of the ramifications of conflict even after conflicts are no longer taking place in a particular region.

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[93] Sikod, 199.
[94] FAO, *Armed Conflicts* 6.

Countries in protracted crisis generally show high levels of food insecurity; between 2005 and 2007 the proportion of undernourished people in countries in protracted crises ranged from a low of 14 percent in Cote d'Ivoire to a high of 69 percent in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Moreover, countries experiencing armed conflict have been found to show a 2.2 percent decline in their Gross Domestic Product per annum. While this decline may initially seem small, its effects are detrimental to a country experiencing protracted conflict. One can see how, for example, in a ten year period of protracted armed conflict, a country's GDP will be more than 20 percent less than it otherwise would have been had conflict not taken place.[95] This fact demonstrates how complex the relation between armed conflict and food insecurity can be because the longer a conflict continues, the more damaging it is to the economy. Prabhu Pingali, Luca Alinovi and Jacky Sutton posit that protracted crises need to be acknowledged as complex but not as unmanageable processes involving social and human interaction, institutions, policies and knowledge systems across several dimensions of time and space.[96] The complexity of protracted conflict makes it a difficult problem to address and there are multiple factors that are impacted as a result.

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[95] Berdal and Malone, 60.
[96] Pingali, S18.

**Impacts of Conflict**

Fondo Sikod explains that in relation to food production, conflict impacts human capital, physical capital and the environment.[97] Human capital is affected because a significant proportion of the population works in the agricultural sector. Conflict negatively impacts the agricultural sector which ultimately puts in danger more than half a country's population since, on average, nearly 62 percent of the population is employed in this sector. Therefore, with employment affected, not only is food production reduced, individuals are unable to earn money to purchase food. The overall loss from conflict-related agricultural production in Africa between 1970 and 2000 was approximately USD 52-55 billion.[98] Moreover, conflicts result in those of working age being taken away to serve as soldiers[99] and the situation disrupts children's access to school because it is too unsafe to attend. This has very serious ramifications because conflict creates a cohort of uneducated individuals who are unable to contribute to the economic growth of the country.

Physical capital refers to land, housing and equipment. During conflicts, it is not uncommon for land to be targeted by combatants who may opt to use landmines in certain areas; despite land fertility, the presence of mines makes it too dangerous to cultivate the land[100] and therefore affects food production in that area. This issue is specifically explained in section 4.3.1. However, even if landmines are not used, it is not

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[97] Sikod, 207.
[98] Pingali, S7.
[99] Sikod, 207.
[100] Ibid., 208.

uncommon that if individuals leave their homes because it is too unsafe to stay,

combatants may take over their land and in some cases sell the property. Therefore, if the

original land owners return to their rightful land, they may incur a property dispute that

will be difficult to resolve.

Sikod's last factor deals with the environment in that mining the land, burning or

scorching the land or forests, using chemicals to destroy the environment are ways that

armed conflict impacts food production.[101] Natural resources and wildlife are also

included as part of the environmental factor which is affected due to the actual fighting

that may take place as well as through the 'commoditisation' of the resources

themselves.[102] Groups may use natural resources such as valuable minerals or timber as a

means of funding a conflict by creating what William Reno describes as illicit shadow

markets or 'informal commercially oriented networks' which operate alongside

remaining government bureaucracies and undermine formal government institutions. [103]

The consequences of armed conflict go beyond the damages of conflict itself and it takes

a lot of time and money to repair the damage that has been done to human capital,

physical capital and the environment within a region that has been impacted by protracted

conflict.

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[101] Ibid., 208.
[102] Pingali, S17.
[103] Nikki Funke and Hussein Solomon, "The Shadow State in Africa: A Discussion,"
*Development Policy Management Forum* (2002): 1.

*Landmines*

The uses of landmines are severely disruptive and dangerous weapons of armed conflict. They disrupt any chance of cultivating what once may have been fertile land because landmine usage impedes access to agricultural land and restricts mobility in rural areas.[104] Although the mines themselves are relatively inexpensive, the damage that they cause is very costly; clearing antipersonnel mines is a very difficult, time consuming and expensive task. They are responsible for costing innocent people their lives because they are difficult to detect without proper training and equipment.[105] The connection between protracted conflict and food security is evident with landmine use.  The presence of landmines often causes farmers to become fearful of working too far away from their homes which then leads them to cultivate a smaller area of land thus reducing overall agricultural production.[106]  Landmines and other hostile acts such as poisoning water wells contribute to prolonging the conflict because it results in food and water shortages which ultimately force people to leave and not return thus interrupting food production and economic activities permanently.[107] As such, landmines demonstrate how armed conflicts impact food security even after the conflict is no longer taking place. The lack of access to food and inability to maintain one's employment in the agricultural sector adds to the grievances that perpetuate subsequent conflicts.

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[104] Kracht, 125.
[105] Messer et al.,14.
[106] Sikod, 208.
[107] Messer et al., 6.

**Conflict as a Cycle**

Conflict related to food security may become cyclical because the outbreak of conflict results in the interruption of individuals' lives by forcing them from their homes to find alternate solutions for their survival. Upon return to their homes after conflict has ceased, individuals are forced to deal with remnants of the conflict that may aggravate past grievances and cause the conflict to recommence once again. In the short-term, conflicts result in acute deprivation, malnutrition and famine which thus develops into long-term food insecurity following the destruction of the production base and related infrastructure.[108] At the beginning of the 1980s, food insecurity and hunger in sub-Saharan Africa was recognized as a cyclical issue that could be predicted as coming approximately every five years, particularly in east Africa.[109] However, armed conflicts and the resulting prolonged periods of food insecurity in certain regions has led to an overlapping, repetitive cycle of conflict and food security challenges. The cyclical nature of armed conflict not only damages the livelihood of the current generations, but subsequent generations suffer due to health and nutrition problems and in some instances they are even deprived of an elementary education. Furthermore, national economies are left in ruins which makes the restoration of food security to at least pre-conflict levels even more difficult.[110] This once again demonstrates the consequence of conflict long after the actual fighting has stopped. The conflict interrupts individuals' lives; not only

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[108] Berck and Bigman, 120.
[109] IFPRI, *Food and Nutrition Emergencies,* 4.
[110] Kracht, 125.

does it impact food production, but the ramifications result in more undernourished people which, in turn, promotes health problems and disease related illnesses.  As such, individuals are prevented from attending school and overall, this disruption prohibits any livelihood improvement to result. Therefore, it is important to address food security in the world because when progress is made toward achieving this goal, it makes it somewhat easier to address the other Millennium Development Goals. However, this is challenged when the countries affected by protracted conflict and food insecurity do not have a stable democratic government in place to help address this problem.

**Government**

There is a connection between a country's governance and the likeliness of repeated famine. None of the world's countries viewed as having strong commitments to democracy, for example in North America or Europe, have been prone to famine, whereas most countries with repeated famine events can be categorized as "authoritarian" are ambiguously committed to democracy and/or have some sort of contested sovereignty.[111] Former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, stated that good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development.[112] The lack of commitment from some governments to adopt a bottom-up governmental approach demonstrates their unwillingness to make a positive change in their country to improve the livelihood of their citizens and contribute to the overall eradication of extreme poverty and hunger worldwide. This point also challenges

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[111] IFPRI, *Food and Nutrition Emergencies,* 7.
[112] Ibid.*,* 9.

how committed certain governments actually are to recognising food as a basic human right and need. There is a direct connection between food security and protracted conflict because changes in income, government effectiveness, control of corruption, and the number of years in crisis are significantly related to the proportion of the population who are undernourished.[113] This emphasises the positive role that democracy can and does play in responding to state emergencies. Many times in Africa, food security crises and protracted conflict are exacerbated due to the failure of governments to act in response to the problem.[114] Contrastingly, when governments do act and seek aid from the international community, there is no guarantee that this act is not done for their personal advantage and gain. Some instances have demonstrated that in Africa, national governments often see emergency food aid as a useful political tool, especially around election time.[115] There are many recorded instances of food being used as a coercive tool during armed conflict to bribe and control undernourished individuals within the country to perhaps join non-government forces to assist in overtaking a current government.

Slobodanka Teodosijevic explains that an armed conflict is assumed to meet four conditions:

> (i) the conflict aims to overthrow the government or to secede from it; (ii) the government in power at the time of the breakout of hostilities is a primary actor either through direct repression or through direct engagement of rebel fighters; (iii) both sides of the conflict have the ability to inflict death upon each other with forces sustaining more than five percent of the number of fatalities suffered by the

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[113] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 16.
[114] IFPRI, *Food and Nutrition Emergencies,* 12.
[115] IFPRI, *Food and Nutrition Emergencies,* 8.

weaker forces; (iv) military action takes place with more than 1000 battle-related deaths per annum.[116]

Knowing that armed conflict disrupts food production in the agricultural sector demonstrates how individuals, such as rebel groups, are able to manipulate others to join their forces with the guarantee that they will receive food. Sometimes food aid that is received can be used to prolong the war because much of the food aid intended for noncombatants may be hijacked by warring parties who use control of food aid to reward would-be supporters, starve out opponents and keep conflict alive.[117] As a result, the aid intended for civilians and noncombatants tends to not reach them; hunger as a weapon by acts of provision includes the selective distribution of food to favour the populations in government-held areas. [118] In Sudan and Ethiopia, this attack on food security led to, respectively, 12 and 10 percent of the food aid actually reaching the civilian population for whom it was destined.[119] It is for this reason that many international organizations and the global community dispute whether or not it is beneficial to donate food aid because of the risk that it can be looted and used as a weapon to further prolong the conflict. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter Five. However, food aid is not the only thing that non-government forces use to prolong conflict. There is also a prevalence of looting natural resources as well.

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[116] FAO, *Armed Conflicts,* 7.
[117] Messer et al, 7.
[118] FAO, *Armed Conflicts,* 18.
[119] Ibid.*,* 18.

**Greed and Grievance**

Paul Collier cites greed and grievance as factors that explain motivations for civil war. He cites that at one extreme, rebellions may arise because the rebels aspire to wealth by capturing resources extralegally; at the other extreme they might arise because rebels aspire to rid the nation or the group of people with which they identify an unjust regime.[120] The former extreme explains the greed component that Collier attributes to potential motivations for civil war; the latter represents grievance. He emphasises the importance of greed rather than grievances in driving civil wars[121] because the conflicts are more likely to commence based on the exploitation or control of a resource as opposed to individuals combating based on a lack of access to resources. However, this statement is not widely accepted by all; some individuals such as Indra de Soysa posit that an abundance of natural resources leads to greed-motivated rebellion whilst others believe that it is the scarcity of natural resources that sparks civil war.[122] Using Collier's position, in situations where food security problems are prevalent, the outbreak of armed conflict aggravates the situation and causes tensions to flare. Moreover, the lack of access to resources may result in young men, particularly impoverished men, joining a rebellion

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[120] Paul Collier, "Doing Well Out of War: An Economic Perspective," in *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars,* eds. Mats Berdal and David Malone (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2000), 55.
[121] David Keen, "Incentives and Disincentives for Violence," in *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars,* eds., Mats Berdal and David Malone(Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2000), 20.
[122] Indra de Soya, "The Resource Curse: Are Civil Wars Driven by Rapactiy or Paucity," in *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, eds., Mats Berdal and David Malone (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2000), 66.

if no other option seems viable.[123] Furthermore, due to the fact that many armed conflicts

occur for reasons that may include inter-tribal resource competition,[124] it is not

uncommon for, particularly in Africa, elites to repeatedly recruit civilians into unpaid or

underpaid armies or militias. Such recruitment has typically, but not always, been along

ethnic lines. This behaviour took place in Somalia which is further explored in Chapter

Seven when the former authoritarian regime pitted certain clans against each other to

maintain its power. A combination of fear, need and greed has created a willingness to

be mobilized for violence among this civilian population.[125] One can see how an

impoverished individual with little access to food, water or other resources could be

easily persuaded to join a rebel force which would essentially guarantee him access to the

resources and other opportunities he needs to survive and in turn contribute to prolonging

the conflict taking place.


**Refugees, IDP's Women and Children**

The cyclical nature of armed conflict and food insecurity not only impacts the

lives of individuals inhabiting the country at risk but neighbouring countries are also at

risk due to the spillover of conflict that may occur. The dangerous environment that is

created by armed conflict forces individuals to flee their homes to escape the most

severely affected regions of the conflict. Some may become an IDP within their country

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[123] Collier, 56.
[124] IFPRI, *Food and Nutrition Emergencies*, 4.
[125] David Keen, "Incentives and Distinctiveness for Violence," in *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars,* eds. Mats Berdal and David Malone (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2000), 16.

while others may leave the country altogether and seek refuge in a nearby bordering country. However, an influx of refugees in one area places more strain on that region which thus results in a spillover effect in the region which already has a vulnerability to conflict. There seems to be a continuous movement of people from country to country in search of physical security, food, water, and grazing pastures.[126] To put into context the severity of this issue in Africa, Nyong'o states that more than 90 percent of all violent conflicts have taken place in developing countries with African countries accounting for one quarter of all wars.[127] Specifically, in 1996 there were 34 states engaged in major armed conflicts worldwide; fifteen of them were located in Africa.[128] Armed conflict impacts civilians as well, and according to a statistic from 2000, Frank Cass states that over the past twenty years, armed conflicts have cost up to a million lives per year and most of the casualties have been civilians not combatants.[129] He further expands this statistic by drawing a comparison to the number of civilian deaths in the First World War which was estimated to be one civilian for every twenty military casualties while during the Second World War the ratio was more 50/50. Most recent data states that wars cause ten civilian deaths for every one military casualty.[130] These examples clearly demonstrate the fact that armed conflict is not limited to the battlefield and nearly every citizen including children are at risk during armed conflict who constitute over two thirds of the

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[126] IFPRI, *Food and Nutrition Emergencies,* 4.
[127] Ibid.*,* 7.
[128] Ibid.*,* 9.
[129] Kracht, 124.
[130] Kracht, 121.

ten civilian deaths for every military casualty.[131] The consequences of armed conflict are extremely detrimental to the livelihood of children especially when linked to problems of food security. There are elevated levels of children's clinical malnutrition and malnutrition-related disease; death persists in war zones even after conflicts have ceased because children have been traumatized and physically and psychologically disabled because health services have been destroyed.[132] This has severe implications for the long-term because multiple years of warfare remove entire age cohorts from formal schooling and ordinary socialization which causes longer-term multigenerational underdevelopment and underdeveloped peacetime work skills.[133] This once again demonstrates the relationship between protracted armed conflict and food security and its impact in the short and long-term. By addressing food security issues before conflicts arise, it is arguable that conflicts related to food security could be avoided, thus discontinuing the cycle of repeated conflicts related to lack of access to food. Moreover, preventing said conflicts would also work toward the targets of Millennium Development Goals because avoiding the vicious cycle of conflict and food insecurity would therefore improve the livelihood and social standing of individuals inhabiting regions prone to food insecurity and conflict.

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[131] Sikod, 203.
[132] Messer et al, 8.
[133] Ibid., 7 .

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**Gender**

Gender is also very important to take into consideration when analysing the consequences of protracted armed conflict and food insecurity. In many areas of the world, when families are stricken by food security or poverty, women and children are the first to suffer and it is estimated that children under five constitute over one-half of the world's malnourished population.[134] This fact coupled with the consequences of protracted conflict, demonstrates the severity of the issue and the gender disparity between men and women. Protracted crises can lead to higher drop-out rates for girls as they are forced to assume greater roles within their households.[135] In addition, when resources are low, boys tend to be given first priority for schooling[136] which thus contributes to the creation of an entire cohort of women and girls who lack the ability to contribute to rebuilding their community once peace has been negotiated. As a result of women having less access to education, they are less involved in the formal economy, less experienced in dealing with authorities, endowed with fewer and poorer quality productive resources and faced with more restrictions on their mobility than men.[137] Women are much more vulnerable than men during protracted armed conflict because of the traumas of rape and physical violence, excessive workload and increased responsibilities with men away fighting, guilt and the loss of self-esteem which comes

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[134] Berck and Bigman, 3.
[135] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 22.
[136] Ibid., 22.
[137] Ibid.*, 21*.

from their actual or perceived inability to care for their families.[138] Women are unjustly treated as targets of warfare and are exposed to brutal violence such as rape and domestic violence which cause more death and disability among women aged 16-44 than do cancer, motor vehicle accidents and malaria combined.[139] Yet, despite the traumas they endure, women suffer from the increased responsibilities and excessive workload; in Liberia in 2005, 14 years after the armed conflict began, over half of Liberian families were headed by a single parent, most of whom were women.[140] Accordingly, not only are women and children the first to suffer from conflict, girls fail to be given any kind of priority status to their right to education when resources are low, they are targeted and victimised during conflict and are abused both physically and mentally. Finally, despite all of these physical and psychological damages of conflict, women still are given the responsibility of running the family. In the interest of attaining positive peace, the international community must commit to educating boys and girls equally. If communities are to be rebuilt after conflict has subsided, women must not be excluded from education programmes because their role is fundamental to the success of this task.

This chapter has sought to demonstrate the relationship between protracted conflict and food security and the causes and consequences that occur as a result. Conflicts tend to affect food security because they disrupt the ability of food production to take place because it interrupts daily livelihood routines and prevents individuals working in the agricultural sector from upkeeping their land. Moreover, not only are

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[138] Ojaba et al., 665.
[139] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 22.
[140] Ibid.*,* 22.

these individuals unable to upkeep their land, they are often times forced to leave their homes in search of refuge elsewhere, be it in another region of the country not exposed to conflict or to a neighbouring border country. In particular, within the last three decades, armed conflict has predominantly affected sub-Saharan Africa causing nearly ten million individuals to find alternate solutions while thousands of other have lost their lives. Not only is the prevalence of conflict dangerous, it is detrimental to a country's economy; protracted conflicts negatively impact the GDP of a country by 2.2 percent for each year that the conflict is prolonged. Added up over time, the repercussions of this economic decline severely impact the country. In addition to the economy, armed conflicts continue to impact food security long after the conflict has ceased. Since so many people make their living off the land, war tactics such as the use of antipersonnel landmines prohibit individuals from returning to their land to farm because it is too unsafe to do so. Conflicts are likely to become cyclical because the ramifications of the original conflict are likely to be prevalent long after the conflict has ceased. The inability of individuals being able to return back to their land and homes and the damage that is done to fertile land further contributes to less job availability and more individual grievances therefore sparking conflict again.

Responding to these types of conflict is extremely challenging due to the fact that governing bodies in states impacted by protracted conflict and food insecurity tend to not be democratic and, in some cases, they are responsible for perpetuating the violence. This makes it very difficult for the international community to respond to the emergency especially when aid is refused; contrastingly, when aid is accepted, it may be used for

political gain by a governing party or, if the aid is in-kind food aid, it may be used as a weapon by rebel forces who loot the aid in order to prolong the conflict and to encourage individuals to join their organisation. Conflicts may also be prolonged as a result of greed; Collier emphasises this as a motivation for civil war. Rebels aspiring wealth may do so by obtaining access to resources extralegally and exploiting them to obtain control of a region. Not only are protracted conflicts detrimental to the economy because they slow down food production, they impact the environment and often result in a cyclical reoccurring pattern of conflict. One of the most important consequences of protracted conflict is the negative impacts it has for women. Conflicts alter gender roles as women are given greater responsibility to uphold the household whilst men are away fighting. They are often targeted during wars and exposed to violence including rape and are not given the same access to education as boys who tend to be given first priority. By excluding women from their right to education, they are unable to contribute to rebuilding their community and economy after conflicts have ceased.  It is imperative that women's needs are addressed when developing response mechanisms to protracted conflict and food security. The following chapter will assess different response mechanisms and reforms that have been adopted by the international community and it will assess the advantages and disadvantages of each in order to identify how best to apply each response, depending on the situation.

# 5.  RESPONSE MECHANISMS AND REFORMS

**Response Mechanisms**

In order to improve regions suffering from food insecurity and protracted conflict, it is imperative for the international community to intervene in such a way that both halts the conflict and the food insecurity problem. Due to the complex nature of armed conflicts, it is therefore necessary to ensure that a thorough analysis of the factors contributing to the conflict takes place. The uniqueness of each conflict makes it impossible to design a template response mechanism that will be capable of resolving all conflicts of this nature. One of the most important factors in improving food security in protracted crises is to go beyond short-term response mechanisms in order to protect and promote people's livelihoods in the long term.[141]   The number of displaced individuals wanting to return back to their homes will need long-term support and commitment from organizations willing to promote individual human rights such as the right to food, education and gender equality, which will therefore improve individual's livelihoods and ability to contribute within society. The following section will discuss different response mechanisms that have been used in certain armed conflicts related to food security, whether or not they were successful, and which mechanism proves to be the most valuable in addressing protracted conflict and food security.

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[141] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 1.

The responses that will be assessed include food aid, cash or vouchers, food for work schemes, training and education, gender aspects and reforms such as the Twin-Track Approach developed by the FAO.

*Food Aid*

Food aid is a common response mechanism that is used by international organisations to help save lives and to help contribute to rebuilding communities. In Africa specifically, the value of contributions for emergency interventions has grown from USD 4 million before 1994 to more than USD 100 million in 2005.[142] While there is some scepticism about the overall effectiveness of food aid, there are some clear indications that food aid does have positive impacts; it saves lives of many who might otherwise starve in conflict situations particularly where hunger is being used as a weapon.[143] Moreover, Ellen Messer, Marc J. Cohen and Jashinta D'Costa expand this point by stating that humanitarian food aid creates employment, gives impetus to transport infrastructure, supports commercial farming through local purchase in non-conflict areas, helps the treasury of the recipient country where exchange rates for relief operations are pegged at artificially high official levels, and supports flows to black market or parallel food economies where inefficient official monopolies exist.[144] Yet, the advantages of food aid outlined by Messer et al are commonly disputed by other authors who feel that the advantages of food aid are outweighed by the disadvantages and thus

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[142] Pingali, S11.
[143] Messer et al, 30.
[144] Ibid., 27.

deem food aid an unviable solution to food security problems because it is ineffective in providing long-term solutions.

Despite what Messer et al. state , food aid is not beneficial in the long-term because it can adversely affect local food production through depressing  market prices and discouraging local production; it also creates dependency[145]  because food aid provides disincentives for agricultural development and rural economic growth and can thus weaken both food security and national security.[146]  Simon Levine and Claire Chastre challenge the benefits of food aid and argue that it contributes to distortions in the local economy, the creation or strengthening of corrupt elites, feeding war economies and giving commodities inappropriate to local tastes.[147]  They further their argument with the fact that the food aid pipeline is limited and it is an expensive option where food is available.[148]  As such, it would be more beneficial to invest in long-term solutions that focus on developing sustainable food resources that would continuously provide long-term relief. For emergency purposes, food aid is helpful but it cannot be relied upon because it is too costly and can be more harmful than helpful after an extended period of time. This is especially true since humanitarians have still not found a good way to reach those most disadvantaged; it is estimated that the share of food aid that effectively reaches the targeted group amounts from 10 percent to 12 percent of the total.[149]  The

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[145] Cohen, 776.
[146] Falcon and Naylor, 1120.
[147] Levine and Chastre, 11.
[148] Ibid., 11.
[149] FAO, *Armed Conflicts,* 23.

debate to determine whether or not food aid should be used is controversial; on the one

hand, even though estimates show that a limited number of individuals actually receive

the aid, arguably the aid that is received is helping to save lives. However, on the other

hand once food distribution systems are set in place they are difficult to dismantle and

even when the crisis is over, communities continue to receive food aid which further

weakens local or regional purchases. [150] It may be more advantageous to develop

alternate solutions to address food security and protracted conflict that may help more

people in the long-term.

*Cash and Vouchers*

Cash vouchers are often used as an alternative to food aid because food aid may

be stolen by non-government forces whose goal is to prolong the conflict by using the aid

to bribe individuals to support their agenda.  However, there is no guarantee that if cash is

used as a response mechanism that it will be spent in such a way that improves food

security; cash is usually spent on other crucial basic needs such as household goods, debt

repayments, and protection of access to health care and education. [151] Some argue that

only cash grants which have specific food or nutrition objectives should count as food

assistance.[152] Ultimately, if the aid that is being contributed is not being put towards

food-related costs, then it is not a beneficial response mechanism because it fails to

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[150] Sikod, 211.
[151] Paul Harvey, Karen Proudlock, Edward Clay, Barry Riley and Susanne Jaspars, "Food Aid and Food Assistance in Emergency and Transitional Contexts: A Review of Current Thinking," *Humanitarian Policy Group Overseas Development Institute* (June 2010): 37.
[152] Ibid., 36.

improve the food insecurity situation within a country or region. Unfortunately, there have been recorded events that demonstrate how a lack of thorough analysis and calculation of certain household costs fails to address the overall needs of those involved. Without a proper analysis of the resources needed to address food insecurity, humanitarian organisations risk investing in programmes that are unneeded and disadvantageous to certain regions at certain times. This type of mistake took place in Somalia when emergency services and assistance was provided to areas that were assumed to not have functioning markets[153] This type of error is detrimental to the success of the response mechanism and fails to improve the livelihoods of those in need . It is imperative that humanitarian organisation develop programmes that are impactful and help relieve food insecurity; cash and vouchers may not help alleviate this problem and perhaps it would be more beneficial if response mechanisms included receiving food or cash in exchange for work.

*Food For Work*

Food for work, (FFW), and cash for work, (CFW), schemes seem to be advantageous because they encourage aid recipients to contribute labour for food or money. The United States Agency for International Development, (USAID) states that food for work programs include the construction or repair of farm-to-market and urban roads, schools, health clinics, irrigation systems, public water and sanitation systems and

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[153] Alinovi et al., 119.

other infrastructure and environmental protection and conservation activities.[154] This scheme seems to be advantageous based on the fact that recipients will receive aid and furthermore, it allows these individuals to be involved in the reconstruction of their communities. Essentially, the food for work program helps create employment or entrepreneurial skills for individuals who contribute to rebuilding bunds, reconstructing roads or reseeding forests.[155] However, this scheme is flawed because of the fact that in order to be successful, a household has to have available labour.[156] Food and cash for work schemes have also been criticised because often times women and children or others most in need of food may be too weak to work[157] therefore weakening the overall success of the program based on a lack of physical capability to perform the labour in order for the aid to be received. As a result, Levine and Chastre therefore cite that FFW is only appropriate when the following conditions apply: targeted households lack access to food; there is a lack of availability of food and inelastic supply; alternative ways of helping people get access to food would either take too long or might not be practical or reliable.[158] This once again stresses the necessity of conducting a thorough analyses of the situation and the individuals who will be expected to participate in the programme; if the numbers are insufficient to support the overall success of a cash or food for work

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[154] "USAID Food For Peace," USAID Commodities Reference Guide- Part II: Food for Work, accessed 3 July 2011, http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/humanitarian_assistance/ffp/crg/module2.html
[155] Messer et al, 7.
[156] Simon Levine and Claire Chastre, "Missing the Point: An Analysis of Food Security," *Humanitarian Practice Network* 47 (2004): 12.
[157] Messer et al, 7.
[158] Messer et al, 10.

programme, then it will most likely fail to help any of the beneficiaries in need and therefore fail to contribute to rebuilding communities and saving lives. Instead, it is advantageous to invest in improving individuals' training and education because it addresses long-term issues and helps to address other Millennium Development Goals.

*Training and Education*

In order to break the cycle of conflict and food insecurity, when designing response mechanisms, training and education are two very important factors that need to be taken into consideration. Both of these factors are imperative to achieving long-term food security. It has been proven that education is vital to achieving long-term food security because it contributes to reducing hunger and undernourishment by increasing the productivity of smallholders and subsistence farmers.[159] As such, it would be wise to reassess the percentile distribution of humanitarian aid and reassess the importance of contributing to the education sector and the benefits if has for long-term food security. Yet, despite the fact that the literature addresses the benefit of education, it is interesting to note that food aid is the best-funded sector of humanitarian aid receiving, on average, 96 percent of funding requested globally through the Consolidated Appeal Process (CAP) between 2000 and 2008; education received 2 percent of Official Development Assistance (ODA).[160] According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, (FAO), based on a survey for the World Bank, a farmer with four years of primary education is, on average, almost 9 percent more productive than a farmer with no

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[159] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 28.
[160] Ibid.*,* 28.

education.[161] Not only would allocating more funds to education improve the overall food production and thus help target the first Millennium Development Goal but it would simultaneously address the second goal of education. The interconnectedness of each of the eight goals cannot be overlooked because improvement in one goal can lead to a trickledown of reaching the targets of other goals as well.

*Gender*

The advantages of improving food security by focusing on education can be strengthened by taking gender issues into consideration. Chapter Three outlined the consequences associated with protracted conflict and food security and the particular problems that women specifically endure. It is imperative that responses to protracted conflict take into consideration gender issues which have largely been ignored[162] ranging from the gender imbalance in the composition of the monitoring team, to the need for gender disaggregated data collection and a gender-focused analytical framework.[163] As such, it is equally important to take into account the gender of the beneficiaries receiving the aid as it is the gender of those providing the aid as well. Chapter Four made reference to the fact that women are expected to uphold an excessive workload and increased responsibilities with men away fighting. Therefore, when conducting analyses of protracted conflicts, it is important to look at food security issues with a gender

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[161] Ibid., 28.
[162] Ibid., 22.
[163] FAO, 2003, *Matching Food Security Analysis to Context: The Experience of the Somalia Food Security Assessment Unit,* Tivoli, FAO, 21.

perspective because of the way that gender roles are affected during conflict and traditional roles and responsibilities may shift as a result of conflict and protracted emergency.[164]  The FAO suggests a four-step process to incorporating gender into humanitarian crisis policies and programmes: the first step is a sound analysis of differential vulnerabilities and impact generated by the crisis as well as differential strengths and capabilities; the second step emphasises the importance of ensuring that the actual programmes on the ground are gender-sensitive; thirdly, humanitarian response must deliberately ensure that institutions embrace a gender perspective in which the needs and rights of both women and men are recognized and addressed; and the fourth way  gender issues could be integrated in response to protracted crises is in the provision of social services, including but not limited to health and education.[165]  Adopting a gender perspective can assist in the profiling and understanding of vulnerabilities and capacities, assist humanitarian agencies channel resources to those most in need, and also assist in the mobilization of a significant proportion of the population whose capacities are often underestimated.[166] It is important to understand how gender is impacted during crises and the necessity of adopting methods that specifically address gender disparities. In doing so, the situation is likely to show long-term improvement by establishing gender equality and addressing the needs of both men and women in societies impacted by protracted conflict and food security challenges.

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[164] FAO, *Matching Food Security,* 14.
[165] FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity,* 24.
[166] Ibid.*,* 23.

**Reforms**

   Each of the aforementioned humanitarian aid strategies have their own

weaknesses and strengths; protracted conflicts are unique and complex and while some

may be similar, no two are the same; this adds to the challenge of addressing the crisis in

a timely manner but in such a way that is successful in both the short and long-term. The

implementation policy frameworks is challenging because immediate and longer-term

food security is the general focus but policy frameworks need to provide a more nuanced

specification of how objectives for availability, access and stability relate to each other in

the short and longer term and how these aims are influenced by or linked to other

goals.[167] These include protecting or promoting livelihoods, combating HIV/AIDS and

other major epidemics, assessing refugees and displaced persons, reducing chronic

poverty, promoting peace or combating terrorism.[168] Margarita Flores, Yasmeen Khawaja

and Philip White have written extensively on food security in protracted crises and

describe the necessities for food security. They state that policies for food security need

to be designed from the perspective and in accordance with the priorities of those

suffering most as a result of crises-related impacts; policies must be flexible, efficient and

managed as close as possible to those in need.[169] Moreover, they emphasise the

importance of establishing conditions conducive to protecting or recreating livelihoods;

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[167] Margarita Flores, Yasmeetn Khwarja and Philip White, "Food Security in Protracted Crises: Building More Effective Policy Frameworks," *Disasters* (2005, 29): S40.
[168] Flores et al., S40.
[169] Ibid., S45.

to prevent and resolve conflict and build peace, and lastly, to incorporate a clear evaluation and monitoring process to measure the impact of interventions on all dimensions of food security.[170] The authors accompany these policies with four elements that need to be factored when designing and implementing appropriate interventions in a protracted conflict.

These elements offer a more analytical approach to determining the design of interventions in protracted conflict. The first element takes into consideration how it affects food security. Secondly, Flores et al., state the importance of taking into consideration the socio-political context. The third element explains that the nature of the crisis can result in institutional and governance arrangements that prevent even the best-designed policies from being effectively implemented. This element directly links to the need for food security policies to be flexible. Unexpected interruptions and changes may alter the circumstances of the crisis and thus force humanitarian organisations to quickly alter the plan of action in an efficient and well-managed way that still is conducive to protecting and recreating livelihoods. Their final point states the importance of ensuring that when implementing the three aforementioned elements, agencies must be aware of the interaction between short-term outcomes and the long-term objectives for food security.[171] Combining these four elements will help humanitarian organisations develop a response mechanism that addresses the factors that are impacting the conflict situation. More importantly, the necessity that agencies be aware of short and long-term outcomes,

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[170] Ibid., S45.
[171] Flores et al., S36.

stresses the importance of designing programmes that immediately address the problem but also prevent future recurrences from taking place, which is the goal of the Twin-Track Approach.

**Twin-Track Approach**

The Food and Agriculture Organization puts forth the idea of a Twin-Track Approach that attacks both the causes and consequences of extreme poverty and hunger.[172] It operates by addressing immediate food needs while also ensuring the installment of long-term reforms to ensure sustainability and prevent a relapse of food insecurity. The first track creates opportunities for the hungry to improve their livelihoods through policy reform and investment in agricultural and rural development.[173] The second track equips the poor and hungry to take advantage of these opportunities by enhancing immediate access to food thereby increasing their productive potential.[174] The intervention strategy of the Twin-Track Approach focuses on strengthening diversity, rebuilding local institutions and traditional support networks, reinforcing local knowledge, and building on farmers' ability to adapt and reorganise.[175] The Twin-Track Approach is an advantageous reform because, while it aims to strengthen and rebuild certain sectors of society impacted by food insecurity, it takes into account the complexity of food security emergencies and does not aim to develop a

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[172] Cohen, 776.
[173] Pingali, S6.
[174] Pingali, S6.
[175] Ibid., S14.

template response mechanism that it deems suitable for every crisis. The Twin-Track Approach is undeniably flexible and can be applied to virtually any food insecurity emergency as long as the two tracks are mutually reinforcing and follow a path toward recovery. Therefore, depending on what the crisis entails, after conducting thorough analysis of the emergency, humanitarian organizations can determine the best response mechanisms that will address both the short and long-term by applying the ideals of the Twin-Track Approach.

Each of the response mechanisms described in this chapter demonstrate an array of options that the international community may use when developing humanitarian intervention strategies to address food security and protracted conflict emergencies. Many people are often displaced from their homes and those who may have returned to their homes may discover that they are unable to access the land because it is unsafe to do so and therefore unable to produce food. As such, it is necessary to develop response mechanisms that ensure immediate short-term relief as well as long-term sustainability. Food aid is often used to address food security emergencies; it is effective as an immediate response and it helps saves lives but as a long-term solution it is ineffective because it may not reach the intended beneficiaries and other times it may be stolen and used as a weapon, thus prolonging conflict. Cash vouchers have also been used as a form of aid; while this response is more effective at reaching those in need, there is no guarantee that the money will be used to improve food security in a country or region, however, this response assumes that there will be enough able-bodied individuals capable

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to execute the initiative. It is crucial that this response has enough people committed to the programme otherwise it may fail to improve the situation. A response mechanism that trains and educates individuals affected by food security and protracted conflict is better suited to address long-term needs. Education and training is a mechanism that, when properly addressed, can prove to be extremely advantageous to addressing food security needs. Unfortunately, it is one of the most underfunded sectors of humanitarian aid. One can only speculate that if the distribution of aid was reallocated to emphasise the importance of training and education that long-term benefits would result which would not only help improve food insecurity but would also help to address two Millennium Development Goals simultaneously. Moreover, in addition to the aforementioned response mechanisms, it is important that regardless of the response used, humanitarian organisations take gender into consideration. Not only should it be considered for those receiving the aid but for those distributing it as well. In doing so, organisations will be equipped and have a better understanding of the vulnerabilities they have to deal with. The uniqueness of each protracted conflict impacting food security demands different response mechanisms to be adopted depending on the factors that have contributed to conflict. While different mechanisms offer more advantages than others, conducting a thorough analysis will help address the problem depending on the factors that are impacted. Regardless of the mechanism used, the important factor is to use the theory put forth by the FAO; the Twin-Track Approach encourages simultaneous short-term immediate response as we as long-term reforms to prevent future conflicts from taking place. The following two chapters are case studies of the Democratic Republic of the

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Congo and Somalia; they outline their protracted conflicts, how food security was

impacted and what the international community did to address their emergencies.

# 6. THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

**Background of the Conflict**

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo consists of an entanglement of multiple countries, political parties and rebel factions who have contributed to the country's instability, impoverishment, massive internal displacement, refugee movements, generalised insecurity, and the death of more than 3 million people.[176] The conflict itself has generated one of the most severe humanitarian crises since the Second World War.[177] As previous chapters have described, conflicts, especially in Africa, have a tendency to cause a spillover effect which results in conflict taking place in neighbouring countries. The first Congo war occurred between 1996 and 1997 and exposed linkages to other conflicts including the Great Lakes conflict and the Sudanese and Angolan civil wars. The president of what was Zaire at the time, Mobutu Sese Seko, was also involved in supporting the Khartum government in its war against the southern Sudanese rebellion and providing support to the Angolan rebel movement, National Union for the Total

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[176] Robert Beneduce, Luca Jourdan, Timothy Raeymaekers and Koen Vlassenroot, "Violence With a Purpose: Exploring the Functions and Meaning of Violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," *Intervention* 2006, 1.

[177] Koen Vlassenroot, Salomé Ntububa and Timothy Raemaekers, "Food Security Responses to the Protracted Crisis Context of the Democratic Republic of the Congo," *Conflict Research Group, University of Ghent:* Report for FAO-Food Security Information for Action, 2006, 2.

Independence of Angola, (UNITA).[178] It was during this time that the atrocities of

genocide took place in Rwanda, and its spillover effects impacted Zaire; in 1994 Hutu

refugees arrived and Rwandan Hutu militias started attacking Tutsi in Zaire.[179] Members

of the rebel group, Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberations of Congo-Zaire

(ADFL) headed by Laurent Kabila overthrew the dictatorship of president Mobutu on 17

May 1997 and Kabila renamed Zaire to its current Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Yet, soon after his installation as president, a rebel movement was formed against his

regime based on growing disagreement between the new Congolese regime and its

foreign supporters.[180] This resulted in the formation of multiple local militias and

dissolved political agendas contributing to the Congolese wars' image of a struggle

between criminalized politico-military networks over Congo's natural resources.[181]

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[178] Filip Reyntjens, "The Second Congo War: More than a Remake," *African Affairs* 98 (1998): 241.
[179] Vlassenroot et al, "Food Security Responses," 9.
[180] Allinovi et al, 158.
[181] Ibid., 158.

The abundance of the DRC's natural resources and valuable goods including rubber, copper, cobalt, diamonds, gold timber and others[182] should make it one of the richest countries in the world, however, its gross domestic per head is among the lowest in the world; it is estimated that during the war, GDP was less than USD 100.[183] Figure 6.1.1 depicts a declining GDP. Its most dramatic decrease takes place during the DRC's involvement in conflict. This validates Paul Collier's point that during armed conflict a country's economy declines. The Democratic Republic of the Congo exhibits the characteristics of being a resource curse nation because the presence of abundant natural resources which should contribute to the overall wealth of the country fails to do so due to lack of governance and stability. The political fragmentation and widespread distribution of resources[184] has
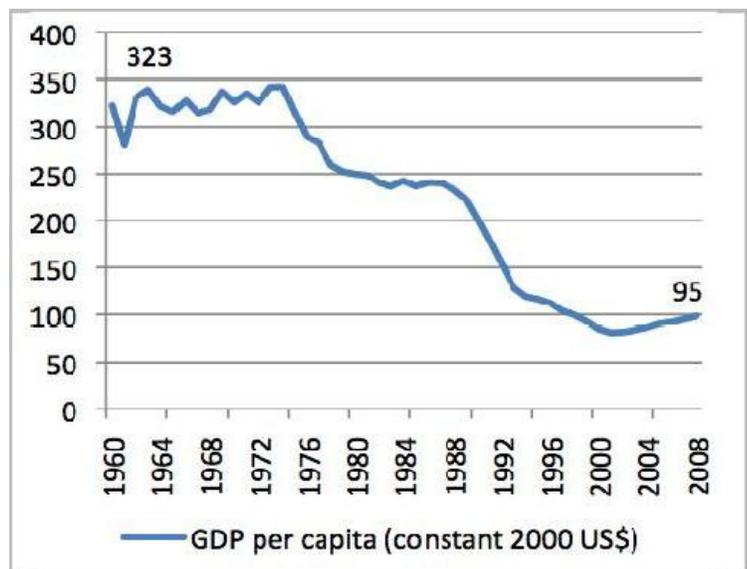


**Figure 6.1.1 Trends in per Capita GDP**
**Source: Democratic Republic of the Congo: A Study of Binding Constraints, 2009**

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[182] Koen Vlassenroot and Chris Huggins, "Land, Migration and Conflict in Eastern DRC," in *From the Ground Up: Land Rights, Conflict and Peace in sub-Saharan Africa,* eds. Chris Huggins and Jenny Clover (South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2005): 117.

[183] Els Lecoutere, Koen Vlassenroot and Timothy Raemaekers, "Conflict, Food Insecurity and Fragility in Eastern D.R. Congo," *Conflict Research Group*, Working Paper 11, 2008, 4.

[184] Ingrid Samset, "Conflict of Interests or Interests in Conflict? Diamonds & War in the DRC," *Review of African Political Economy* 29 (2002): 469.

led to the establishment of several informal governance structures [185] and this makes it extremely difficult for a central government to control the economy due to rebel-held territorial enclaves which have the potential of creating new complexes of profit, power and protection.[186] Human capital was drastically impacted in the DRC due to forcible recruitment of individuals in their most productive years and/or the forcible recruitment of child soldiers.[187] Women were specifically targeted during the war and between 15 and 20 percent of the Congolese army was made up of women who served as combatants, as support for soldiers, as sexual slaves and in other ways.[188] The conflict has long-term repercussions especially for those individuals who were deprived of an education and as ex-combatants, many people find it difficult to reintegrate into their communities. There is an expectation for individuals to return to their pre-war lifestyles, however this is extremely challenging due to the fact that many families have become fragmented and some soldiers are ordered to leave their wives and family upon their return to their homes.[189] Women who have been victims of rape are rejected by their husbands and relatives; knowing this has made many women reluctant to report rape cases and has led to the spreading of sexually transmitted diseases.[190]

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[185] Bedecue et al, 3.

[186] Els Lecoutere, Joen Vlassenroot, Timothy Raemaekers, "Conflict, Institutional Changes and Food Insecurity in Eastern D.R. Congo," *Afrika Focus* 22 (2009): 44.

[187] Alfie Ulloa, Felipe Katz and Nicole Kekah, *Democratic Republic of the Congo: A Study of Binding Constraints* (2009): 228.

[188] Nadine Puechguirbal, "Women and War in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," *Signs* 28 (2003): 1273.

[189] Puechguirbal, 1274.

[190] Ibid., 1274.

Generalised insecurity has led to a decrease in production, limitation of access to markets and the reduction of financial means.[191] Economic opportunities have been reduced for the Congolese population as a result of economic mismanagement and patrimonial rule.[192] Consequently, in 2002, this led to approximately 80 percent of the population living below the poverty line.[193] As a result, the unemployment in Kinshasa is nearly 90 percent and close to 100 percent in eastern DRC due to lack of available employment as well as many individuals incapable of providing work. Both of these factors have negative consequences for food production in the country and contribute to food insecurity. There are approximately 2.1 million IDPs in eastern DRC, of which only 116 000 find refuge in UNHCR-run sites in the region which accounts for a total of 5.5 percent.[194] The internal displacement is caused by pillaging of land by armed forces thus resulting in limited access to land and tools. This therefore decreases overall production and consumption of food because the main constraints to production are limited access to land and tools, pillaging of harvests and animal stocks by armed groups, and lack of treatment of diseases of small stocks and plants.[195]

The conditions of war have motivated a class of local and regional businessmen, politico-military elite, traditional authorities and land-owners to develop new strategies to

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[191] Vlassenroot et al, "Food Security Responses," 11.
[192] Ibid., 10.
[193] Ibid., 10.
[194] Timothy Raemaekers, 2011, *Forced Displacement and Youth Employment in the Aftermath of the Congo War: From Making a Living to Making a Life,* MICROCON Research Paper 38 (Brighton :MICROCON) : 11.
[195] Koen Vlassenroot and Timothy Raeymaekers, "Crisis and Food Security Profile: The Democratic Republic of the Congo," in *Beyond Relief* eds. Luca Alinovi, Günter Hemrich and Luca Russo, (Warwickshire: Practical Action Publishing, 2008), 160.

increase their control over tracts of land; this has affected existing mechanisms of land

distribution and has stirred up violent clashes between families, classes and entire ethnic

communities.[196] Land ownership disputes are very difficult to solve especially when, in

the past, individuals such as military commanders and local administrators have sold

land, despite customary title, when people were evicted from their homes. [197] Without

any formal authority to address this problem, individuals have been able to take

advantage of the legal vacuum which therefore risks a relapse of violence and conflict

once original land owners return to what is rightfully their own land but is now occupied

by other inhabitants. In addition, those individuals who are unable to own land are thus

forced to rent it and to develop alternative strategies which may negatively affect their

own food security[198] because the rent paid for land reduces the money that they can spend

on other goods.  Competition for land has played a dominant role in local disputes and

can be pointed as one of the root causes of violence and conflict in the Ituri and Kivu

provinces and insecure or insufficient access to land is a significant factor in the

impoverishment of thousands of rural people.[199]  During the conflict, reduced access to

land and lowered GDP, forced inhabitants to develop alternative food solutions.  Figure

6.1.1 demonstrated a decline in the yearly per capita during the conflicts in the DRC; due

to lack of financial assets, the daily income per inhabitant decreased from USD 1.31 in

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[196] Lecoutere et al, "Conflict, Food Insecurity," 5.
[197] Lecoutere et al, "Institutional Changes," 51.
[198] Vlassenroot et al, "Food Security Responses," 13.
[199] Vlassenroot and Huggins, 119.

1973 to 0.23 in 2000.[200] It is clear that such a minimal income makes it extremely difficult for an individual to survive and it is no surprise that the level of food insecurity was so high in the country.

Violence has resulted in a reduced access to land which has therefore caused a lowered rate of food production and employment which has forced individuals to reduce the quality and quantity of meals, a preference for crops that have minimal risk but low alimentary value and exchange of labour for food.[201] Accordingly, during the war 83.3 percent of the population ate only one meal per day while in 2004, this figure decreased to 45 percent.[202] There is clear evidence of the correlation between food insecurity and protracted conflict. The instability and violence within the country causes people to leave their homes and land thus lowering production capacity and sometimes resulting in individuals having to use their savings in the form of livestock[203] as coping mechanisms. The conflict creates a domino-effect of individuals being forced to flee their homes in search of alternate food and safety solutions. Often times they seek shelter in so-called "spontaneous sites" and (mostly in) host families whose recipient capacity has nonetheless shown to be very limited; excessive reliance on host families has created additional strains on already poverty-stricken households, whom now additionally have to engage in the assistance of vulnerable people like pregnant women and the elderly.[204] As it is, Congolese are barely making enough of an income to support themselves and

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[200] Vlassenroot and Raemaekers, "Crisis and Food Security Profile," 160.
[201] Alinovi et al, 161.
[202] Ibid., 160.
[203] Lecoutere et al, "Institutional Changes," 58.
[204] Raemaekers, *Forced Displacement,* 11.

their families; the prevalence of conflict makes it that much more difficult to host other people seeking refuge, shelter, and survival. Therefore, host families are limited in the extent that they are able to house their temporary guests and in time may have to ask them to leave; this results in recurring displacement of individuals consistently trying to escape violence in order to survive. There are limits to the extent that this lifestyle can be upheld because it is detrimental, especially to children who as a result of frequent displacement fail to achieve a primary education.

The severity of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo requires international assistance however poor security conditions significantly limit the access of humanitarian agencies.[205] In the past, humanitarian agencies have been frequently forced to suspend operations in rebel-held territory because of insecurity and localised violence particularly in certain parts of the Kivus, Maniema, northern Katanga and Ituri.[206] Moreover, humanitarian assistance is limited by short timelines and inability to address the structural causes of vulnerability.[207] The fact that corruption within the government in the DRC is widespread and its capacity to manage external assistance is very limited, makes donors reluctant to provide direct budget support and it is unknown how development aid is distributed throughout the country because there is no comprehensive

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[205] Diana Ayton-Shenker, *A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 57th General Assembly of the United Nations.* (United States: ROwman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2002), 45.
[206] Global IDP Survey, *Internally Displaced People: A Global Survey,* 2nd Edition, (United States: Earthscan Publications Ltd., 2002), 43.
[207] Sarah Bailey, "Humanitarian Action, Early Recovery and Stabilisation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," *HPG Working Paper,* July 2011, 9.

tracking system.[208] Humanitarian aid organisations do not trust the government because it lacks transparency which is why it was extremely important to address the existing governing body to introduce a democratic structure. On 17 December 2002, the parties to the Inter-Congolese Dialogue finally signed a Global and All-Inclusive Agreement on the Transition in the DRC; Joseph Kabila was accepted as the president.[209] On a positive note, Kabila has made significant progress in liberalizing domestic political activity, establishing a transitional government and undertaking economic reforms in cooperation with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. [210] Unfortunately serious human rights problems remain in the security services and justice system;[211] in some instances, reprisal attacks were committed against civilians and some elements of the national security institutions continued to be responsible for serious human rights violations.[212] While these are major problems that must be rectified, the transition to a functioning democracy will take many years to fully accomplish. The international community is to be commended for assisting the transition by setting up the organisation of general elections and the installation of elected officials.[213] However, the new administration has been blamed for appointing highly corrupt individuals to top positions and Kabila also set out to bribe part of the opposition into joining him and physically

[208] Ibid., 11.

[209] Jeanne M. Haskin, *The Tragic State of the Congo: From Decolonization to Dictatorship,* (United States: Algora Publishing, 2005), 131.

[210] *Congo Democratic Republic: Foreign Policy and Government Guide Volume 1,* (United States, International Business Publications, 2011), 26.

[211] *Congo Democratic,* 26.

[212] UNSC, 2011, Report of the Secretary General on Somalia, 66S/2011/277, 20111, 1.

[213] Sèverine Autessere, *The Trouble With the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 233.

eliminating the rest.[214] Despite these drawbacks, an improvement exists in comparison to

Kabila's father, Laurent, who initially worked with the United Nations to form a

peacekeeping mission but curtailed its operations when the mission began to inquire

about human rights abuses.[215] The transition to democracy will take a while because

citizens must receive civic education to make their vote more meaningful and to

understand the way the government operates. Moreover, leaders must commit to a

transparent government that operates for the will of their people. Although elections have

taken place, there is still much room for improvement and requires the assistance of

international organisations.

The following sections will assess how the international community has assisted

in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the measures it has implemented and whether

or not they were successful in addressing the situation of food insecurity and protracted

conflict. It will particularly assess international organisations (IOs) and the strategic

measures they implemented in the country. It will not, however, assess the involvement

of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the DRC because it goes beyond the scope

of the study. NGOs would scarcely operate in eastern parts of the DRC and those that did

worked under strenuous conditions with high security risks.[216] In addition, it is argued

that NGOs usually give a much higher priority to humanitarian emergencies caused by

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[214] Autesserre, 234.
[215] Wilson, 304.
[216] Pat Douma and Stefan van Laar, "The Struggle After Combat: The Role of NGOs in DDR Processes: DR Congo Case Study," *Cordaid*, 2008: 8.

natural disasters than to those caused by conflict;[217] it was not until a volcanic eruption took place in 2002 that resulted in attracting NGO attention in Goma. Despite the prevalence of conflict and suffering that had already been taking place, NGO involvement in the country had been absent prior to the eruption. This is not to undermine the subsequent efforts of NGOs but to instead demonstrate that their focus differs when dealing with countries exposed to conflict.  While some NGOs may have directly addressed conflict and food insecurity in the country, their efforts will not be addressed in this study.

**Less Successful Humanitarian Aid Responses**

Following the Lusaka Peace Agreement on 30 November 1999, the United Nations established the largest international operation known as the United Nations Mission to the DRC (MONUC)[218] which as of 1 July 2010 has been renamed to the United Nations Organisation Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO).[219] The original MONUC mandate was mainly concerned with supporting the DRC peace process and also improving the conditions of the most vulnerable populations by providing temporary shelter and protection to civilians threatened by armed conflicts. [220] It also negotiated access to vulnerable people by

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[217] Virgil Hawkins, *Stealth Conflicts: How the World's Worst Violence is Ignored* (England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 146.
[218] Vlassenroot et al, "Food Security Responses," 17.
[219] "United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," MONUC, 1 August,2011, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monuc/.
[220] Vlassenroot et al., "Food Security Responses," 17.

putting pressure on the belligerents and facilitating the transportation of non-governmental organization (NGO) and United Nations agency staff undertaking critical humanitarian missions.[221] The mission suffered from an ambiguous mandate and many Congolese were disappointed with the limited amount of protection that the mission provided. For example in 2002, despite the presence of 1, 200 MONUC military personnel, there was no military response to soldier killings by a Rwandan-backed rebel force.[222] MONUC's problems were both specific to the mission itself and symptomatic of the challenges and problems of UN peacekeeping operations.[223] The mission operated under Chapter VII of the United Nations and the Security Council decided that MONUC may take the necessary action in the areas of deployment of its infantry battalions and as it deems it within its capability to protect United Nations and co-located JMC personnel facilities, installation and equipment, ensure the security and freedom of movement of its personnel and protect civilians under imminent physical violence.[224] The ambiguity of the mandate led to some high ranking officials in the UN suggesting that MONUC did not have a coherent military strategy to speak of and this as well as a wider doctrinal void within the UN contributed to serious failure.[225] The peacekeepers were challenged in their capability to protect civilians because they had too few troops and moreover, some

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[221] Vlassenroot et al, "Food Security Responses," 17.
[222] Clifford Bernath and Annd Edgerton, "MONUC: Flawed Mandate Limits Success," *Refugees International* (2003): 2.
[223] Jim Terrie, "The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping: The Experience of MONUC," *African Security Review* (2009):22.
[224] "MONUC: United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," United Nations, accessed 4 September 2011, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monuc/mandate.shtml.
[225] Terrie, 22.

militias used civilians as 'human shields' during outbreaks of violence.[226] As such, it

became very difficult to distinguish the extent that the peacekeepers were able to engage

to uphold its mandate to protect civilians. In the event that military personnel did not act,

the mission was deemed ineffective and disappointing; in comparison, in 2005 in

response to the FNI (Forces Nationalistes et Intégrationalistes) militia killing nine

Bangladeshi peacekeepers, reinforcements were sent to Ituri and 50-60 FNI militia were

killed, some viewed this act as too punitive.[227] The mission straddles a fine line between

the extent that it can protect civilians and with how much force. The ambiguity of the

mandate led to much scrutiny and it lacked a doctrinally based coherent campaign plan

that clearly identified the roles and task of its military forces in achieving the wider

objectives of the mission.[228] Perhaps a clearer mandate would alleviate some of the

challenges endured by UN peacekeeping personnel. In addition the mission must include

enough troops to carry out the mandate effectively to help the Democratic Republic of the

Congo move towards a more positive peace and achieve stability in the country.

  The Humanitarian Aid Department of the European Commission (ECHO) is the

DRC's largest donor of humanitarian assistance with an allocation of more than 180

million Euros between 2000 and 2005.[229] Primarily, ECHO's efforts have been focused

on the eastern part of the country. ECHO faces constraints in its response capacity due to

limited access because of logistical problems such as the lack of infrastructure, making it

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[226] Ibid., 24.
[227] Ibid., 23.
[228] Terrie, 18.
[229] Vlassenroot et al, "Food Security Responses," 17.

difficult to deliver aid. Moreover, the organisation is challenged by partners; in new

conflict areas such as Province Orientale/Equateur, there is a scarcity of partners and lack

of experience and situational knowledge in 'new' conflict areas.[230] This weakened partner

capacity, coupled with challenges to access certain areas within the country, makes it

very difficult to effectively deliver aid to those who need it in other regions but are

physically unable to get there and lack experience to address the problem.

ECHO has funded cash for work projects in the DRC and evaluations of these

projects have shown that most participants are men and little is known to which degree

cash reaches the household.[231] This is a weakness of the cash for work scheme which was

mentioned in Chapter Five due to the fact that the organisations that implement cash for

work schemes are not guaranteed a sufficient number of capable individuals to participate

in the programme. Also, there is no way of knowing in advance that the money earned

will be allocated toward improving the food security situation which weakens the overall

humanitarian effort. ECHO's efforts to improve the food insecurity in the DRC have been

significant in funding food to 2.8 million people yet it still faces many obstacles. ECHOs

biggest challenges include food stock ruptures, limited access to the centres, seasonality

and security constraints.[232] These examples demonstrate the importance of ensuring that

policies for food security are flexible; this point is affirmed by Flores et al., who state the

importance of policies being efficient and managed as close as possible to those in need.

In doing so, ECHO may have seen a more substantial difference to its large relief effort

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[230] ECHO, 2011, 4.
[231] Vlassenroot et al, "Food Security Responses," 22 .
[232] Vlassenroot et al, "Food Security Responses," 20.

especially since a 2004 assessment of the impact of ECHO-funded nutrition interventions revealed that the nutritional status of children in most conflict-affected areas remained a serious health concern.

The United States Agency for International Development, (USAID), is committed to providing humanitarian aid in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Its programs seek to end the ongoing conflict in the east and promote the country's emergence as a coherent entity that serves all Congolese.[233] Their efforts work specifically to increase stability by mitigating the causes and consequences of conflict; their goal is to strengthen core governance institutions and build the new decentralized institutions mandated in the constitutions; improve basic health conditions by increasing primary health care services and products; improving the quality of and access to education; increase agricultural productivity and to save lives and reduce suffering.[234] USAID's funding addresses humanitarian protection, provides health services and supports household livelihoods for as many as 470 000 people including IDPs, host communities, and other affected populations in North Kivu and Orientale provinces.[235] Its efforts expand significantly and address other sectors which includes providing support to agriculture and food security, economic recovery logistics, health and water, sanitation and hygiene interventions for

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[233] "Sub-Saharan Africa: Democratic Republic of the Congo," USAID Africa: DR Congo, accessed 2 June 2011, http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/countries/drcongo/

[234] "Sub-Saharan Africa: Democratic Republic of the Congo," http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/countries/drcongo/.

[235] USAID, 2011, Democratic Republic of the Congo- Complex Emergency, April 22, 2011, 1.

nearly 650 000 people in North Kivu Orientale and South Kivu provinces.[236] More than

11 million dollars has been allocated for the aforementioned interventions; to date

USAID and State Humanitarian assistance to the DRC has totalled USD 54 005 052.[237]

USAID's assistance is challenged due to continued violence which causes an influx in the

number of IDPs in South Kivu Province; in a seven month period from 31 August 2010

to 31 March 2011, the number of IDPs in South Kivu province rose from 648 000 to 689

000.[238] Not only is the increase in the number of IDPs attributable to increased violence,

natural disasters such as flooding and landslides are also significant in causing people to

seek refuge elsewhere.


**Successful Humanitarian Aid Responses**

Although ECHO has faced some challenges to the success of its aid responses, it

has had significant impacts in providing food assistance for 2.8 million people who were

displaced by armed conflict as well as funding 35 health zones in eastern DRC which

gives access to 2.5 million people; this effort has also vaccinated over 450 000 people

against measles and improved access to clean water.[239] According to ECHO's

Humanitarian Implementation Plan, the bulk of the beneficiaries of humanitarian aid

from the European Union are the direct victims of recent on-going conflicts, the displaced

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[236] USAID, Complex Emergency, 1.
[237] Ibid., 3.
[238] Ibid., 2.
[239] "Aid in Action: Democratic Republic of the Congo," European Commission
Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 30 July 2011,
http://ec.europa.eu/echo/aid/sub_saharian/rdc_en.htm.

persons, the returnees and the host communities affected by movements of population.[240]

ECHO specifies that the most acute humanitarian needs include the protection of

civilians, health, food security, nutrition, water quality, shelter, and disaster risk

reduction.[241]

USAID has been challenged by violence and natural disasters, but it has had

success in specific efforts regarding food security which include helping nearly 43 000

beneficiaries in South Kivu province through the detection, surveillance and mitigation of

a bacterial disease that infects banana crops, the largest revenue source in the area.[242]

This initiative is beneficial for two reasons: first of all, the International Rescue

Committee (IRC), states that less than 10 percent of all deaths during the war in the DRC

were due to violence; most of the deaths were attributed to easily preventable and

treatable conditions such as malaria, diarrhoea, pneumonia and malnutrition.[243] Thus by

initiating efforts to address bacterial diseases in banana plants, humanitarian

organisations, such as USAID, are helping to prevent prolonged food insecurity for

individuals who rely on bananas as a staple part of their diet. Secondly, by assisting

farmers to be able to detect bacterial disease and prevent it from spreading, USAID is

helping individuals sustain their food markets through education and offering a solution

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[240] ECHO, 2011, *Democratic Republic of the Congo,* Humanitarian Implementation Plan, WWD/COD/2011/01, 4.
[241] ECHO, 2011, 3.
[242] USAID, Complex Emergency, 2.
[243] Dr. Benjamin Coghlan, "Mortality in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: An Ongoing Crisis," *International Rescue Committee,* (2004): ii.

to the problem without resorting to simply giving the beneficiaries food; as a result this effort is effective at addressing food security in both the short and long-term.

The World Food Program (WFP), is involved in providing assistance to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It operates under a Protracted Relief and Recovery Operation (PRRO). It aims at providing assistance to war-affected people and is comprised of three basic components of relief, refugees and recovery[244] through asset rehabilitation, food for training (FFT), and school meals and nutrition interventions.[245] Its main objectives are to save lives and protect livelihoods in emergencies, restore and rebuild lives and livelihoods in post-conflict, post-disaster or transition situations, and strengthen the capacities of countries to reduce hunger.[246] The efforts run parallel with addressing Millennium Development Goals; it addresses the first goal of eradicating poverty and hunger; the second goal of achieving universal primary education and the fourth goal of reducing child mortality.[247] In 2008 it was estimated that within the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 15 million people were severely or moderately food-insecure and the World Food Program addressed this issue by implementing food allocation programs for certain individuals depending on their status, age and also took into consideration pregnant or lactating women. Children aged 6-59 months and pregnant and lactating women with moderate acute malnutrition were provided with targeted

[244] Vlassenroot et al, "Food Security Responses," 22.
[245] WFP, 2010 *Protracted Relief and Recovery Operations – Democratic Republic of the Congo,* Document No. 200167, Rome, 9.
[246] Ibid., 3.
[247] Ibid.*,* 3.

supplementary feeding (TSF) corn-soya blend (CSB), oil and sugar.[248] This demonstrates a positive example of humanitarian organisations taking gender-specific needs into consideration when developing a response mechanism best suited to addressing the needs of beneficiaries in certain areas.

The food for training program operates in a similar fashion to the food for work and cash for work schemes that were mentioned in Chapter Three. The training that is provided in the DRC is for victims of sexual violence, demobilized child soldiers, people living with HIV and other vulnerable groups. The topics that are covered as part of the training programme cover basic literacy, accounting and income-generating skills.[249] This program values the benefits of education and how it can improve countries or regions that have been exposed to protracted conflict and food insecurity. Another aspect of this humanitarian response is the implementation of school feeding which demonstrates the commitment of promoting education as a fundamental necessity. Mid-morning meals are provided to schoolchildren in food and nutrition insecure communities[250] because without a balanced diet, it makes it very difficult for children to concentrate and apply new concepts, let alone attend school at all. By implementing a school feeding program, the World Food Program is targeting two of the Millennium Development Goals at once; it is addressing poverty and hunger as well as primary education. Chapter Three emphasised that the World Bank stated a farmer with four years of primary education is on average 9 percent more productive than a famer with no education. Therefore, the WFP initiative to

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[248] Ibid., 10.
[249] Ibid., 11.
[250] WFP, *Protracted Relief,* 11.

introduce school feeding may prove to have long-term benefits for production and establishing long-term food security which is necessary to discontinuing the cycle of protracted conflict and food security challenges.

The overall success to the Protracted Relief and Recovery Operation is challenged by the limited time frame it allocates for food aid. Most of the food allocation initiatives are completed within a three month to one year period. It seems unlikely, and especially with the security situation remaining volatile, that food security could adequately be addressed in such a short time period whilst violence is still prevalent in certain areas of the country. This is not to undermine the efforts of the PRRO but to instead put into perspective the limited amount of time that is allocated by certain organisations to instil food security measures post-conflict. Yet the funding required to operate such a vast program requires the organisations to develop time restraints to its food allocation programs because in particular this PRRO has cost more than USD 320 million. As such, it is necessary to develop plans that address food security in protracted conflicts in a timely manner that ensures long-term sustainability to prevent conflict from reoccurring.

This chapter has given an in depth analysis of protracted conflict and food insecurity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It has looked at factors that have contributed to weakening the state and how, despite an abundance of natural resources, the country has had a declining GDP every year that it has been in conflict. Former governments have been involved with neighbouring conflicts which spilled over into DRC territory and led to a rebel group overthrowing the president of the country. Subsequently, several informal governance structures formed in attempt to control the

natural resources in the country. The lack of central government and the widespread distribution of resources make it very difficult to control rebel-held territorial enclaves. As a result of a variety of rebel groups controlling natural resources, the DRC does not have a thriving economy because it is a resource-curse country. Many people , including children were forcefully recruited as soldiers who committed gruesome war acts that caused millions of people their lives. Those fleeing the violence were forced from their homes and often times the land was sold during their absence which therefore resulted in many people to renting land and find alternate food solutions upon their return. As a result, alternatives often include an inadequate number of meals per day and food that has barely any nutritional value.

Many international humanitarian aid organisations have assisted to DRC and provided relief to the country. The United Nations assisted by supporting a peace process and providing shelter to those threatened by armed conflict but the success of the mission suffered from an ambiguous mandate that did not clearly stipulate the extent to which its personnel could protect the Congolese people. The European Commission has provided food assistance, vaccinations and cash for work. Despite their intention, ECHO experienced drawbacks to their aid donations. Specifically the cash for work scheme was weakened because most of the individuals who were working were men, and it was unknown where the money was being used and if it was addressing food insecurity problems. This is a challenge with cash for work programmes because aid organisations will not know in advance how many individuals will be able to work to receive aid and how it will be spent.

USAID had a very important aid program that taught farmers to detect bacterial diseases that infect bananas. This skill is useful for economic growth, beneficiaries' health as well as education. It also addresses the largest revenue source in South Kivu province which therefore helps distribute the sources of wealth in the country. Lastly, the WFP has targeted various age groups and has addressed specific gender needs in order to successfully determine aid distribution. Its program is effective at responding to other Millennium Development Goals of hunger, education and child mortality. While each organisation has contributed to improving food insecurity and protracted conflict in the DRC they have endured some challenges along the way.

Conflict in the DRC has negatively impacted food insecurity and the livelihoods of citizens in the country. Individuals have left their homes to escape violence and search for alternative food and shelter solutions. This has placed strain on individuals who have hosted displaced citizens because they themselves struggle to provide for their own families. One of the most important factors that needed to be taken into account during this conflict was the government structure. The DRC had been ruled by authoritarian dictators for so long that it was extremely important to develop initiatives that helped introduce a formal democratic body. The existing governments lacked transparency and were not elected by the people; leaders instead rose to power by overthrowing existing heads of state. The efforts of international organisations to address the protracted conflict and state of food insecurity required a stable government to be in place to help maintain the response mechanisms that were implemented. Moreover, the conflict has severely impacted individuals' education. Individuals have been uprooted from their homes as

either participants of the conflict or those fleeing the violence which has reduced their ability to attend school. This has long-term consequences because education has proven to positively impact food production for those individuals who have had at least four years of primary education. Improving the availability of and consistent attendance at school helps improve overall food security. Overall, there are many factors that are impacted with the prevalence of conflict and food security;  while efforts have been made and progress has occurred in some areas, the Democratic Republic of the Congo still needs the aid from the international community. Humanitarian organisations must remain committed to the country to help it achieve food security, positive peace and stability.

## 7. SOMALIA

**Background of the Conflict**

Somalia is one of the poorest countries in the world; it is classified as a least developed country (LDC), with an annual per capita income of less than USD 200.[251] Plagued by decades of conflict, lack of a functioning governing body and systematic occurrences of natural disasters, the country has struggled to sustain itself and as a result, the vast majority of the population lives under the poverty line. Somalia has the lowest GNP and adult literacy rate along with the highest infant mortality rate in the Horn of Africa.[252] Life expectancy is 47.7 years[253] and statistics indicate a maternal mortality rate of 1600 per 100 000 live births, the infant mortality rate is 125 per 1000 live births, children five and under account for 211 per 1000.[254] The main causes of child mortality are diarrhoea which is prevalent in an estimated 19.7 percent of children[255] and is caused by lack of clean water and hygiene, as well as inadequate food.[256] Somalia gained its independence after two colonial territories, British Somaliland and Italian Somalia

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[251] European Commission, *European Commission Strategy for the Implementation of Special Aid to Somalia 2002-2007,* [on-line] accessed 29 June 2011, available at http://ec.europa.eu/development/icenter/repository/print_so_csp_en.pdf, 8.

[252] Ibid., 8.

[253] UNHCR, 2008, *Somalia: Sustaining the Peace Through Reconstruction and Development,* Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 9.

[254] European Commission, *Strategy for the Implementation of Special Aid,* 13.

[255] WFP, *Tackling Hunger,* 5.

[256] UNHCR, *Somalia: Sustaining the Peace,* 32.

peacefully united to form the Republic of Somalia in 1960.[257] From the point of

independence, Somalia has experienced a mere nine years of vibrant but corrupt, and

eventually dysfunctional,[258] multiparty democracy; this was disrupted in 1969 with a

coup d'état led by Mohamed Siad Barre.[259] The military regime that followed the coup

d'état was primarily dominated by a small elite of the Marehaan subclan of the Darood,

who used their subclan identity to control the state and exploit valuable resources.[260]

Clans are fundamental to Somali identity; Barre's favouritism of some clans over others

demonstrates how on the one hand clans can bond members together while on the other it

can drive a wedge between them. This is true especially when subclans are involved and

thus result in tension and animosity between members which therefore fuels conflict.[261]

Clan identities were manipulated and politicized to ensure Barre's authoritarian

government remained in power; he also relied on nepotism and patronage to ensure

loyalty to his regime.

Barre's regime collapsed in 1991 and disintegrated into clan based fiefdoms

whose leaders have been fighting for control of the state since.[262] Between 1977 and

1991, Somalia experienced three major conflicts which arguably contributed to the failed

state that still prevails today. The first armed conflict took place in 1977-1978 known as

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[257] World Bank, 2006, *Somalia: From Resilience Towards Recovery and Development: A Country Economic Memorandum for Somalia,* Washington, DC.: The World Bank, 109.
[258] World Bank, 2006, *Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamics,* Washington, DC.: The World Bank, 9.
[259] World Bank, *Somalia: From Resilience Towards Recovery,* 1.
[260] World Bank, *Conflict in Somalia,* 19.
[261] Ibid., 4.
[262] Ibid., 20.

the Ogaden War with Ethiopia; the second armed conflict was between the Somali

military and the Somali National Movement (SNM) for control over northwest Somalia.

This conflict exacerbated clan tension because of the way that the Barre regime

manipulated clan identity. During this conflict, Barre placed the northwest under military

administration to crack down on the Isaaq clan, who made up the majority of the SNM,

and dispossess them of their businesses.[263] The third armed conflict involved government

forces between 1989 and 1990 against a growing number of clan-based liberation

movements.[264] Barre's regime is responsible for exerting military control and politically

manipulating clans against each other. It is arguable that the regime was responsible for

contributing to grievances shared by those individuals opposing Barre's authoritarian

government. This resulted in state collapse, thus leaving the country without a central

government that is now characterised by lawlessness, banditry and interclan warfare – all

of which has contributed to widespread famine.[265] With no form of government body in

place, conflict between clan-based militias for control of valuable towns, seaports and

neighbourhoods[266] has been taking place and has resulted in an extremely poor and

undernourished country that relies on international assistance to survive.

　　Because of the lack of government body, once Barre was expelled, clans

competed for ownership of occupied lands; not only did this contribute to tension with

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[263] Ibid., 10.
[264] Ibid., 10.
[265] FAO, *Matching Food Security,* 3.
[266] World Bank, *Conflict in Somalia,* 11.

other clans, it also significantly altered clan boundaries.[267] The competition for resources in Somalia resulted in clan-based conflicts, some of which are subclan and even sub-subclan.[268] Tensions between clans also become heighted when, for example in Puntland, some pastoral clans violated customary pastoral law by making enclosures into grazing areas which was violently resisted by other clans and resulted in conflict.[269] The severity of the situation of conflicts between and within clans demonstrates how fragmented Somalia became after the Barre regime was overthrown. Yet, with weapons at their disposal and traditional power structures rendered irrelevant, militia members and young men used guns to loot, murder and inflict horrific crimes on their fellow citizens.[270] The lack of accountability coupled with easy access to weapons engendered a culture of impunity, in which pillaging, destruction of property and rape became common place particularly in South-central Somalia.[271] The traditional function of the clan was altered in the sense that the widespread predominance of conflict between clans became so customary that the role of elders was overlooked. A primary source of conflict mediation,[272] clan elders proved incapable of diffusing the conflicts that arose and were unable to develop any alternative form of government in response to the failed Barre regime. It is imperative for international humanitarian organisations to take into consideration past grievances of clan members especially since the Barre regime is

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[267] Ibid., 8.
[268] Ibid., 16.
[269] Ibid., 29.
[270] Ibid., 31.
[271] Ibid., 31.
[272] Ibid., 9.

responsible for pitting clans against each other for political advantage thus resulting in increased sensitivity between and also within clans. Therefore, when designing response mechanisms, it is very important for organisations to be mindful of developing programmes that encourage and support cross-clan or clan-neutral activities and partners[273] thus reducing any perceived exclusion by other clans and fuelling resentment that would likely result in violence.

The situation in Somalia is exacerbated by so many factors that make the conflict difficult to resolve. Not only has the country suffered at the hands of an authoritarian regime, natural disasters contribute to the withering of what limited resources are available. Therefore, violence has often occurred as a result of clan members competing for what minimal resources are available such as access to fertile land and especially for livestock which remains the basic economic activity in Somalia.[274] Before the civil war, livestock accounted for 80 percent of exports and bananas accounted for 10 percent.[275] The livestock sector provided employment for 55 percent of the population and the main livelihoods of Somalia include pastoralism, agro-pastoralism, fishing and urban centres.[276] One can see the importance of this sector for Somalia livelihoods since livestock represents that backbone of Somali economy and has for centuries.[277] There exists a vast dependence on the success of this sector and any interruption could be detrimental to the economy. The success of the livestock sector has been challenged

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[273] World Bank, *Conflict in Somalia,* 41.
[274] European Commission, *Strategy for the Implementation of Special Aid,* 8.
[275] World Bank, *Somalia: From Resilience Towards Recovery,* 12.
[276] WFP, *Tackling Hunger*, 13.
[277] European Commission, *Strategy for the Implementation of Special Aid,* 8.

because it has been subject to many diseases which, has in the past on two occasions, in 1998 and 2000 resulted in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia imposing a ban on Somali livestock in response to the Rift Valley Fever.[278] It would be wise to take advantage of other employment sectors that may prove to be advantageous to the economy. Although Somalia is not abundant with natural resources, there are some sectors, such as the fishing industry, which is rich in fish and crustacean resources, that has typically been overlooked in the past and would be a beneficial investment to the Somali economy to take advantage of fishing and related activities.[279] Taking advantage of other resources that are readily available, would contribute to the improvement of the economy. Somalis would be able to improve their livelihoods by making an income instead of having to rely on remittances. In 2004, remittances amounted to at least USD 825 million, equating to nearly 60 percent of the GNP[280] from the diaspora that has been developed due to a significant number of individuals who have fled the country to neighbouring African states or other countries worldwide. Hundreds of thousands of Somalis who have resettled across the globe from North America and Europe to the Middle East and Australia;[281] this diaspora has assumed a very important role as a source of remittances to family members in the country or in refugee camps.[282] While there lies concern that some remittances may be used to sponsor conflict and promote warlords, particularly when a

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[278] World Bank, *Conflict in Somalia*, 24.
[279] World Bank, *Somalia: From Resilience Towards Recovery,* 86.
[280] Ibid.*,* 14.
[281] Ken Menkhaus, "Somalia: A Situation Analysis," *UNHRC Centre for Documentation and Research* 7 (2000): 1.
[282] Ibid., 1.

certain clan is under attack and threat, the diaspora, however, appears less willing to finance conflict.[283] Still, without any form of legitimate government body in place, armed political faction leaders and war economy groups are able to take advantage of the situation

Having no functioning official government in Somalia makes it extremely challenging to address the protracted conflict and food security issues that are prevalent. The country is politically segregated and, as a result of the administrative fragmentation, there exists just two self-administered regional entities, 'Somaliland' in the northwest and 'Puntland' in the northeast, both enjoying relative stability and having local administrators providing a range of basic services.[284] The south is particularly fragmented because much of the southern region and parts of central Somalia are under the strict control of the militant Islamist group, al-Shabaab, which denies access to areas under their control to groups such as the World Food Program (WFP), and other humanitarian organisations.[285] As a result, al-Shabaab's presence makes it very difficult for any humanitarian organisation to bring aid to the region and improve the situation and livelihoods for many Somalis. Al-Shabaab imposed a ban in January 2010 following attacks on WFP compounds which was then followed by their imposing of unacceptable conditions to the humanitarian organisation.[286] The control exerted by al-Shabaab over the southern region is very dangerous because it prevents international organisations the

[283] World Bank, *Conflict in Somalia,* 25.
[284] European Commission, *Strategy for the Implementation of Special Aid,* 3.
[285] WFP, *Tackling Hunger,* 1.
[286] Ibid.*,* 3.

ability to address the protracted conflict and food security situation therefore

exacerbating the severity of the situation. At the same time, it is too dangerous for aid

organisations such as WFP to not concede to al-Shabaab's demands because to ignore

them would likely result in violence thus harming more people. The fact that a central

government has not existed since the fall of the Barre regime is problematic because

conflict has been prolonged, food security worsened and many individuals' livelihoods

have been interrupted. Despite the fact that a Transitional National Government (TNG),

was established in 2000 in Mogadishu, its authority is limited to a part of the capital and

support for the TNG is seemingly recognized more so by the international community

than by Somalis themselves.[287] As a result, despite international initiatives to improve the

protracted conflict, the lack of governance and limited access to resources, and

vulnerability to food insecurity is widespread throughout the country.[288] This is evident

due to the fact that Somalia's current food situation is severely impacted by one of the

worst famines in 50 years.

Chapter Four made reference to the fact that there is a connection between a

country's governance and the likeliness of repeated famine. Somalia's ineffective

government gives credence to this point. The limited capacity of the government fails to

allow it to effectively exert control of the situation in the country. In fact, despite being

propped up by millions of dollars of Western aid, including American military aid, its

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[287] FAO, *Matching Food Security,* 3.
[288] WFP, *Tackling Hunger,* 1.

leaders remain ineffectual and by many accounts corrupt. [289]The government recently

took control over the vast majority of the capital, which had previously been controlled

by the Islamist rebels. It has been serious about clamping down on soldiers who commit

violations[290] and has demonstrated its power by executing two soldiers without trial

despite in May, having made a commitment during the Universal Periodic Review at the

United Nations Human Rights Council to consider introducing a moratorium on

execution.[291] The famine has already cost 80 000 people their lives and the Transitional

Federal Government has failed to put aside sectarian politics to save the population.[292]

Abdi Ismail Samatar points out that normally societies have three lines of defence against

mass starvation: local capacity, national government and the international community.[293]

He furthers this point by stating that all three levels of livelihood protections have failed

in Somalia. Probably the single most important underlying reason for the unfortunate

conditions faced by the people in Africa lies in the failures of governments to act.[294] This

[289] Jeffrey Gettleman, "Shabab Concede Control of Capital to Somalia Government,"
*New York Times,* 6 August 2011, accessed 3 September 2011,
http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/07/world/africa/07somalia.html?_r=1.
[290] Yara Bayoumy, "Somalia Government Executes Two Soldiers Over Killings,"
*Reuters,* 22 August 2011, accessed 3 September 2011,
http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/08/22/us-somalia-execution-forces-
idUSTRE77L4EZ20110822.
[291] "Somalia: Transitional Federal Government Must Stop Unfair Trials and Executions,"
Amnesty International, accessed 3 September 2011, http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-
media/press-releases/somalia-transitional-federal-government-military-court-must-stop-
unfair-tri.
[292] Abdi Ismail Samatar, "Genocidal Politics and the Somali Famine," *Al Jazeera,* 30 July
2011, accessed 3 September 2011,
http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/opinion/2011/07/2011726135256169831.html.
[293] Ibid.
[294] IFPRI, 2009, *Food and Nutrition Emergencies,* 12.

is because governments in the Horn of Africa tend to focus on greed-fuelled fights for

power and supremacy which is evident with not only the TFG but also the United States

and its allies' obsession with defeating al-Shabaab and ignoring the fate of the millions of

people who live in areas controlled by al-Shabaab.[295] The TFG upholds a limited

credibility and some government soldiers have been accused stealing some of the 290

tonnes of dry rations as aid workers tried to hand them out at Babaado.[296] The

government's inability to uphold its responsibility to defend against mass starvation

demonstrates the necessity of intervention from the international community to address

the human security crisis because what matters is not just state security but the protection

of individuals against threats to life, livelihood or dignity that can come from within or

without.[297]

Food security is heavily impacted in Somalia due to issues of food availability

and access. Multiple factors contribute to this unfavourable situation because traditional

coping mechanisms have been weakened by the civil war. Many individuals were forced

to become an IDP or to settle in nearby countries to find alternate solutions. The

prevalence of food insecurity in Somalia not only indicates a nutrition crisis due to

limited access to food resources but this issue is exacerbated by preventable health

conditions. Somalia is desperate to improve its situation of food insecurity. Conflict

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[295] Samatar,
http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/opinion/2011/07/2011726135256169831.html.
[296] "Somali Famine Refugees Killed in Looting at Mogadishu Aid Camp," *The Guardian,*
5 August 2011, accessed 3 September 2011, http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2011/aug/05/somalia-famine-refugees-killed-looting.
[297] Evans and Sahnoun, 102.

worsens the fragility of the country whose vulnerability to food insecurity is driven by drought, displacement and high food prices.[298] In some areas between mid-2007 and mid-2008 it was recorded that food and non-food imported commodity prices had increased by as much as 375 percent.[299] This was a result caused by the fact that in 2001, a considerable amount of currency printed outside the country was inserted in the economy, which lead to a rise in inflation while successive failed harvests, the rising cost of commercial imports related to the global food crisis and the devaluation of the Somali shilling all negatively impacted the economy.[300] The combination of these drivers have eroded the resiliency of communities, reduced the sustainability of traditional pastoral and agro-pastoral livelihoods and caused urban migration of failed pastoralists.[301] The violence in Somalia severely impacted weak agricultural communities and coastal minority groups caught in the middle of the fighting.[302] Although humanitarian organisations have attempted to bring food assistance to the country, their efforts were hampered by threats of piracy in the country's ports; the WFP reported an increase in the number of attacks on food shipments which endangered its aid delivery due to the fact that 80 percent of its assistance is routed via sea vessels.[303] Food aid was used as a weapon during the conflict in Somalia; it became part of the war economy, a commodity

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[298] WFP, *Tackling Hunger,* 4.
[299] UNHCR, *Somalia: Sustaining the Peace,*53.
[300] Ibid., 53.
[301] WFP, *Tackling Hunger,* 4.
[302] World Bank, *Conflict in Somalia,* 11.
[303] UNHCR, *Somalia: Sustaining the Peace,* 53.

over which militias fought and that warlords diverted to fund the wars.[304] Warlords

perpetuated lawlessness and insecurity, illiterate gunmen saw war plunder as their only

livelihood.[305]

Decades of instability has resulted in the fragmented livelihoods as individuals

struggle to survive and who resort to conflict as a means of inflicting control and

stability. The violence has impacted food security by forcing many people from their

homes as IDPs who seek refuge elsewhere in the country; others become refugees in

neighbouring countries. The violence and food insecurity often results in parents having

no other option but to pull their children out of school to either use the gained savings for

food or to have their children work.[306] This has serious long-term consequences because

it removes an entire cohort of individuals from obtaining an education; according to the

2005-2006 Primary School Survey, school attendance rate was recorded at 28 percent

with the South Central regions recording the lowest Gross Enrolment Rate at 20.5

percent.[307] Conflict in Somalia has adverse consequences because not only does it impact

food security based on individuals' inability to produce food, it forces them from their

homes which results in a vast number of IDPs who seek safety and food which is often

stolen and used fund and prolong the conflict. Despite the fact that the results of a mid-

2008 Food Security Analysis Unit Analysis conducted by the FAO indicated that 2.6

million or 35 percent of the total population were facing the conditions of humanitarian

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[304] World Bank, *Conflict in Somalia,* 11.
[305] UNHCR, *Somalia: Sustaining the Peace,* 16.
[306] Ibid., 34.
[307] Ibid., 34.

emergency or acute food and livelihood crisis,[308] the situation was inadequately

addressed and Somalia is once again conflict-ridden with millions of individuals

suffering from malnutrition and violence in the country. Although international aid has

had limited success in the past, the current state in Somalia urgently requires its

assistance.  However, despite the urgency, many agencies are limited in their ability to

access those most in need because regions are off limits to humanitarian workers.[309]  In

places such as Mogadishu, humanitarian workers are regularly kidnapped or killed by

militias which force many agencies to pull out.[310]  In 1992 during the initial collapse of

the state, Boutros Boutros-Ghali wrote a letter to the President of the Security Council on

30 November stating that the de facto authorities, by their own admission do not exercise

effective authority over all of the armed elements of the areas which they claim to

control.[311] His letter stated that due to a lack of authority in the country with whom a

peacekeeping force can negotiate, it was necessary to adopt Chapter VII of the Charter.[312]

As a result, a limited number of organisations were capable of being involved in

humanitarian relief because the lack of authority, prevalence of violence and limited

access to humanitarian workers makes it extremely unsafe and impacts the ability of

multiple organisations to deliver aid. The volatile situation that prevails in the country

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[308] UNHRC, *Somalia: Sustaining the Peace,* 34.
[309] Global IDP Survey, 74.
[310] UNHRC, *Somalia: Sustaining the Peace*, 74.
[311] K. Zemanek, "Peace-Keeping or Peac-Making?" in *Towards More Effective Supervision by International Organizations*, ed. Niels Blokker and Sam Muller (The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1994), 37.
[312] Ibid., 37.

still sees limits placed on international organisations trying to deliver aid especially due to the Islamist group, al-Shabaab who frequently gets in the way of relief programmes.

The following sections will analyse some of the international organisations that have been involved in delivering aid to Somalia, their strategies and which programmes have been successful in comparison to others that have been less so. Just as with the previous chapter, NGO involvement in Somalia will not be analysed. NGOs typically operate at the local level,[313] yet the current situation in Somalia has observed so much displacement that the existing communities are fragmented due to individuals leaving their homes in hopes of finding the nearest refugee camp which therefore makes it difficult for NGOs to address local needs. Contrastingly, IOs generally interact with official government in situations and less directly with local population.[314] The absence of a national government in the country makes it extremely difficult for IOs to implement programmes designed to address food insecurity and protracted conflict. This task is daunting for the organisations that are accustomed to dealing with these types of situations and NGOs may prove to be incapable of taking on this challenging responsibility. In fact, in the past NGOs have found themselves in the situation of bringing aid and support to groups who are in desperate need but, by doing so, aiding members of groups whose actions feed the violence.[315] Pamela Aall et al., explain that situations like this have made the issue of whether to withdraw aid under these

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[313] Pamela Aall, "NGOs and Conflict Management," *United States Institute of Peace* (1996): 12.
[314] Volker Franke, "The Peacebuilidng Dilemma: Civil-Military Cooperation in Stability Operations," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 11 (2006): 9.
[315] Aall, 107.

circumstances one of the most hotly debated questions in the NGO community.[316]

Somalia presents an extremely challenging environment for international aid agencies and while, in the future, it would prove to be beneficial for NGOs and IOs to partner together to administer aid most effectively, the current famine makes it too difficult to execute; it is imperative that international organisations successfully address the food insecurity and conflict situation first and then work towards partnerships with NGOs to focus on rebuilding communities and ensuring a state of stability in the country.

**Less Successful Humanitarian Aid Responses**

During the earliest onset of violence in the early 1990s, the capital city, Mogadishu, saw much destruction which generated enormous refugee flows and internal displacement; as a result, the United Nations developed a peace enforcement operation in Somalia known as the United Nations Operation in Somalia, (UNOSOM), it operated there from 1993 until 1995.[317] Together with the international community, the UNOSOM mission attempted to re-establish law and order through international peacekeeping interventions and to find a political solution.[318] On the one hand, the mission was successful in ending the famine in some regions and facilitated the return of refugees and displaced persons.[319] Yet where UNOSOM failed, was in its inability to bring about a comprehensive national reconciliation in the country and generated only modest support

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[316] Ibid., 107.
[317] Menkhaus, 1.
[318] European Commission, *Strategy for the Implementation of Special Aid,* 7.
[319] FAO, *Matching Food Security,* 3.

for the massive task of reconstruction.[320] UNOSOM dealt with many challenges that

weakened its overall success. The lack of government, failure of factions willing to

cooperate with the UNOSOM mission, extortion, blackmail and robbery all made it

extremely difficult for aid to reach those in need.[321] UNOSOM troops were fired upon

and had their vehicles and arms taken and after a bloody armed conflict, with the Somali

National Alliance (SNA), UNOSOM forces departed from Somalia in March 1995.[322]

Aside from the challenges troops endured from rebel forces, the mission itself was

limited in its capacities from the onset of its deployment in Somalia. Due to a lack of

thorough analysis and failure to understand the severity of the situation in the country, the

mission failed to accurately address the needs of the people. UNOSOM upheld a

traditional Chapter VI peacekeeping role, the UN Blue Berets were armed only for self-

defence because their mandate did not equip nor task them to force a ceasefire.[323] With

continued violence, the situation worsened and the mission was further challenged by not

having a Somali government with which to negotiate and reach necessary decisions[324]  as

well as having a limited time and scope to complete the mission. Despite developing a

second UNOSOM mission (UNOSOM II), it still suffered from a staff that was

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[320] Ken Menkhaus, "Somalia: A Situation Analysis," *UNCHR Centre for Documentation and Research* 7 (2000): 1.

[321] "Somalia- UNOSOM I Background," United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I), accessed 15 August 2011, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unosom1backgr2.html#four.

[322] Ibid., 1.

[323] Richard H. Shultz and Andrea J. Dew, *Insurgents, Terrorists and Militias: The Warriors of Contemporary Combat* (United States: Colombia University Press, 2006), 77.

[324] Ibid., 77.

assembled hastily and did not undertake effective planning and received weak support

from UN Secretariat staff.[325] UNOSOM's initial mistake was to underestimate the

situation and to intervene with a security force of five hundred troops. The prevalence of

violence was too much for the mission's peacekeeping guidelines which inevitably led to

its failure. Presumably, had a more thorough analysis been conducted previous to the

deployment of the UN troops, the mission may have been designed differently and would

have taken into account the severity of the violence and the brutality of clan warfare

which would have emphasised the need for peace enforcement and obtaining a ceasefire.

The World Food Programme (WFP) is another organisation working in Somalia

which is partnered with multiple organisations including the Food and Agriculture

Organization, on agriculture and livelihood activities, UNICEF and World Health

Organization (WHO), on health and nutrition; UNHCR on IDP issues; UNICEF on

education; and the Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit (FSNAU) on food security

and nutrition assessments.[326] The overall goal is to save lives, enhance food and nutrition

and building resilience to shocks in Somalia.[327] Part of the operation intends to

implement food-for-assets (FFA) and food-for-training (FFT) programmes to increase the

sustainability of traditional livelihoods and enhance resilience.[328] While this method is

beneficial in that it is a better long-term approach to addressing food security needs in

Somalia, the challenge is that the current situation in Somalia cannot accommodate such

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[325] Ibid., 81.
[326] WFP, *Tackling Hunger,* 8.
[327] Ibid., 8.
[328] Ibid., 13.

a programme because of the severity of food insecurity. Too many people have become displaced from their homes and sought refuge elsewhere. Many individuals have abandoned family, including young children, in hopes of finding available food sources. Although a training program can be effective in long-term food sustainability, the destitute situation and instability prevents this response from being successful.

**Successful Humanitarian Aid Distribution**

While the food-for-assets and food for training schemes are less successful, the WFP has implemented programmes that involve local communities in the planning and implementation of the various programmes.[329] This is beneficial and extremely important because it introduces a bottom-up approach that helps to create a seamless programme that enables humanitarian organisations to develop programmes catered to the needs of local communities. Therefore the WFP is able to specialise the activities to the capacity of the community and thus ensure the successful management and sustainability of the programme in the community. When Somalia's famine is less dire and people have returned to their homes, this approach can be applied specifically to individuals' capabilities to ensure that communities are rebuilt and can be maintained by community members once humanitarian organisations leave the region.

The European Commission has also been present in Somalia and has adopted a multi-sectoral approach that aims to address areas that include the enhancement of good

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[329] WFP, *Tackling Hunger,* 19.

governance, reducing widespread vulnerability, providing access to social services as well as economic growth and diversification.[330] The overall goal is to contribute to the alleviation of poverty and the promotion of a more peaceful, equitable and democratic society;[331] they plan on supporting sustainable improvement in the livelihood of the Somali people by enhancing food security and economic growth.[332] The multi-sectoral approach is very advantageous for addressing the protracted conflict and food insecurity situation in Somalia because the situation consists of a combination of multiple factors including conflict, food insecurity and natural disasters all negatively impacting each other This requires humanitarian aid organisations to develop programmes that simultaneously address each element in order to improve the overall situation. This task is not only demanding but very expensive; according to the Somalia Aid Coordination Body (SACB) 2000 Donor Report, the European Commission was, in the previous year, the largest donor with a total programme of US $ 54.9 million.[333] This compares with the United States who was the second largest donor with US $25.8 million.[334] The European Commission programme is flexible in that it adapts to unexpected changes and has made sure to ensure that the programmes it introduces are reasonable and that local communities are properly trained and capable of maintaining the new developments such as water wells, schools and health facilities.[335] This fact is extremely important because it

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[330] European Commission, *Strategy for the Implementation of Special Aid,* 20.
[331] Ibid., 20.
[332] Ibid., 20.
[333] European Commission, *Strategy for the Implementation of Special Aid,* 15.
[334] Ibid., 15.
[335] Ibid., 17.

is disadvantageous for humanitarian organisations to implement programmes with the intention of improving the livelihoods of thousands of people that cannot be sustainably managed by community members once the organisation has left. Therefore, organisations must, just as the European Commission has done, take into consideration the number of available people in the community capable of ensuring the success of the programme otherwise it may lead to tensions within the community the prevent the overall success of the programme.

One must wonder why the international community waits until the situation becomes so dire that they are forced to make cries of desperation for aid and assistance to improve the livelihoods of millions of people suffering from climatic catastrophes, conflict and poverty. This emphasises the importance of developing programmes that are both relevant in the short-term and long-term. Evidently, in the past this was not taken into consideration to avoid the situation from collapsing into an emergency. The frustration is expressed by aid workers as well, one is quoted in the BBC as stating that "we are supposed to have an early warning system, but what is the point if the world does not listen?"[336] The United Nations Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon has emphasised the need for an agricultural transformation that improves the livelihoods of rural communities in the region and that short-term relief must be linked to building long-term sustainability to minimize the scale of any future crisis.[337] He furthers his position by

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[336] "Horn of Africa Drought: 'A Vision of Hell,'" *BBC News,* 8 July 2011, Accessed 9 July 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14078074.
[337] "Aid to Horn," http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=39138&Cr=horn+of+africa&Cr1=

stating that relief must also include practices that ensure climate-smart crop production, livestock rearing, fish farming and forest maintenance that enable all people to have year-round access to the nutrition they need.[338] Somalia is no stranger to food insecurity, and the prevalence of its ongoing inter-clan warfare has prolonged the situation for decades; it is mind-boggling and frustrating when the information has been available and the international community has been aware of the situation worsening yet it stood by idly to wait and see what happened.

Perhaps this emergency will prove to be the final straw. The WFP has planned an emergency response for the next 18 months for insecure households;[339] it is a flexible operation that will need to adapt and overcome many challenges. One challenge that the WFP and other organisations will have to overcome is to determine how to deliver aid in southern central Somalia where al-Shabaab presence prevents humanitarian organisations the ability to bring relief to the region. Al-Shababb receives arms and ammunition through southern Somali ports and acquires financial resources from extortion, illegal exports and taxation.[340] The group has been responsible for launching indiscriminate attacks against civilians, including shelling; in January 2011 at least 16 people were killed during a shoot-out among Transitional Federal Government security forces.[341] Not only does al-Shabaab endanger the lives of Somalis but it has also threatened the lives of UN staff and moreover, it has imposed unacceptable operating conditions including the

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[338]Ibid.
[339] WFP, *Tackling Hunger,* 6.
[340] Report of the Secretary General on Somalia, 66, S/2011/277, 2011, 3.
[341] Ibid., 5.

imposition of informal taxes and a demand that no female staff work for the WFP.[342]

Somalia is a high-risk country to operate in, in fact it is among the highest risk countries

in the world and WFP has lost 14 relief workers since 2008.[343] While it is unfortunate

that lives have been lost in attempt to rebuild Somalia, this fact must not be used as a

crutch to justify not providing sufficient aid to one of the poorest countries in the world

where millions of people suffer every day without food or water and fear they will never

see tomorrow.

The situation in Somalia demonstrates a clear relationship between food security

and protracted conflict. The country has never had a stable democratic government body;

an authoritarian regime maintained its power for decades by manipulating individuals and

pitting clan members against each other which was a source of many Somali grievances.

The authoritarian regime failed to address the needs of its citizens and, instead, involved

itself in multiple internal and external conflicts. Havoc eventually ensued when Barre's

authoritarian regime was overthrown which left clans to compete for what little resources

were available. As such, the international community, specifically UNOSOM's effort to

find a political solution, was unsuccessful, and the country has remained ungoverned for

decades. Somalia's main economic revenue, the livestock sector, provides employment

for more than half of the country, however, this sector is, and has been, susceptible to

bans being imposed from other countries. This, in turn, affects the economy and the

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[342] "Horn of Africa Drought: 'A Vision of Hell,'" http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14078074.
[343] "UN Declares Famine in Two Regions of Southern Somalia," http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=39086&Cr=Somali&Cr1=

livelihoods of Somalis who have one of the lowest GDPs in the world. It is for this reason that Somali's heavily rely on remittances which account for nearly 60 percent of the GNP. Aside from two self-administrative regional entities, Somalia has no functioning government body however, the Islamist militant group, al-Shabaab exerts a powerful control by refusing certain humanitarian organisations access and imposing unrealistic demands as well. By refusing aid assistance, al-Shabaab allows the food security to worsen; not only are people starving but they are also suffering from preventable diseases which could be addressed if access was permitted to humanitarian organisations.

Conflict seriously impacts food security in Somalia. The violence has exacerbated the situation by forcing people to leave their homes to find alternate food solutions. This in turn results in a decreased level of food production and an increased dependence on food aid which has, in the past, been looted by warlords who use the aid to prolong the conflict. This makes it extremely difficult for international humanitarian organisations to successfully deliver food aid that will help improve the situation of food insecurity that severely impacts a vast proportion of the population. Those individuals fleeing from conflict may decide to remove their children from school; the drop-out rate results in a decreased literacy rate which is detrimental because these individuals lack vocational training and life skills. The prevalence of conflict not only worsens the food security situation in the country but it also destroys the economy by reducing overall food production. Individuals leave their homes and land and rely heavily on international aid as means of survival. It is necessary that humanitarian organisations take into

consideration all of these factors to adequately address the serious problem of food

insecurity and conflict that have plagued Somalia for decades.

While there has been efforts made by the international community to address food

insecurity and conflict in Somalia, the mechanisms that have been implemented have

been ineffective at preventing a recurring food crisis. The international community has

undoubtedly been aware of the desperate situation for decades yet has failed to

successfully bring about long-term change. The UN peace enforcement operation was

only moderately successful in its efforts but was limited due to an insufficient security

force, an absent national government to negotiate with, and was not equipped nor tasked

to force a ceasefire and relied solely on peacekeeping tactics. Contrastingly, the European

Commission, one of the largest donors to Somalia, has developed a multi-sectoral

approach which aims to improve multiple sectors impacted by food insecurity in the

country. Its framework is, in theory, concrete and effective, but inapplicable due to the

country's current state. Moreover, the World Food Program is partnered with other

organisations which target many different areas impacted by the conflict and food

insecurity in Somalia. Again, its programmes are effective in long-term responses to food

security; its efforts aim to include local community members, which is fundamental to the

success of the programme because once humanitarian organisations leave, it is imperative

that the programmes they instill can be maintained afterwards. The current state of food

insecurity in Somalia has been declared a famine; individuals are leaving the land, selling

livestock and trying to survive. The urgent cries from the international community stress

the severity of the situation. Where awareness has been created, it is unfortunate that the

situation had to worsen into a state where millions of lives are affected in order for the international community to recognise the help that is needed in this area. If humanitarian organisations are not persistent with their relief efforts, food security situations may reoccur thus nullifying any previous efforts made to address this problem.

# 8.  DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

This chapter begins with a summary of the purpose and structure of the study and is followed by the major findings related to food security and protracted conflict. The state of food insecurity in Africa is a serious issue that desperately seeks help from the international community. A quarter of the world's undernourished live within the sub-Saharan African region; not only is it challenging to design response mechanisms that specifically address food insecurity, but the fact that there is a prevalence of conflict within the region means that humanitarian aid organisations must develop responses that simultaneously work towards ceasing the conflict as well as ensuring a level of food security that can be maintained long-term. This study sought to understand the relationship that exists between food security and conflict as well as the response mechanism strategies that have been developed to address this issue and whether or not they were advantageous to addressing conflict and hunger. Moreover, it assessed how different individuals such as women and children were impacted by the severity of the problem. Food security and protracted conflict are current issues; their prevalence makes it very difficult for the international community to reach their 2015 target to accomplish the Millennium Development Goals which are intended to improve the lives of the world's poorest. Research has indicated the repetitive, cyclical pattern of conflicts related to food insecurity aggravates grievances and sparks subsequent conflicts and thus makes

the problem much more difficult to resolve. The challenging nature of protracted conflict and food insecurity requires response mechanisms to be flexible because factors impacted by conflict may change and humanitarian organisations may need to reassess how to address the problem.

The study sought to understand if there was a relationship between food security and protracted conflict in Africa. It is clear that food security is negatively impacted by conflict; however areas that are suffering from food insecurity are not guaranteed to result in conflict. There are multiple factors that are combined together that make it likely for conflict to commence and weaken the food supply of a country as a result. These include political, economic, climate and ethnic lines. Despite sovereign boundaries, conflict and food insecurity threats are likely to impact other countries due to spillover effects. Food insecurity is a threat to human security and requires the help of international humanitarian organisations who are committed to ensuring that the human right to food is recognised because some countries neglect to acknowledge this right to the same extent as others. Food security problems are more prevalent in countries with non-democratic governments and there is a connection between a country's governance and likeliness of repeated famine. In Africa, many countries that have experienced food insecurity and protracted conflict have also had failed governments, some of which are responsible for perpetuating grievances within the country between citizens and thus exacerbating the severity of the problem. The issue of food security and conflict in Africa is prevalent; this fact is demonstrated based on the fact that 20 percent of sub-Saharan Africa's population lives in countries at war with themselves and low intensity conflicts have become

endemic to other countries. While innocent lives are impacted by conflict, food security deaths outnumber war deaths by a factor of 5 to 1.

Death is not the only unfortunate repercussion of food insecurity and protracted conflict. Both of the case studies exemplified the importance of the agricultural sector; more than half of the countries' populations were employed in this sector which accounted for approximately 32 percent of protracted conflict countries GDP. Therefore, interruptions to this sector caused by conflict, severely impacts the livelihoods of individuals and their ability to survive. The overall loss from conflict-related agricultural production between 1970 and 2000 was USD 52-55 billion. This detrimental loss demonstrates how the economy is impacted as a result of protracted conflict; a decrease of 2.2 percent in gross domestic product is commonly reported. Over time, this seemingly small percentage can prove to have unfavourable repercussions for the economy of countries experiencing protracted conflict. In order to address this issue which impacts millions of lives each day, it is imperative that response mechanisms implemented by humanitarian organisations take into consideration factors such as government and economy to properly address conflict and food insecurity. In doing so, it is arguable that progress will likely be made towards achieving the other Millennium Development goals.

The study also sought to understand what response mechanisms have been used to address food insecurity and protracted conflict. It assessed food aid, food for work, and cash vouchers as direct forms of addressing food insecurity. Other responses such as training and education, as well as being aware of gender roles during conflict are indirect responses to protracted conflict which are often overlooked but extremely advantageous

to addressing and preventing future bouts of conflict and food insecurity. The former direct responses to food security are beneficial in the short-term because they address immediate food needs. While food aid may not reach all the intended beneficiaries, it arguably still helps save the lives of those suffering from food insecurity. Food for work can be useful when there are able-bodied individuals available to work to receive food aid however during protracted conflict, the number of available individuals capable of helping communities is limited. Lastly, cash vouchers have been used as an alternative food response because food aid is often stolen or used as a weapon. Using cash vouchers instead gives money directly to the beneficiaries; there is no guarantee that the allotted money will directly address food security needs because it may be spent on other household needs. Instead, other responses such as training and education as well as ensuring gender equality are found to better address long-term food security needs. Although they do not improve immediate concerns, these responses are essential to longer-term recovery. By failing to ensure that response mechanisms are able to provide long-term help, individuals requiring international assistance may continuously experience food insecurity. The Twin-Track Approach proposed by the FAO is beneficial because it addresses both immediate and long-term needs simultaneously; it is arguably the best response mechanism to address food security and protracted conflict. Each situation is unique and requires different responses, it is imperative that when applying the Twin-Track Approach that the mechanisms are flexible to address the most pertinent needs at certain times.

The study has emphasized the importance of response mechanisms being flexible due to the fluid nature of conflict. Moreover, developing strategies that address short-term emergency needs and ensure long-term stability will likely result in properly addressing food insecurity challenges and improving individuals' livelihoods. As such, it is important to ensure that each case dealing with food insecurity and conflict must be thoroughly analysed to develop response mechanisms specifically catered to the particular problem. The uniqueness of each conflict requires this analysis to take place and humanitarian organisations cannot expect to apply the same strategies to different conflicts. Ideally, the ultimate goal is to stop conflict and eradicate hunger but response mechanisms must address a broad scope of factors that cause a country to experience these two things. Previous chapters have noted the importance of education, government and gender as specific needs that must be addressed in order to make progress in eradicating hunger and developing world peace. These areas have, in the past, been overlooked but the literature indicates how important they are for food security. Future response programmes must address these three factors otherwise it is likely that the vicious cycle of conflict will continue.

Knowing that farmers have the education to adapt and reorganise to care for their crops will help reduce the dependence on aid and disruption to local markets that are often cited as reasons against humanitarian organisations donating in-kind food. If response mechanisms include food aid as a short-term response and are dedicated to promoting education needs as well, long-term success is likely to result. Given that the majority of individuals' employment in Africa is in the agricultural sector, educated

farmers will be able to contribute to sustainable food production. Food insecurity is prevalent in non-democratic countries. This is another issue that must be addressed by humanitarian organisations. Since some governments have perpetuated violence and failed to recognise the right to food, it is imperative to focus on developing governments that cater to the will of the people. The fact remains that many of the countries experiencing conflict and food insecurity are former colonies. Upon gaining their independence, there lacked a smooth governmental transition and as a result, militant, authoritarian dictators commonly attempted to take control of the country and its resources which aggravated individual grievances and resulted in conflict taking place and recurring as well as weakening food security. It is important to take gender into consideration when addressing food security and conflict. Given that men often leave to engage in conflict, women are expected to uphold more responsibilities. Young girls are often not given the precedence to attend school and thus a whole cohort of individuals fails to attain an education which limits the ability of communities to be rebuilt. Moreover, women who are pregnant or lactating have different needs and this must be taken into consideration when humanitarian organisations develop response mechanisms to deal with food insecurity and conflict.

In the past, donor governments have inefficiently and unfairly distributed aid. Despite evident warning signs, there are recorded events where the international community has ignored the indicators which ultimately resulted in emergencies taking place and more people negatively impacted. Food insecurity is a human security issue and when the right to food is not upheld, the international community is depended upon

to improve the situation and should intervene. Humanitarian organisations must develop flexible response mechanisms that aim to apply the characteristics of the Twin-Track Approach which focuses on immediate needs that will be applied in the short-term as well as long-term reforms such as those that include education, government and gender. Previous food insecurity responses have failed to succinctly address all of these factors which have weakened the overall success of their initiatives and therefore failed to achieve food security.

Eradicating global hunger is possible however it requires consistency from international organisations dedicated to improving the livelihoods of millions of people who suffer from malnourishment. Global initiatives must ensure that the multiple factors that are impacted by food security and protracted conflict are properly addressed. Achieving the first Millennium Development Goal of halving the percentage of people suffering from malnutrition by 2015 is perhaps optimistic given that the effort to meet the target has swerved off track slightly. The international community must not only strive to meet the target date but it should re-evaluate its commitment to eradicating global hunger entirely. The interrelated nature of all the MDGs demonstrates the importance of properly addressing the first goal. Prevalence of hunger and conflict are detrimental to the success of the other seven goals and it is in the interest of the United Nations to maintain its credibility, which has been questioned in the past. Conflicts impact countries' food security and make it very difficult to provide aid; when violence prevails and individuals have left their homes and communities it is challenging for humanitarian organisations to provide assistance to help rebuild communities and improve individuals' livelihoods.

Especially in Africa where conflict and food insecurity are prevalent, it is imperative that this issue is properly dealt with because the response mechanisms previously implemented have had short-term success and have unsuccessfully prevented the problem from occurring again. Using the research provided in this study and developing thorough analyses to determine aid allotment and distribution techniques will help to address other factors that contribute to food insecurity and protracted conflict. Once this method is adopted in a flexible manner, simultaneously addressing short-term and long-term needs, it is arguable that improvements will be made towards eradicating this serious problem.

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# CURRICULUM VITAE

Natalie Zarb grew up in Ontario, Canada. She attended the University of Western Ontario, where she received her Bachelor of Arts in Politics and French and 2010. She went on to receive her Master of Science in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from George Mason University as well as her Master of Arts in Mediterranean Security from the University of Malta in 2011.