

# **Food Insecurity in the Horn of Africa: Challenges and Prospects**

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Submitted to the  
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts  
in  
International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University  
August 2017  
Gazimagusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

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## ABSTRACT

The focus on global food security entered global academic discourse following the food conference in 1943 convened at the behest of the president of the United States of America (USA), **Franklin Delano Roosevelt**—coinciding with the period of the Second World War period (WWII). The then President of USA mentioned above reiterate the ‘freedom of speech; freedom of worship; freedom from want and freedom from fear’ during this period. These lead to the creation of the United Nations Food and Agricultural organization (FOA). The central focus of the organization in relation to the food conferences that followed was generally to address the objective of freedom of want declared by President Roosevelt in relation to food insecurity.

In this thesis, the challenges and prospect of food security is critically examined with respect to the Horn of Africa with particular focus on South-Sudan and Ethiopia. The Horn of Africa is notoriously known for its acute food shortages and hence regarded as the most food insecure part of the world. The region is characterized by a high occurrence of drought and arm conflict (UNFAO, 2017). The theoretical approach followed in this thesis is derived from the securitization theories credited to the Copenhagen School and the Aberystwth School, respectively. These schools of thought constitute a part of the post-modern movement in International Relation scholarship—known as the post-positivist—which became influential in the post-cold war era in the study of securitization. The methodological approach followed is based on critical examination of related empirical literature on the subject matter of food security from various sources. In most studies, food insecurity challenge is

linked to extreme weather conditions and natural hazards in the Horn of Africa. In Ethiopia and South-Sudan whereas extreme weather conditions plays significant role, civil war, armed conflicts, structural problems and corruption are the major cause of the food security crisis in both countries. The strengthening of regional security framework to ensure peace and stability in the Horn of Africa—promoting credibility in the national food security institution and embarking on sustainable government policies towards addressing the pervasive corruption and structural problems are recommended as prospects to addressing the challenges of the food insecurity in the selected countries in particular and the Horn of Africa in general.

**Keywords:** Global food security, Horn of Africa, post-positivist, regional security, securitization theories.

## ÖZ

Küresel gıda güvenliği üzerinde odak Gıda Konferansı 1943'te toplandı, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD), **Franklin Delano Roosevelt** -Başkan buyruğuyla genel akademik söylem aşağıdaki girdi-İkinci Dünya Savaşı dönemi (WWII) dönemi ile rastlayan. Yinelemek bahsedilen ABD o zaman Başkan ' ifade özgürlüğü; ibadet özgürlüğü; Özgürlük istiyorum ve korkusuzca ' Bu dönemde. Bunlar Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü'nün (FOA) oluşturulmasına yol açıyor.

Örgütün, takip eden gıda konferanslarıyla ilgili odak noktası genel olarak Başkan Roosevelt'in gıda güvensizliğiyle ilgili olarak ilan ettiği istemsizlik hedefini ele almaktı.

Günümüz tezinde, gıda güvenliği ile ilgili zorluklar ve ihtimal, Güney Sudan ve Etiyopya odaklı Afrika boynuzuyla eleştirel bir biçimde incelenmektedir. Afrika Boynuzu, akut gıda sıkıntısı nedeniyle bilinir ve bu nedenle dünyanın en gıdası güvensiz bir parçası olarak görülür. Bölge, kuraklık ve silah çatışmasının yüksek oranda görülmesi ile karakterize edilmiştir (UNFAO, 2017). Bu tezde izlenen kuramsal yaklaşım sırasıyla Kopenhag Okulu ve Aberystwyth Okulu'na verilen sekürütizasyon teorilerinden türetilmiştir. Bu düşünce okulları, post-modern hareketi, Soğuk Savaş döneminde menkul kıymetleştirmeyi incelerken etkili olan Uluslararası İlişki Bursu'nda (post-pozitivist olarak da bilinir) oluşmaktadır. İzlenen metodolojik yaklaşım, çeşitli kaynaklardan gelen gıda güvenliğine ilişkin ilgili ampirik literatürün eleştirel incelemesine dayanmaktadır. Yapısal sorunlara ek olarak, gıda güvencesizlik mücadelesi aşırı boy hava koşullarına ve Afrika boynuzundaki silahlı çatışmalara bağlıdır. Etiyopya'da Güney-Sudan'da aşırı hava şartları önemli bir

öneme sahipken, iç savaş ve çatışmalar ülkedeki gıda güvenliği krizinin ana nedenidir. Afrika boynuzundaki barış ve istikrarı sağlamak, ulusal gıda güvenlik kurumunda güvenilirliği artırmak ve sürdürülebilir hükümet politikalarına girmek için bölgesel güvenlik çerçevesinin güçlendirilmesi, genel olarak Afrika boynuzundaki gıda güvensizliğinin meydan okumalarına yönelik beklentiler olarak önerilmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Küresel gıda güvenliği, afrikanın boynuzu, post-pozitivizm, bölgesel güvenlik, menkulleştirme teorileri.

To the Glory of Allah

And

Family

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

All praise and adoration goes to Almighty Allah the Most Beneficent the Most Merciful. I like to acknowledge and express my profound gratitude to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Günay Aylin Gürzel Aka. My acknowledgement also goes to all my instructors with profound gratitude and appreciation without any exceptions.

Finally I wish to acknowledge with profound gratitude the help, support and assistance of my beloved Husband towards undertaking and completing my MA graduate studies.



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EASFOM	Eastern African standby force coordination mechanism
EJM	Eritrean Jihad Movement
ENFA	Eritrean National Forces Alliance
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHI	Global Hunger Index
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IPC	Integrated Food security Phase classification
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PSNP	Production Safety Net Programme
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement;
TI	Transparency International
UNEP	United Nation Environmental Programme
UNFAO	United Nation Food and Agricultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WNBF	West Nile Bank Front

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

It is a hard fact that in the new millennium of increased globalization and integration, growing affluence and prosperity only a few billion of the over 7 billion of the world population subsist below one dollar daily with over 2.8 billion subsisting below 2 dollars (Shaw, 2007). The number of fewer than 5 year old children grossly underweight as a result of lack of access to food has risen over 200 million. This situation means that in each second, a child dies from chronic hunger, starvation and disease. Thus, malnutrition alone and severe hunger has accounted for more death in developing countries taken as a whole than the scourge of AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. This pathetic situation also means more people die from hunger in contrast to war in the African continent.

At the heart of these tragic situations is the food insecurity. This arises from the difficulty in accessing nutritious, safe and balanced food necessary to ensure a healthy active life. What is the impact of this for global/ international humanitarian relations? Global leaders and international organizations including the United Nations have in many instances acknowledged the severity and threat of food insecurity and made commitment towards ending or at least halving the incidences of global poverty and hunger. These commitments are derived from the realization that food insecurity poses a threat to sustainable and equitable human development and global peace and security.

This thesis is an attempt to critically examine food security crises in the Horn Africa. Its main focus is the challenge and prospect of food insecurity in the region. The focus on global food security entered global academic discourse following the food conference in 1943 convened at the behest of the president of the United States of America, President **Franklin Delano Roosevelt** in the spring of that year. This period also coincide with the Second World War period. Thus, in the 1941 union speech before the US joined the World War II, four significant form of freedom was identified by the then President Roosevelt, these are ‘freedom of speech; freedom of worship; freedom from want and freedom from fear’. Hence, with the creation of the international food and Agricultural organization (FOA), the central focus of the organization in relation to the inaugural conference that followed was generally to address the objective of freedom of want declared by President Roosevelt. In this instance, the freedom from want implies a secured, adequately available and suitable food supply for mankind (FOA, 1943).

The objective of the conference was significantly motivated by the ‘new scientific’ evidence in nutrition and its need for promoting and ensuring adequate wellbeing and good health already identified as essential by the league of Nations even before the outbreak of the WWII. The policy objective from this conference was a more elaborate focus in ensuring abundance in the production and supply of the right and necessary food for mankind. Thus, the bold declaration adopted at the end of the conference was as follows;

*‘this conference meeting in the midst of the greatest war ever waged in confidence of victory, has considered the world problems of food and agriculture and declares its belief that the goal of freedom from want of food, suitable and adequate*

*for the health and strength of all person can be achieved’.*

In recognition of this declaration, the campaign of freedom from hunger on the initiative of the United Nation food and Agriculture organization to end all form of hunger began in 1960. This global campaign was led by Sen. B.R, tasked with the primary objective of ensuring that at least 1/6<sup>th</sup> of global population has equitable access to scare food item (Sen, 1982). This campaign culminated to the hosting of a global food congress in 1963 coinciding with the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the International food and Agriculture Organization.

In summary, the global food congress in 1960s emphasis the need to free the world from the scourge of extreme hunger in partnership with both the developed and under developed countries. This is especially realizing that freedom from want and hunger cannot be realized in a world where the majority remains in an abject state of want and starvation. The United Nation with it numerous specialized agencies and other global governmental and non-governmental institution and organization where all individually and respectively committed to addressing the threat of a global food insecurity.

Sequel to the commitment to end food insecurity, the United Nations in its new global development agenda to transform the world laid out the 17 ‘sustainable development goal’. This goal has as it number 2 objective—the goal of ending hunger, achieving a sustainable food security with a pledge to ensure the improvement of nutrition while encouraging sustainable agricultural practice. This is borne out of the following realization; one in every nine person globally remained severely undernourished; a significant number of the most undernourished and



hungry about 12% of the global population resides in the developing world; the United Nation estimates that the sub-Saharan Africa region is likely to surpass the South Asia in the number of severely hungry and undernourished population in the region between 2014 and 2016. This evidences put together including the increase number of death of children of ages below 5, about 45% of the word population and 23 million Africa children who are unable to attend school because of their inaccessibility to food, make this thesis timely and significant in view of the severity of the problem of food security for the African continent in general and the Horn of Africa in particular.

Finally, the focus on global food security took prominence following the 1972-1974 global food crises and indeed beyond that—to the 1948 universal declaration of Human right and freedom giving recognition to the right to food entitlements as significant component of United Nation adequate global standard of living.

## **1.1 Literature Review**

According to Pinstrop-Abderson (2009), the concept of food security is employed differently to mean different things. He argued that food security in ordinary parlance means the availability of food at the household, community, national and global level. In this regard, food security is originally thought of as a country access to enough and sufficient food to meet the required dietary requirements of its citizens for normal human activities. The idea of national food security then connotes the overall national self-sufficiency of the country to produce and meet the food requirements of its citizens. Therefore in the literature on food security, the notion of food availability at both the country level focuses more on the supply-side of food production.

Hence according to the scholars of food security, food availability does not translate to food accessibility. This was brought to prominence by practitioners and scholars in the 1970's in which case food security was conceived to mean 'accessibility by all citizens of a nation to adequate food for healthy living and productive wellbeing'. Following the food summit by the FAO (1996), this definition was amplified in the Rome declaration on global food security to include the access to "safe food and nutritious diet".

In the literature, the root of the challenge of food insecurity is generally traced to the global food problems of the 1970's such that from 1980s food security concern became significant generating huge academic interest with facilitation from global and multinational organization such as aid agencies (Maxwell and Smith, 1992). Thus, according to Maxwell and Smith (1992), the growing complexities in food security and the conceptual definition of the term have also evolved. Therefore Maxwell and Smith (1992) contribution to the food security literature addresses the notion of food accessibility and food entitlements in addition to food availability.

Additionally in the literature, the idea of food entitlements is linked to the individual endowments consisting the initial level of resource they poses that is easily transformed through productive activities. This is derived from the work of Amarty Sen (1981) while writing on the conceptual meaning of entitlements in relations to food security. Thus, according to Sen (1981), the failure of food entitlement results from hunger when an individual food bundle is inadequate. This scholar addresses the food entitlement problem in relation to what the individual own, produces, trade or inherits within the private market economy setting.

The idea of entitlements in relation to security has also been extended by Swift (1989) to include the role of private investments, food processing and other social benefit in explaining the vulnerabilities of households to food shortages. This idea according to Swift (1989) implies that when individual generate food surpluses above their requirements, the extra food resources can be channeled into assets holdings which provide leverage in time of food crises. This scholar advocate for potential community buffers to guide against failures of national food entitlements. In his analyses, the vulnerability of severe famine arises from inadequacies and insufficient asset holding by households such that the poorer the household with fewer asset, the more vulnerable they are to food crises and famine.

In the food security literature Connolly-Boutin and Smith (2016) also adds that food security broadly conceived extends beyond the amount and quality of current food availability in a nation. The definition adopted at the world food summit (1996) then refers to food security in terms of access by people physically, socially, economically at all times in all situation to sufficient food. Maxwell (1996), Anderson and Cook (1999) and Barra and Deubal (2006) all argued that food security is linked to food production function based on the conceptual understanding of food security from 1970' era. The introduction of food entitlement and food accessibility concept into the food security literature by Sen (1981) helps to clarify the divergence view in the definition of food security. Therefore according to Webb et al. (2006) and Ericksen et al. (2011), the most commonly accepted definition of the concept of food security addresses the issue of food availability, accessibility, and utilization. According to the empirical literature the availability of food is associated with food consumption derived from the production, distribution and exchange of food. Food accessibility is

linked to food affordability, allocation and preferences in terms of quantity, quality and available type. Lastly, Food utilization has to do with food nutritional, social and safety value. According to Web et al. (2006), Pinstop-Aderson, (2009) and Barret (2010), Food availability is necessary but not sufficient for food accessibility and food accessibility is also necessary but insufficient for food utilization.

In general according to Maxwell and Smith (1992) in their conceptual review of food security at household level, they noted that the conceptual definition of our subject matter converges in terms of the criteria of sufficiency, accessibility, securitization and time dimension of food security. With respect to the time dimension of food security, Maxwell and Smith (1992) distinguish between chronic and transitory food insecurity. They noted that whereas a chronic case of food insecurity is used to refer to a significant risk toward the inability to meet household food requirements, the transitory case of food insecurity refers to annual variations in food access by households.

Food security is also linked to the idea of sustainable human development. Thus according to the United Nation Food and Agricultural Organization (UNFAO), one of the strategic objectives of the organization is the achievement of a food security by ensuring that people have access adequately and regularly to quality food for active life. This makes the thrust of the policy goal of the organization as one addressing hunger, malnutrition and insecurity in food access among others.

Furthermore, Shepard (2012) in his study examines the conflict at the heart of food security namely the insecurity due to hunger and the ability to secure control of food production and food resources. He refers to hunger as a severe security issues that

need emergency attention. According to this scholar although the world food production exceed the world population requirements, more and significant number of people suffer from hunger due to the waste culture of global human population. He refers to hunger as a result of structural deficiencies rather than a natural occurrence or the result of an imbalance variable in the 'Thomas Maltus 'equation.

More so, the empirical studies on food security shows that the famine resulting from hunger is a direct result of economic, political and social system and indirectly of external trigger such as war and drought (Sen, 1981). Security scholars are of the view that the severity of the threat of hunger warrants global attention for the reasons that hunger result from the lack of food. Hunger also poses a significant threat to life because it harms the human being physically on a greater scale compared with the lack of economic and political status. The literature also maintains that hunger lead to the existential threat and is an antecedent to war. Furthermore hunger of a pervasive nature is regarded as a substantial burden to the nation or society because of the absolute absence of capacity it denotes.

In the literature on food security, climate change and global warming are both identified as significant treat which humankind faces and which affect food security. This concern is not new. For instance according to scientific Division of NATO (1993), climate change threatens the livelihood and wellbeing of a large vulnerable population in marginal communities around the globe faced with severe and acute food shortages increasing their incidences of hunger (Downing 1996).

Also Shaw (2007) in a comprehensive research on the historical analysis of food crisis argued that global warming due to the variation of the earth atmospheric

condition also affect food production severely. Thus, man-made induced climate change linked to greenhouse gas emissions has put pressure on the earth atmosphere threatening the livelihood of a vast population of people. This situation was first recognized at the global climate conference (1979) resulting from of man's continued expansion and exploration of the earth threatening food security. This has prompted the United Nation framework conventions on the global warming and climate change to address man-made threat to the earth.

According to Zewdie (2014) the literature shows that climate change severely affect African countries, particularly Sub-Saharan region negatively impacting all the dimension of food security namely; availability, accessibility, affordability and utilization. Thus, according to Brown and funk (2008), the most significantly and profound impact of the climate change and global warming is linked to the disruption of the global food system. In Connolly -Broutin and Smit (2016) it is seen that nearly 70% of the livelihood of Africa is dependent on agriculture fed directly by rainfall. With climate change this would impact food security for the continent adversely. Hence, the lack of adequate rainfall mostly due to severe climate change has contributed negatively to the humanitarian problems for the Horn of African. This affects the livelihood of the region pastoralist, farmers and the ordinary population. This problem is compounded by rapid degradation of the environment, pollution of water body and growing population in the region.

Hence in the literature, climate change is believed to have a direct and indirect effect on agricultural production. The direct effect is classified following the modification of physical features of the environment due to temperature changes and the yearly distribution levels of rainfall as well the availability of water. The indirect effect is

associated with the impact of climate change on agricultural production via its impact on species like pollinators, decrease -vectors, pest etc. (FAO, 2016).

In summary, according to Swift (1989) the proximate cause of food insecurity that can result to severe famine is categorized into three layers at the level of food production, food exchange and it claims by household. This scholar argued that the risk and vulnerability of food insecurity can result from any of this layer or the simultaneous the combination of all.

Finally, the rights to food give another dimension of food security in terms of its correlation with human rights and dignity. Thus, the “Universal Declaration of Human Right in 1948 as adopted by the United Nation General Assembly gives recognition to both economic and social-cultural aspect of world food supplies in relation to need (United Nation, 1966).

Furthermore in the Global food conference of 1974, the "Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition was adopted and proclaimed in the following ways "*every man, woman and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop fully and maintain their physical and mental faculties* "(United Nation, 1974)".

In conclusion, Davies et al. (1991) while addressing solution to food insecurity advocate for information sharing to avert acute food crises by adopting a learning approach process through rapid data collection and appraisal. The table bellows give a comprehensive summary of the milestone in global food security.

Table 1: Milestone in Food security

Year	Issue to Address	Source/Objectives
1919	De-commoditization of Labor	Treaty of Versailles
1941	Four-Freedoms	President Roosevelt State of the Union address
1945	Freedom hunger and want	United Nation Charter
1946	Labour Rights	United Nation ILO / Philadelphia Declaration
1947	Agriculture produce exclusion from External trade rules	The GATT agreement
1948	Freedom against Want	Human Rights Universal Declaration
1966	Right to Food	International Food Covenant
1974	Inalienable-Right/ Freedom against hunger and malnutrition	Universal -World Food Conference
1974	Exclusion of Trade Rules	Uruguay Round
1992	Food security and sustainability issue	Rio-Summit
1992	Rights to Nature	Biological Diversity Convention
1996	Right to Sufficient food; Safe food & nutritious Food	Global Food Summit
2000	Food Security and Poverty Eradication	Millennium Development Goals
2005	Intergeneration Responsibility	Kyoto-Protocol
2009	Systemic Challenges of Food Security	United Nation World Food Security commission
2017	Ending hunger, achieving food security and improving nutrition and promoting sustainable agricultural practice	Unites Nation Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 2

Source: Wilkinson, 2015.

## 1.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical approach to the comprehension of global food security has evolved with changing paradigm on the post-modern concept of food insecurity. The ambiguities in the level of approach in this regard stems from the theoretical view point from which the notion of food security is conceived. For instance according to Maxwell (1996) whereas some theoretical study follows a micro level approach in their studies on food security and its impact, others tend to adopt a macro level approach. Hence Maxwell (1996) in his study highlights three fundamental shifts in the theoretical analysis of the notion of food security following the 1974 Global Food



Conference. These are the shift of emphasis from a national or worldwide perspective to the level of individual households; a shift from ‘food-first’ thought to ‘livelihood’ and a perception of food security in a rather subjective view as against an objective analysis. According to this author, these shifts are embodiment of a ‘post-modern’ focus in the debate on food security. Thus, our theoretical framework in explaining food security in the Horn of African follows the post-modern approach to the subject of the thesis.

The theoretical framework adopted to explain the post-modern focus on food security is then derived from the securitization-theory due to the Copenhagen school and the Aberystwth school of thought. The idea of securitization in relation to food security based on the Copenhagen school is linked to the quest for survival in matters of food insecurity. This is the view that food insecurity poses real existential threat to human development and needs to be address as a matter of urgent national security issue. Thus, within the framework of securitization study, broadly conceived, the conceptualization of security has also evolved greatly.

There are a group of scholars on the one hand mostly from parts of continental Europe and British theorist who advocate for a deeper and broad application of securitization theory beyond the primacy of the state sovereignty as the main security agent. In contrast to this position, some other group of theorist—the traditional-securitization theorist from United State believes that by adopting a deep and broader application to the concept beyond state sovereignty, inconsistency and incoherence often arise in the theoretical framework of securitization. To this group of theorist, the state is the reference point in securitization and the idea applies to the use of state coercive power in the event of threat to its existence such as during war. The dispute

in the theoretical application of securitization extend beyond the differences between the ‘traditionalist and the wideners’ to also include internal disputes between the respective theoretical school of thought. Thus, like most other concept in the field of International Relation-theory, the concept of securitization is very strictly contested. For instance, the crux of the divergence views between the wideners of securitization stems from the theoretical path they emerge from.

Nevertheless, as for the anti-traditionalist and post-modern scholars on securitization, the dominant approach and school in these category remain the ‘Copenhagen School and the Aberystwth School’ of securitization studies which remains the most significant. Unlike the Copenhagen School, the Aberystwth School follows a sustained and coherent path as well as radical approach to securitization. However, both schools of thought constitute a part of the post-modern movement in International Relation scholarship called the post-positivist which became influential in the post-cold war era in the study of securitization. The central ideas in these schools of thoughts on securitization study are considered in turn.

### **1.2.1 The Copenhagen School**

The Copenhagen school of thought regards security as a survival phenomenon. It maintains that a phenomenon is regarded as been of dire security concern when it has an existential threat attached to it that must be dealt with immediately. This position follows the approach of traditional military scholar’s comprehension of securitization. The Copenhagen school adopts a conceptual approach which is a mix of the neorealist social construction in their theoretical approach. Thus, the conceptual analysis of the Copenhagen school is situated base on the sector of the security threat either in regional setting and or resulting from global complexities.

The central position of the theory of securitization to the Copenhagen school is that a phenomenon is viewed to be of security concern not as a result of such phenomena in itself been an objective form of threat to a state but as a result of the perception that it poses potential threat to the existence of the state. By such classification, this realization means that extra ordinary approach can be followed to protect the interest of the state from the object of the threat. Thus, to successfully ensure the securitization of a phenomenon, the object of the threat present such threat as significant to its survival in such a way that it yield acceptance by the majority to a target audience. In this regards, the threat is label an issue for urgent security consideration that warrant emergency measures.

Furthermore to the Copenhagen school of securitization, the idea of regional security arrangement encompasses the clustered nature of security in a geographical region. This often result to conflict of interest within the region as various regional actor seek out to protect their security interest with those of other actor in the region in some case in rather conflictual exchanges. Furthermore according to this theory, there are tendencies of interdependence in regional security matters between regional the actors.

### **Copenhagen school and the designation of existential threats.**

The Copenhagen school is considered to be successful in popularizing the concept of securitization. This is evidence by the pervasive usage of the central theme of the Copenhagen securitization theory in relations to the subject matter of international relations. The concept of securitization has been very successful in explaining the diplomatic foreign relations of states in relation to other state to the challenges of transnational security and to the very significant threat of the diseases such as

HIV/AIDS. The conceptual framework of the Copenhagen school of securitization studies has also been applied in explaining the various approaches to issue of global war on terror and more recently to the problem of food shortages and food insecurity particularly in Africa.

Therefore in relation to the food insecurity crisis in Africa, the approach in the application of the Copenhagen theory of securitization is more generally understandable given the recent trends of post structural explanation and analysis of security matters .This position is given prominence and rooted in the concept of "exceptional matters" exhibiting very significant link with the central idea of the Copenhagen school as a process which qualifies a matter of security concern an urgent issue that extend beyond normal matter of every day politics.

On the reverse side, the concept of de-securitization also found significance in the explanation of the Copenhagen securitization theory and also in relation to the Horn of Africa. In the central argument of leading scholar of the Copenhagen school, the normative explanation for the idea of de-securitization implies the removal of an issue of urgent security concern from normal politics .In this regard, leading proponent such as weaver (1995) argued that security concern "constitutes what was the reverse of politics ". In this sense the later concept is associated with a possibility for dialogue and open engagement in resolving conflictual interest.

In the central view of de-securitization of urgent security concerns, the major position of leading proponents of the Copenhagen school can be interpreted to mean a characterization and failure of national politics in addressing very significant and urgent security concerns.

The application of the Copenhagen school of securitization theories in relation to the food insecurity in the Horn of Africa becomes essentially very apt in this regards because of the failure of the National government in the region to address the severe food crisis in the region. For example in 2012, various global organizations engaged in Africa including the UNFAO declared the food security crisis in Africa as an urgent and significant global challenge. “The United Nations, Economic and social council” under the “Economic Commission for Africa" in 2012, also declared the challenge of food insecurity in Africa an urgent issue of global challenge that needs to be addressed.

Therefore in applying the Copenhagen theories in relations to the Horn of Africa, it is apparent that the various dimension of food security in the region becomes explicitly captured in this thesis. This range from the regional conflict and war in the Horn of Africa which continues to threaten the food security in the region and hence the most significant factor of food insecurity for the Horn of Africa. It also include other urgent issue of regional security concerns that exacerbate the threat of food insecurity such as the internal displacement of people as a direct outcome of war and conflict including movement of refugee and war migrants.

Therefore from the foregoing, the above issue of urgent security concerns affecting food security in the Horn of Africa needs to be addressed according to our explanation from the Copenhagen securitization theory perspective.

In conclusion, the scholars in the Copenhagen school favor the de-securitization of urgent security matters such that by given it exceptional considerations it is taken out of the realm of ordinary discourse.

### **1.2.2 The Aberystwyth School**

The school of thought is mostly identified as school for securitization study for critical security study. Its position is rooted in the traditional critical theory of Marxism. It is associated with the seminal work of Ken Booth and Richard Wyn and mostly significantly influenced by the critical theories of the Gramscian Frankfurt School as well as the neorealist Gramscian radical theory in international relations due to Robert W. Cox. The focus of this school is the development of a critical theory toward the social emancipation of the human by expanding their natural boundaries and exploring possibilities.

Hence, following other critical theoretical approach, the paradigm in this school of thought challenges the traditional securitization theory in terms of its state oriented focus. The approach in this school of thought offers to re-conceptualize securitization study by focusing on the emancipation of the human arguing that via a process of sincere emancipation, the prospect of true human freedom and security is achieved. To this scholars, the realist comprehension of securitization in terms of 'power' on the one hand and 'order' on the other never lead to the realization of true securitization. These scholars argue that the state by its very nature is the main harbinger of insecurity and to them true security must be perceived as human emancipation providing the humans hope and giving them guidance.

Finally the view of the proponent of this theoretical framework implies that to achieve sustainable and lasting security affecting human emancipation, human security must itself be defined clearly, noting that the reference point for the conceptualization of security is derived from the Conditions of real insecurity which the generality of the people suffers.

The Aberystwyth school of thought concludes that universal security is derived from the biological needs and survival of people in terms of their access to food, shelter and safety. In this regard, the lack of security becomes a life defining condition. According to Aberystwyth securitization proponents, this condition is defined as a quest for survival in which humanity struggles for their existential needs. Even more so, according to this school of securitization study, survival is not the same as living in a tolerable situation or condition.

Following the critical theory rooted in the Aberystwyth school of securitization, this thesis offers a critique of the concept of food security via the international political economy of food aid and liberal trade as championed and encourage by "super state international organization" such as the Food and Agricultural organization of United Nations, the World Trade Organization of United Nations, (W.T.O) and World Bank. The critique of international political economy of food security stems from the explanation of the pervasive political economy of food insecurity particularly in relations to the Horn of Africa. According to Otero et al. (2013), the political economy of trade and it liberalization in the 1980's marked the turning point of capitalism reform by the neoliberals. They argued that one significant means through which the global -corporate agriculture was liberalized was through the concept of food security which was promoted through trade rather than by encouraging self-sufficiency in food production. In this regard, they further state that the global corporate food organization has motivated and encourage the deepening of food aid dependency globally. This situation has lead even more so to a global structural divide in the food aid dependency regime between the neoliberal capitalist and poor developing countries in Africa and elsewhere.

Therefore in the light of the foregoing in applying the Duncan Kennedy pervasive political economy explanation, it is observed that the quick transformation of the agricultural sector in Africa from an agrarian economy to a regime of market liberalization contributes very significantly to the food crisis in Africa. This has led to a regime of very persistent and rising food prices as a result of the profit motives of multinational which control and dominate the global agricultural food chain. In the Horn of Africa for instance, these multinational cooperation often repatriate their excess surpluses leaving the national elite and rentier with a tiny part of the spoils of their surplus which they often use to buy political support and drum up partisan discord and upheaval which threatens the regional security often leading to conflicts and wars.

In the light of food aid dependency from war, the food sector in Africa and in particular in the Horn of Africa has become so heavily dependent on food aid and handout dampening the self-reliance spirit of the African continents. The food aid has also encouraged government corruption and subversion of aid resources from the chronically affected population to personal usage by the government elites. This situation further results to more cycles of food insecurity and food crisis. Hence, Africa and in particularly the Horn of Africa notably Ethiopia and South Sudan has been the most food aid dependent nations but with large population highly vulnerable to food crisis and food insecurity.

Therefore in line with the Aberystwyth School of security, the individual household food security matter more as it helps to achieve a sustainable national food security. In this regard, the individual household food security is the Horn of Africa is achieved when majority of the household in the region has sufficient access to food.



This approach means a critique of the focus of the countries in the Horn of Africa on national food security ignoring the household food security.

In conclusion, the position in this school of thought maintain that securitization connotes a "survival plus" with this referring to freedom from threat to life and the opportunity to individually make progressive choices.

### **1.3 Significance**

This thesis examines food security in the Horn of Africa in terms of its challenges and prospect. The Horn of Africa is notoriously known for its acute food shortages and hence regarded as the most food insecure part of the world. The region is characterized by a high occurrence of drought and arm conflict (UNFAO, 2017). The focus in this thesis is on the greater Horn of Africa with specific concentration on South-Sudan and Ethiopia. As of February 2017, it is estimated that no fewer than tens of millions of the inhabitant of the region faces severe food crisis and famine in the war ravaged country of South-Sudan. Therefore being a newly independent country, South-Sudan is severely hit by food shortage and food insecurity. On the other hand, Ethiopia is historically known and regarded as the World most food insecure nation where tragically one in every four person is known to be extremely poor living below the national poverty line. For instance in 2015, the national data reveal that 32% of Ethiopian suffered acute hunger and malnutrition. Thus, according to the World Food Programme (2017) the food insecurity and shortage in the Horn of Africa is worsened by the conflicts in the region. Therefore food insecurity poses a threat to the Horn of Africa particular in terms of the geographical stability of the region and regional security.

Hence the choice of Ethiopia and South-Sudan for this study is that food insecurity poses the same threat to both countries even though they lie on extreme of a comparison pole. This means that South-Sudan is a newly independent country in a relatively less heterogeneous geographical region and Ethiopia is one of the oldest civilizations on earth with much more diverse and heterogeneous people and culture. Yet, food insecurity seems to affect both countries in very similar ways threatening the livelihood and national security of both countries. Thus in seeking to explain the factors responsible for the severity of food security crisis in both countries, the approach in this thesis applying the deductions of the critical securitization theories is to critically examine the factors embedded in the political economy of both countries in relation to the chronic food aid dependency and pervasive corruption in the respective countries. This way this thesis differs from other studies on our subject matter in that the other researches dwell more on the climate change and natural hazard in explaining food crisis and food insecurity. This thesis is a significant contribution to the literature as it seeks to fill the gap in the empirical literature on food insecurity from a securitization point of view building on the approaches in International relations studies.

From the foregoing, the research question in this thesis is focused on addressing the challenges of food insecurity in the Horn of Africa with emphasis on two important countries in the greater Horn of the region i.e. South-Sudan and Ethiopia.

#### **1.4 Hypothesis**

In line with our study objective and research question, the hypothesis in this thesis is stated to examine the statement that food security poses a challenge and problem for the Horn of Africa. In this regard the hypothesis is stated as follows;

Food insecurity crisis in the Horn of Africa is not solely the result of extreme weather condition and natural hazards.

This null hypothesis is critical examined in line with our methodological approach with –particular focus on the selected countries in the greater Horn of Africa i.e. Ethiopia and South Sudan.

### **1.5 Methodology**

The methodological approach employed in this thesis is derived based on critical empirical examination of related literature on the subject matter of food security from various sources. It also relies on publication and statistical data from international organizations such as United Nation F.A.O, the World Food Programme and OXFAM etc. Hence the empirical methodology followed in this study is multidimensional touching on all the keys components and factor required for a detail study on food security form secondary sources.

As the Horn of Africa continues to undergo demographic changes, with growing urbanization and the deterioration of agricultural practices with scare resource problem in the region, food security problems and challenges is feared to increase in the future. In terms of the multidimensional and multidisciplinary approach adopted in this thesis, a dynamic comprehensive methodological path is then employed to critically analyze the challenges and prospect of food security for the Horn of Africa in general.

## **Chapter 2**

### **BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

According to the technical unit of United Nation FAO, the Horn of Africa is an area about of 200,000 square km having a combined population of 160 million inhabitants. The Horn of Africa is comprised of states such as of Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti and it embraces geo-politically adjoining areas in Sudan and Kenya. Hence, this area consists of countries namely; Djibouti, Eretria, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somali, Sudan and Uganda. In a limited geographical perspective, it is in the northern-eastern part of Africa to the east of which is the red sea, the Indian Ocean to the Southwest and the Nile Basin in the West (Mesfin, 2010).

It is estimated that about 70 million of the total population in the region are prone to acute food scarcity. In recognition of severity of the challenges in this region, an Intergovernmental organization known as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was established in 1996 to address these problems. The picture below gives the geographical image of the Horn of Africa.

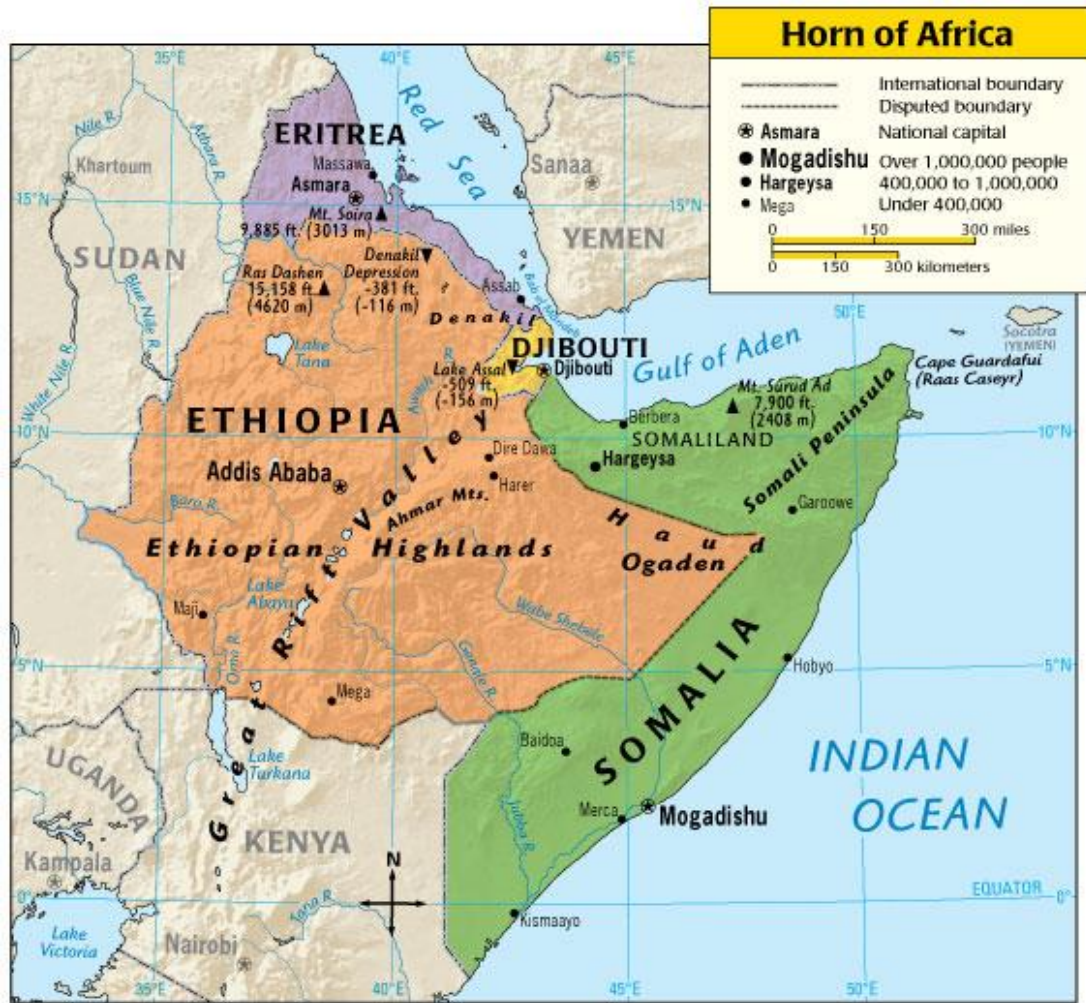


Figure 1: Map of the Horn of Africa.  
 Source: Retrieved from Oriental Review.Org (2016)

This organization was created to supersede a previous intergovernmental organization on drought and development in the region. The establishment of IGAD was to address issue such as of drought, ecological problems, famine and economic uncertainties in the Horn of Africa. Over the years, each of the countries in the region of the Horn of Africa has undergone some protected political problems arising as a result of local or national politics. Thus over the years, the Horn of Africa have been a strategic theater of global tussle. For instance, the colonial British Empire sought in the past to control the red sea area of the region, Egypt wants a full control of the Nile resources etc. In more recent times, the rise of the so called ‘Islamic court

union' in Somalia and frequent United States bombings in the region targeting suspected members of the international terrorist cells heightens the various dimensionality of threat and crisis in the Horn of Africa. Furthermore, the resurgence of internal conflict and instability in the region due to the civil war in Sudan, the lingering instability in Somalia and the unresolved confrontation between Ethiopia and Eritrea exacerbates the tension in the Horn of Africa, in general.

Climate change and global warming in the Horn of Africa has also contributed to crisis in the region. According to the report of Oxfam (2011) on the food insecurity in the region, it is observed that the situation is more severe in Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya where over 12million inhabitants of these affected areas are in need of basic means of livelihood. The Oxfam report shows that the condition of severe drought in the Horn of Africa is due to climate change which impacts the distribution of average rainfall in the region.

World-wide, the incidence of climatic changing conditions is linked to the increases in the frequency and enormity of bad weather conditions such as floods and droughts. Thus, while it is not so clear if the extreme weather conditions in the Horn of Africa are made bad by the impact of 'man', Oxfam (2011), reports show that the poor and vulnerable in the region bear more of the burden that result from the ensuing food insecurity. Thus, according to the inadequacy of rainfall has been the immediate and remote cause of the humanitarian food crisis in the Horn of Africa. In this regard, the advancement in the global economy and the rapidly changing climate and environmental conditions means that food insecurity would remain of significant impact for both urban and rural poor.

Furthermore, food security has been inextricably connected to regional and national security (Rajaonarison, 2014 and Speckhard, 2015). Verstandig (2017) also drew a parallel between food security and national security. These scholars argued that to set effective and efficient food and nutritional standard, food security must be regarded as integral component of national security. In this regards, the next section analyze the security situation in the Horn of Africa.

## **2.2 Security Situation in the Horn of Africa**

The complex security situation in the Horn of Africa is believed to have an impact on food insecurity in the region. Historically, most of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa pre-date their colonial experience. However, the legacy of colonialism in the region is a good starting point for the comprehension of the crisis and conflict ravaging the region Ayooob (1996) and Chege (1987). According to Woodward (1996), the colonial power decision in the Horn of Africa's to join hitherto unrelated and different entity into a single territory at the close of the 19th century is the root of the problem in the region. This was achieved by partitioning the freely consistent enclave in the Horn of Africa to pave way for the construction of the historical Suez Canal in the region (Mesfin, 2010). The evidence according to Mesfin (2010) shows that emergence of the new independent countries in the region was mostly derived from misconstrued borders given by the colonial masters without regards to ethno-cultural and religious divide between the people. In this regards, in 1956 Sudan became an independent nation, in 1960 British/Italian Somali obtained her independence, followed in 1963 by Kenya and Djoubouti 1977. Thus, Eritrea which use to be part of the Ethiopian federation, gained its independence forcefully in 1993 leaving the Ethiopian federation. In subsequent years, intra and interstate conflict for secession and autonomy lead to frequent conflicts and war in the region .This

problem became even more complex because the colonial framework and arrangement had designed the emerging institution in the region for resource extraction and exploitation.

Furthermore, the nature of the ensuing state power in the independent states also triggers much conflict and instability for the region. Most of the regimes that emerged from independence in the region became autocratic, lacked transparency, have no regards for rule of law and dignity of human person and human right. In most cases the regimes relied on ethno-cultural loyalties to maintain their grip on power often resulting into arm conflict confrontation and resistance movement by the opposition (Moheyeldin, 2016). As a result of this situation, Shinn (2009) argued that the Horn of Africa became known as the most conflict ridden region of the globe with wars and conflict between and within state leading to displacement in and around and the region. This situation is even worsened by the human right disregards and violations in the region. The table below gives some important intra and interstate conflict and war in the Horn of Africa.

Table 2: Interstate Conflict in the Horn of Africa

State	Rebel Group/Liberation Movement	Origin	Goal	Regional Support
Djibouti	Front for Unity and democracy	1991	Regime Change	Eritrea
Eritrea	Islamic Jihad	1989	Regime Change	Sudan
	Afar Rea Sea	1998	Autonomous state	Ethiopia
	Democratic Alliance	2008	Regime Change	Ethiopia
Ethiopia	Eritrean Liberation	1971	Secede	Sudan, Egypt, Somalia
	Eritrean People Lib	1972	Secede	Sudan, Saudi Arabia
	Tigray Lib.	1975	Regime change /Autonomous state	Sudan



	Oromo Lib.	1976	Secede	Sudan, Eritrea Somalia
	West Somali Lib.	1961/1976	Secede	Somalia
	Ogaden National Lib.	1986	Secede	Eritrea
	Ethiopian Patriotic	1998	Regime change	Eritrea
Kenya	Shifta crisis	1963	Secede	Somalia
Libya	National Salvation	1981	Regime change	Sudan

Source: Mesfin, 2012.

From Table 2 it is seen that territorial dispute and border clashes are prominently the most significant form of conflict in the Horn of Africa with 2 major incidences of full-scale military confrontation. These are on the one hand the war between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977-1978 and the Eritrea-Ethiopia war in 1998 to 2000. The detail of the interstate wars is presented in Table 4.

In more recent time, after gaining independence following a period of over 20 years of war, South Sudan has returned back to a vicious circle of internal conflict and war. It is seen that despite the call by the international community for dialogue, the crisis in South Sudan has raged on unabated. More so, in Uganda the presence of an age long confrontation which frequently spill over the Uganda border to neighboring countries has continued unabated. For instance, the military confrontations against dominant rebel groups in the country such the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) further compound the situation in the South Sudan, including Congo (DR) and the Central African Republic resulting into confrontation and bloodshed.

Finally in Somalia, the civil war since 1991 and the external foreign military interventions such Ethiopia 2006-2008 and Ethiopia and Kenya in 2011 have left the country unstable and very volatile. This situation combined together makes the Horn

of Africa extremely prone to wars leading to massive displacement of people and compounding the food insecurity for the region.

Thus, the Horn of Africa has many complex security and developmental challenges whose consequences and impact extend beyond the individual borders in the region. Therefore according World Bank Group/United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees–UNHCR (2015) in spite of the abundant of human, material and natural resources in the countries in Horn of Africa, the region is continuously plagued by weak structure of governance, increasing conflict and insecurity, environmental challenges, severe poverty and hunger. Thus, these problems remain endemic and significant in the region compounded by the socio-cultural and political unrest; structural and demographic changes; population growth; gross infrastructural deficit; disease; struggle over scarce resources and harsh climatic condition leading to drought and famine. These represent significant factors in comprehending the incessant conflicts and instabilities in the region.

### **2.2.1 Regional Security in the Horn of Africa**

A succinct approach to analyzing the link between food security and the regional security in the Horn of Africa draws from the complex security theory of Barry Buzan (1991). This approach make it possible to question several perception about the security setting in the Horn of Africa and rather analyze the security structure in the region based on the pattern of relationship by countries in the region (Ayoob, 1995). Thus according to Buzan (1991) complex security theory—the security in the Horn of Africa is a very distinct and important sub-system of the security relation between the countries in the region for the fact of their geography and proximity. Hence, it is therefore case that the militarization and threats in the Horn

of Africa is closely tie to the artificial border created by the colonial past in the region. Thus in the light of Buzan (1991) complex security theory—the regional security structure in the Horn of Africa balances up the power matrix in the region where enmity and deep suspicion exist due to the border and territorial disputes as well as ethnic nationalities in the region often resulting into confrontation and war.

By following Buzan (1991) complex security framework in relation to the Horn of Africa, we can readily understand how the various conflicts in the region erupt and suddenly spreading across the space and time.

In summary the complex security situation in the Horn of Africa is linked to the power balance between the contesting power blocs in the region, prolong conflict spilling into intra -state wars and transnational security problem. This is attributed to threats linked to the rise of terrorism and rebel movements, fragility and poor state, weak military, population explosion and environmental challenges (Mesfin, 2010). Thus according to Wasara (2002), the lingering security problem in the Horn of Africa is due to the inability and lack of political will by the country in region to embark on national cohesion policies for unity. These also include the inability to control and disarm rebel movement in the region as the mostly get moral backing and fund for the government (Wasara, 2012). This situation means that government in the region and dissident movement often induce the ordinary people to take up arm as accomplices of the violence and confrontation in the region. The table below shows the complex nature of conflict in the region.

Table 3: Complex Security situation conflict

Countries in Conflict	Opposition Movement	Support Base
Sudan vs Eritrea	SPLM. NDA. EJM. ENFA	Eritrea and Sudan
Sudan vs Ethiopia	ONLF .OLF. SPLM	Sudan and Ethiopia
Sudan vs Uganda	LRA. WNBF. SPLM	Sudan and Uganda
Eritrea vs Ethiopia	ENFA. ONLF. OLF	Ethiopia and Eritrea

Source: Wasara (2012).

Note: SPLM- Sudan People’s Liberation Movement; NDA- National Democratic Alliance; EJM- Eritrean Jihad Movement; ENFA- Eritrean National Forces Alliance; OLF- Oromo Liberation Front; LRA- Lord's Resistance Army; WNBF- West Nile Bank Front.

## 2.2.2 Causes of Food Insecurity in the Horn of Africa

In this section, the underlying factor of food insecurity in the Horn of Africa is discussed. The notion of food insecurity is connected with agricultural food production and it is often analyzed within the wider context of food poverty. However, according to the United Nation Food and Agricultural Organization, the vulnerability to food crisis in the Horn of Africa extend beyond insufficient food production to other factor considered below.

### 2.2.2.1 Natural Climatic Hazard

In the literature, it is seen that the major factor negatively impacting food insecurity in the Horn of Africa is extreme drought condition causing famine and severe food shortages. This arise because a very significant part of the Horn of Africa is arid or in some case semi-arid vegetation. The average rainfall in the region is low and not even distributed, hence often not reliable for agriculture. The recent crisis in the region suggests that even though drought is common in the region, the climate change in the region is getting even more severe, harsh and extreme. This factor affects food production in the region in general.

The graph below gives a pictorial depiction of the humanitarian disaster in the Horn of Africa. It is seen that the humanitarian situation in Ethiopia and South Sudan including Somalia is described as ‘emergency and severe’ according to the 2017 crises resulting from the impact of natural disaster in the region.

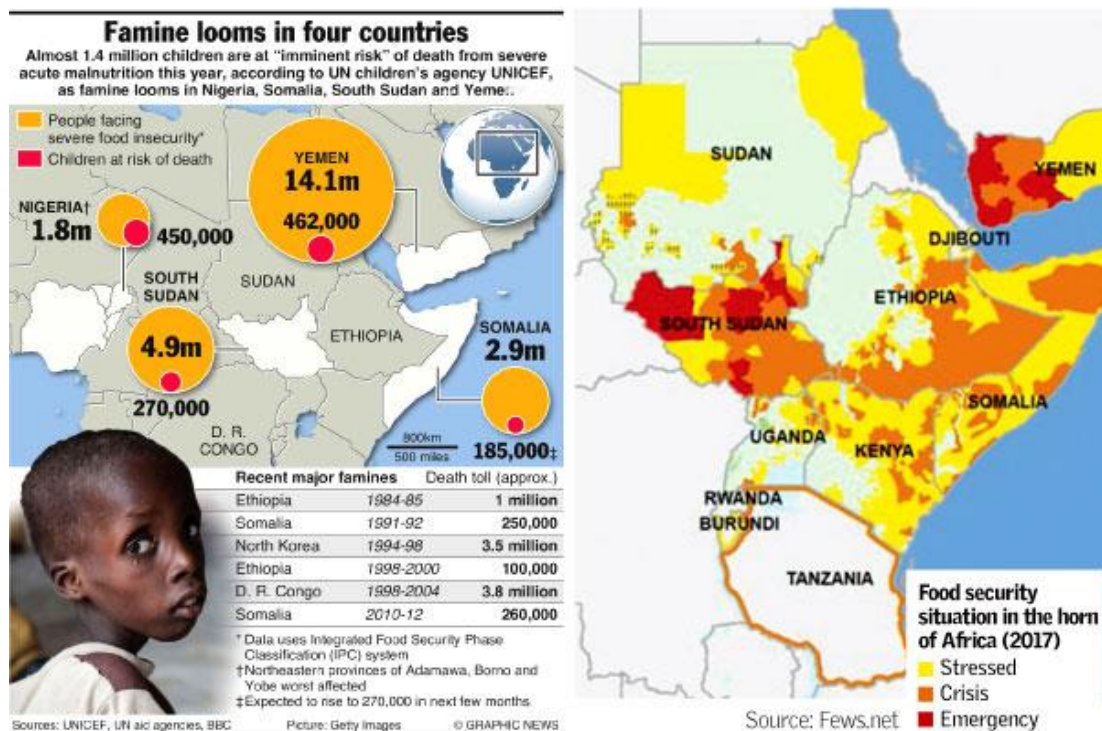


Figure 2: Famine looms in four countries  
 Source: United Nations Children's Fund–UNICEF–Report (2017).

### 2.2.2.2 Armed Conflict

Conflict between and within state contributes to the vulnerability and insecurity in the Horn of Africa. The literature shows that arm conflict and confrontation is inextricably connected to food insecurity. Thus, conflict has been the leading cause of hunger in the region leading to the marginalization and destabilization of the people. These have had long term effect in the region because of its impact on food production and the stability in the region. In the Table 4, a brief summary is presented for frequent interstate conflict and war in the Horn of Africa.

Table 4: Interstate Conflict in the Horn of Africa

	Classification	States	Proximate Cause
1964	Arm conflict	Ethiopia vs Somalia	Territorial Dispute
1960	Tension and Hostilities	Kenya vs Somalia	Territorial control
1977 to 1978	War	Ethiopia vs Somalia	Control over inhabited territory
1979	Cold war	Egypt vs Ethiopia	Over the Nile resource
1994 to 1998	Hostility and tension	Sudan vs Eritrea	Religious tension
1995 to 1998	Hostility and tension	Sudan vs Ethiopia	Assassination attempt in Egypt
1995	Brief confrontation	Eritrea vs Yemen	Territorial Dispute
1998 to 2000	War	Eritrea vs Ethiopia	Territory disputation
2006 to 2008	Military intervention	Ethiopia vs Somalia	External force intervention
2008 to 2010	Brief confrontation	Kenya vs Uganda	Territorial skirmishes

Source: Mesfin, 2012.

Furthermore in the Table 5 below, the estimated military expenditure by the countries in the Horn of Africa is given. This is in view of the frequency of wars and instability in the region. Estimated in constant United States dollar and as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product—GDP, South Sudan recorded the highest military expenditure in 2015.

Table 5: Military Expenditure in the Horn of Africa

	Million USD (\$)			% Of GDP		
	2005	2010	2015	2005	2010	2015
Djibouti	66	-	-	6.3	-	-
Eritrea	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ethiopia	638	422	405	2.5	1.0	0.6
Kenya	691	790	1,002	1.7	1.9	1.5
South Sudan	-	964	968	-	4.1	13.8

Sudan	2461	-	-	3.3	-	-
Uganda	331	759	340	2.4	3.8	1.4

Source: Slijper, (2016)

### 2.2.2.3 Demographic Changes

This is associated with dynamic population changes in the region. For instance, in 1974, the population of the Horn of Africa was about 160 million according to the forecasted estimate of United Nation FAO. The population of the region taken together reached a 40% increase in 2015.

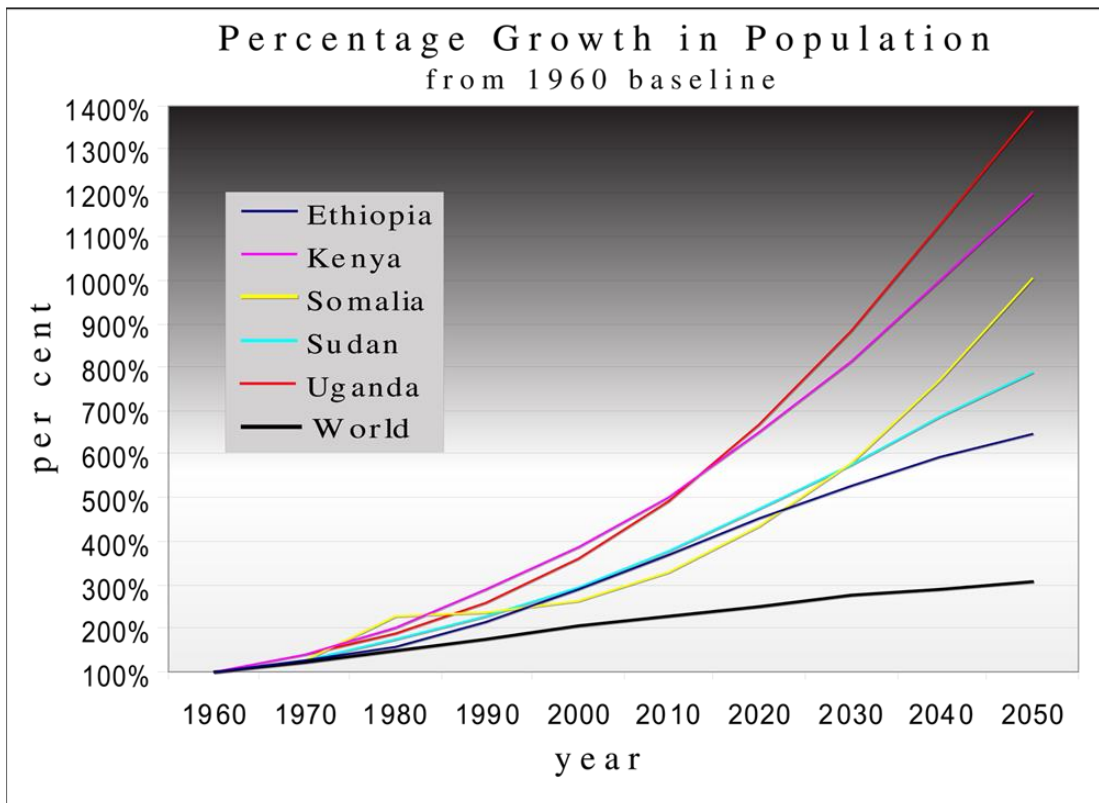


Figure 3: Graph of Population Growth in the Horn of Africa  
Source: United Nation Environmental Programme (UNEP, 2011)

The graph shows that the population of the Horn of Africa dramatically and significantly outmatched the World population. For example it seen that while Ethiopia is forecasted to grow 6 times its base population in 2050, Sudan is projected

to grow 8 time its 1960 population value.

The growth in the population adds more pressure to scarce resources in the region thereby increasing the competition for the region limited resource. This has an impact on the rural urban migration in the region as more people migrate into bigger urban centers increasing food poverty in both the rural and urban areas.

Thus, the food insecurity in the rural areas in the Horn of Africa has been linked to the poor ecosystem, low agricultural productivity, poor infrastructure, poor education and awareness and the negative impact of liberalization and globalization in general.

**Table 6: Food Production Index and GDP in Ethiopia and South Sudan**

Country	Ethiopia	Ethiopia	South Sudan	South Sudan
Series	Food production	GDP (\$)	Food production	GDP (\$)
2000	69.55	13074915713	..	..
2001	76.48	14160304517	..	..
2002	84.77	14374794288	..	..
2003	87.63	14064103274	..	..
2004	92.75	15972968199	..	..
2005	102.87	17860775923	..	..
2006	104.39	19795942248	..	..
2007	107.07	22063798450	..	..
2008	115.26	24444156129	..	14192832075
2009	121.57	26595865977	..	14908383841
2010	136.83	29933790334	..	15727363443
2011	137.76	33279878092	..	14997563965
2012	147.02	36157859262	..	8086368186
2013	147.46	39984181570	..	9148086587



2014	..	44094230374	..	9456710871
2015	..	48330591495	..	8856230729

Source: World Bank Development Indicator (2017).

The above table gives the food production index and GDP in Ethiopia and South Sudan from 2000 to 2015. However because of data scarcity in South Sudan, the data for food production is not reported whereas the data for GDP starts from 2008 — although South Sudan became independent officially in 2011. By definition, the food production data include data on crops that are edible with sufficient nutritional content according to the World Bank classification. The most recent value (2013) of the index of food production in Ethiopia is 147.46. This value has fluctuated significantly between 69.55 and 147.46 between 2000 and 2013 due to food emergency situation in the country with expansion in the country population.

Table 7: Global Hunger Index and Human Development index

Countries	Global Hunger Index	Human Development index
Djibouti	32.7	0.473
Eretria	-	0.391
Ethiopia	33.4	0.448
Kenya	21.9	0.555
Somali	-	-
South Sudan	-	0.418
Uganda	26.4	0.493

Sources: Global Hunger Index, Africa edition (2016) and Human development report (2016)

The Global Hunger Index for Eretria, Somali and South Sudan is not reported because of data problem and the lack of accessibility of the countries. Thus to reflect the severity of hunger, Global Hunger Index score consider factors such as undernourishment, acute and chronic undernutrition, inadequacy of food intake and

hygiene. Whereas countries in the Horn of Africa remains at the bottom of the Global hunger index in view of the severity of the food crisis for the region, the overall human development statistic for the region has improved significantly.

## Chapter 3

### ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH

Although Ethiopia is believed to have made progress in decreasing the incidence of hunger by a 39.24% between 1990 to 2013 according—to the global hunger index (GHI). In the current GHI index, Ethiopia score is estimated to be 33.4% at the same level with Pakistan (see, GHI 2016). Furthermore, the number of people below an estimated level required for the minimum dietary level food intake declined significantly between 1990 and 2015 from 74% to 32 % even though the total number of undernourished people in the country remains significant and high. More so, the number of people below the country poverty line between 1992 and 2010 also decrease from 44.2% to 29.81% with the national poverty level in the rural area declining significantly from 45.5% level in 2009 to about 30.4% in 2010. Thus, Ethiopia has made significant progress is addressing national poverty and hunger as well as national health and nutritional in general. For instance according to the USAID (2015) report from United National Millennium Development Goal (MDG), Ethiopia is credited with the following;

1. Ethiopia was able to reduce the child mortality for children below 5 years of age in the country in relation to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)— MDG goals form a level of about 200 new deaths per every 1000 live delivery in the country to about 64 recorded deaths per a 1000 delivery between 1990 and 2013.
2. Improvement is also recorded in relation to MDG maternal health goal with a

reduction in mortality from 1400 to 4200 between 1990 and 2013.

In Ethiopia, the impact of food insecurity is most significantly felt in the rural area. Thus, the livelihood in the rural area is very sensitive to atmospheric condition and climate changes. This makes the pattern of food insecurity to be mostly seasonal linked to the pattern of rainfall.

Hence the incidence of hunger is increasingly felt during bad weather season and decrease following a bountiful crop season with abundant rainfall. In general, climate triggered shocks impact agricultural productivity and added to the low rate of technological absorption in the rural areas. This means that a significant population is exposed to hunger and food insecurity in the rural areas compared to the urban centers. This situation hurt the overall progress in the Ethiopian economy, exacerbating socio-economic problems in the country such as high prices of basic food commodity. In recent times, the protest by the Oromo ethnic group in Ethiopia, the biggest ethnic nation in the Horn of Africa show how deep the socio economic problems are in the country. Hence, available evidence put together in relation to Ethiopia food security shows that climate change problem is manifested via the following:

1. Increase in temperature: This is associated with very high and intense wave of temperature the increase of which impact many aspect of the economic and agricultural productivity of the people. For instance rising temperature increase the existing tension in the rural areas between farmers and the pastoralist for the limited water supply mostly in period of intense dry weather condition. Because the temperature affects the quality and availability of water supply—this directly affects food security.

2. Increase in the occurrences of extreme event: With climate change, the level of rainfall in Ethiopia is also changing because of the uncertainty in atmospheric weather condition in the country. These have impact on extreme event associated with the climate change such as drought and famine with huge human and material cost for the country.
3. Changing rainfall pattern and decreasing weather reliability: Ethiopia has mainly two rainfall seasons a shorter season between February to April and the longer season or main rain season between May and September. Thus, the late and unreliability in the arrival of the longer main rainy season in Ethiopia often have severe effects on food production and food security because of its effects on crop production. This situation affects crop yield leading to increase in food price in general.
4. Significant Drought: This is one of the most important factors of food insecurity for Ethiopia. On records 12 significant drought related food insecurity has been recorded in Ethiopia. These affect crops production leading to rising food prices in the country. Drought also leads to decrease production in agricultural related ventures affecting the whole economy via indirect and direct channels.
5. Flood: In Ethiopia, the insecurity in food production and food crisis also result from large flash flood in riverine areas leading to loss of farm lands and land erosion. This situation also impact food production negatively.
6. Soil Degradation: This result from the degradation of the agricultural farm land in Ethiopia due to land erosion and poor land use. This problem combined with changing climatic conditions significantly impact negatively on food production leading to food insecurity in the country.

7. Water shortage: This is associated with the variability in water from changing climate condition, such as drought.

In view of the above factors enumerated, Ethiopia is considered highly vulnerable to food insecurity because of the shocks that result from the listed factors due to climatic changes. Hence In the analysis of food insecurity in Ethiopia, it is apparent that understanding shocks to climate change and the earth dynamic atmospheric condition are critical factors in understanding food insecurity crisis in the country.

Thus a humanitarian approach to the chronic food insecurity problem in Ethiopia is considered an important part of the overall Ethiopian national government disaster risk preparedness and management response.

### **3.1 Contextual Analysis of Food Insecurity in Ethiopia**

In addition to its growing population, Ethiopia has experienced severe circle of famine due to drought and dry weather condition. There have been three major incidences of famine and numerous others such occurrences in 1970s, 1980s and 1990s affecting food production in the country. For example, during the time period from 1958 to 1977 about an estimated 25 million people suffered directly from the impact of the worse drought in Ethiopia leading to over 15 million deaths in the country (Endalew et al. 2015). In more recent time period-2003, the then Ethiopian president Meles Zenawi in a meeting with donors from abroad hinted that Ethiopia experienced an unprecedented crisis of food security which must be taken seriously as a matter of national security- in that crisis over 16 million Ethiopians required an urgent food aid assistance. With the most recent occurrence, record shows that nearly 20 million people in Ethiopia face chronic and severe shortage of food. The

questions remain why is food crisis chronic and severe in Ethiopia? The attitude in Ethiopia on the part of its national government is to attribute the problem to external or exogenous factors. Ethiopia continues to be the World's most severe and chronic spot in-terms of food insecurity given the recent index of human development in the country.

Thus, it is observed that even in period of abundant rainfall and better climatic weather conditions, the vulnerability of Ethiopian to food crisis and food insecurity remains heightened.

According to Tom lavers every year an estimated seven million people and above affected by food shortage referred to as" chronically food– insecure receives support regularly in the form of cash- and- food -for work under the Production Safety Net Programme (PSNP).

The PSNP is an Ethiopian government support programme to curb food insecurity in the country. This been the case, it is opined that the changing weather condition and extreme climate is a necessary but not sufficient factor to explain the chronic and vicious circle of food crisis in Ethiopia. Hence, other structural factors are examined in relation to the food security crisis in Ethiopia.

### **3.1.1 Factors of Food Insecurity in Ethiopia**

Food crisis is regarded as severe structural challenge in the most part of rural and ethnic Ethiopia. In 2015, data shows that 32% of Ethiopian people suffered from acute malnutrition and that daily calorie of food intake was 2100- short of the required 2200 necessary to sustain existence. In this thesis, beyond the short term responses and intervention in addressing the problem of food insecurity in Ethiopia

by focusing solely on climate change, three critical explanations is identified to significantly contribute to the severe food shortages in Ethiopia. This are considered in-turn;

1. Pervasive Political Economy

This is derived from Duccan Kennedy model of political economy. The central idea in this model applies in a situation where in established institutional rule and regulation towards institutional efficiency maximization lead to unjust distributional outcome causing deep structural inequality. This structural inefficiency becomes pervasive in such situation so much so that the optimal solution will be the adoption of reform to overhaul the system. In this regard it is argued that in Ethiopia, the instability in policy over the last decades has created a situation similar to the deduction from the Duncan Kennedy political economy perverse explanation. According to leading experts, the situation is the principal cause of poverty, starvation and inequality in Ethiopia. For example it is seen that the Ethiopian Agrarian political economy metamorphosed from a semi feudal system to pure state socialist system and eventually transformed into a liberalized market System in just about a generation. This situation distorted agricultural practice in the country under an arrangement in which the rural population were faring better to one that is controlled and regulated by large profit driven multi -national cooperation. This led to the appropriation of the surplus inherent in the Ethiopian economy by the multinational co operations. This situation is made even worse by the lack of access to farm input such as fertilizers, due to the price set by the cooperation (Devereux, 2000). Thus, the devaluation of the national currency in Ethiopia and the subsequent withdrawal of government subsidy from fertilizer and the other agricultural farm input severely put extra pressure on food insecurity in the country.



Furthermore, in the light of rural -political economy in Ethiopia, Agricultural lands is placed in the ownership of the government. It is argues that this practice do not allow for the consolidation of lands and the rise of a strong economic actor that could pressure the national government on the necessary reform while still ensuring that rural population have access to the state land.

More so beyond the land ownership problems, the rural economy in Ethiopia is built on an extractive economy system by the state. This system was practiced under the socialist oriented approach of the Ethiopian government between 1970s and 1990s. Under this system, the state mandated the farmers to sell off some quantity of their farm produce to the Ethiopian Agricultural marketing Board for a price less than real market value.

In this current system of a liberal market orientation, the Ethiopian small scale farmers still face insecurity because of evictions by the national government for the transfer of agricultural farm land to the global cooperation. The impact of the entire scenarios is severe shortages in food production and food crisis in the country.

## 2. Dependence on Food Aid

This is easily understood form a popular adage in Ethiopia "It does not matter a dime of it rain in Ethiopia so long as it is raining in Canada ". According to Curzon —a former British colonial officer in India, this can be described as a prodigal—philanthropy. These affect the resilience of the people and diminish their self-respect. According to expert on international global food security, Ethiopia is a significant food aid dependent nation. Since around 1980, Ethiopia has received about 200,000 million to 1.2 million metric tons of food aid from western donors. Most recently, estimates shows that Ethiopia requires about 2 million metric ton of global food aid

for the country's starving and severely hungry population. In this regard, food aid dependency is the most veritable response of the government national policy during emergency food crisis.

The situation is seen as distraction from the fundamental structural challenges that Ethiopia faces impacting negatively on food production and food supply in the country.

### 3. Corruption by Government Officials

The incidence of mass -hunger recorded in Ethiopia has been linked to institutional corruption in the country .In this case, it is argued that a national government incapacitated by wide spread corruption can hardly deploy efficient and effective policy to combat national food insecurity. For instance according to the corruption perception index reported by the transparency international (TI) (2013) of the 174 nation covered, Ethiopia ranked 11th, similarly in the (TI) 2013 global opinion survey 44% of people in Ethiopia argued to have been engaged at some point in bribery. This is in addition to illicit capital flow out of the country. The danger of the high and pervasive corruption in Ethiopia means a diversification of resources meant for food aid to personal usage by the state officials. This situation means many of those severely hit by food crisis are unable to access food aid delivery interventions.

#### **3.1.2 Technical Analysis**

The severe drought condition in Ethiopia negatively impact food security in the country devastating the livelihood of poor and vulnerable in the country. The national government in Ethiopia has in recent time appeal for global support in food aid to address the hunger and malnutrition of its 10.2 million citizens severely affected (WFP, 2016). This also includes nutritional assistance support for about

2.1million people and chronically mal-nourished Ethiopian children in excess 400,000.

Under the government productive safety net programme, about 8 million food insecure and vulnerable person received the national government support. Thus, in the United Nation report (2016) nearly 15 million Ethiopian will need emergency food support and assistance in 2016 alone. This means that the total number of vulnerable region in the country that requires the United Nation support has risen from about 40 Ethiopian districts to about 186 districts around the country. This situation reflects the deterioration of humanitarian condition in Ethiopia as a result of the severe and chronic food insecurity the country faces.

In relation to our research hypothesis -we can safely conclude that food insecurity possess significant threat to Ethiopian in view of the analysis made. This also poses a threat to the country national security. For example the massive influx of South Sudan and Somalia refugee to Ethiopia in 2013 due to the lingering civil unrest in the mention countries further exacerbate the dire food insecurity challenge for the Ethiopian National government. It was approximated that about 209,000 South Sudanese refugees in addition to the nearly 700,000 seeking asylum in Ethiopia threatens the country security.

### **3.1.3 Prospect in Breaking the Food Insecurity Crisis in Ethiopia**

The challenge towards breaking the persistent food insecurity problem in Ethiopia is regarded as both technical and political. At the political level the deepening of democratic culture, accountability of the national government and social inclusiveness of the marginalized and poor in the drought prone region of the country is considered critical in addressing the perennial problem of food insecurity in the

country. At the technical perspective level, national policy in addressing the declining food production and availability as well as boosting the national agricultural productivity is recommended. This can be address in via mechanization in the agricultural practices to boost food production.

### **3.2 Food Insecurity in South-Sudan**

South Sudan became an independent nation in 2011 as the world youngest nation. Although there are no precisely documented evidences yet for the country, the World Bank estimates that the population of South Sudan was 11.91 million in 2014. Unlike Ethiopia, South Sudan is overwhelming and predominantly a rural nation having only petroleum resources for its revenue. Crop and livestock farming, fish and forestry are the main occupation of the people of South Sudan. The food security challenge in South Sudan is serious, severe and highly persistent and exacerbated by civil war and conflict in the young country.

According to the World Food Programme (WFP) estimate, about 2.3 million South Sudan citizens are feared dead as a result of the conflict and civil war in the country and about 1.7 million others are thought to be internally displaced. This is in addition to about 650,000 recorded displaced South Sudan refugees in and around the neighboring countries in the region.

Hence South Sudan is seriously affected by shortages of food and faces severe humanitarian catastrophe. In recent time South Sudan has been designated as a famine hot zone. An analytical insight to explain how South Sudan food crisis started shows that food crisis in the country is associated with conflict and war, drought and severe hot weather, poor governance, and the inadequacy of internationally

coordinated response.

Thus unlike in Ethiopia, the food crisis in South Sudan is mostly very severe and chronic in region where ethnic conflict and war between forces loyal to the national government and opposition are fighting each other. Hence due to severity of the food insecurity in the South Sudan nearly 6 million people in the country about half of the young nation's population are in urgent need of assistance on humanitarian ground with an estimated 4.8 million others in need of food aid because of acute hunger.

The United Nation through the WFP (2017) has been providing relief assistance and food aid to south Sudan. The WFP (2017) therefore highlight the following challenges in which south Sudan faces; it identifies 7.5 million people in South Sudan in urgent need of Humanitarian assistance in the current year 2017. In this regards, humanitarian coalition are seeking for 16 billion United states Dollar (USD) to meet the goal of providing humanitarian assistance and protection for about 5.8 million people consider highly vulnerable.

According to the WFP (2017), the figure of the vulnerable persons in South Sudan represents an increase in excess of 1.4 million persons compare to 2016. This situation highlight the severe and chronic humanitarian situation in the country resulting to wide spread food insecurity. The WFP (2017) also stress the negative impact of limited production of food in South Sudan leading to rising food price and shortages in the local market. This situation represents an increase in house hold vulnerability to food insecurity and food crisis.

Finally, conflict and war in addition to severe and chronic food insecurity causes

significant number of the people to leave to other neighboring countries at a very explosive rate. For instance over and above 1100 person flee in a day to Uganda according to the reports of the WFP (2017). Hence, with about 1.7 million South Sudan citizens displaced in and around the neighboring countries, we conclude that food insecurity and conflict significantly and negatively impact the quality of life in South Sudan. Thus, in the light of our research question, the empirical evidence put together suggests that food insecurity remain of significant challenge to South Sudan. This is made worse by the conflict and war in the world youngest country.

Hence between January and July 2017, according to the integrated food security phase classification for South Sudan—the food insecurity problem in the country remain critical and deteriorating with about 4.9 million South Sudanese representing over 42% of the country's population severely affected the food crisis. The report shows that this is likely to increase to 9.5 million that is about 47% of the country's population. Thus, in general acute and chronic malnutrition significantly remain a serious national public health concern in South Sudan.

According to the 'Integrated Food security Phase classification' (IPC) for South Sudan, 3.8million people are estimated to be in severe food crisis situation as of January 2017. Also between February and April 2017, the estimated people in need of humanitarian help rose to 5 million with an estimated 100,000 in danger of famine. Thus, the conflict and civil war in South Sudan are identified as the major drivers of the severe food crisis in the country. The 'Integrated Food security Phase classification' (IPC) is regarded as a comprehensive set of principle which is employed in the classification of food insecurity in term of its chronic and severe nature.

There are a total of 28 states in South Sudan comprising of 180 counties in respect to the region in the county. Thus, in some counties, the food insecurity crisis is more severe than others but in general the humanitarian situation is severe and chronic across the various regions in the country. The factors of food insecurity across the respective district includes; famine, crop failure due to extreme weather, conflict and war and the lack of access to disaster prone region.

Finally, with the analytical and technical evidences from Ethiopia and South Sudan in the Horn of Africa in view of food security challenge for the region—it is clear that food insecurity remains a significant threat and challenge for the Horn of Africa.

The analysis of empirical literature reveals that food insecurity crisis in the Horn of Africa is most significantly linked with natural hazard such as extreme drought condition—as large part of the region particularly in Ethiopian and South Sudan are both arid and semi-arid in some cases. More so civil wars and armed conflict in the region also affects food security. Thus, the evidence in the region also suggests that food insecurity and armed conflict are linked inextricably in a reinforcing relationship. The implication of this is that food insecurity directly triggers armed conflict while armed conflict exacerbates the food insecurity problems and challenges.

In addition to natural hazard and conflict, the food crisis in the Horn of Africa is also link to the growing population of the region. This put pressure on limited and scarce resources in the region often leading to food insecurity crisis. Hence in addition to the above mentioned traditional factors of food insecurity, food security crisis has also been linked to structural problems in the countries in the Horn of Africa. These

problems include the persuasive political economic relations such as in Ethiopia, food aid dependency and corruption. It also include the uneven effect of economic liberalization in the Horn of Africa without the necessary infrastructure and support system put in place in view of the global competition that small scale farm holder and house hold faces with the impact of economic liberalization.

Thus to address the challenge of food insecurity in the Horn of Africa with reference to countries of study in the current thesis, it is recommended that an enabling support environment is put in place to address the food crisis in the region. This will help to strengthen the countries in the region—such as in the case of Ethiopia and South Sudan with the necessary infrastructure and pro-poor, pro-human development policies. Although the importance of food aid during food crisis outbreak is very significant, a reduction of short term food aid response to the food insecurity problem will make the National government official to focus more on longer term developmental relief plans rather than relying on short-term relief emergency interventions.

Thus, the framework for structural long term action plan towards curbing the challenges of food insecurity in the Horn of Africa in general should consider the broadening of regional opportunities to achieve sustainable support for livelihood while ensuring that the neediest citizens in the region are protected. This way a sustainable environment to reduce poverty and food insecurity can be achieved in the Horn of Africa.

Finally, by facilitating and strengthening the regional diplomatic and economic cooperation in the Horn of Africa, through building consensus among the National



government with the imperative to address the lingering food crisis in the region—it is hoped that the challenges of food insecurity in the Horn of Africa can be significantly curtailed if not eliminated.

## Chapter 4

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Extreme weather condition around the globe is generally believed to have caused the very severe and chronic food crisis experienced in 2015 in many countries including countries in the Horn of Africa. For instance in the summer of 2015, an extreme dry weather condition was experienced in the Pacific region of the world where heavy rainfall and flooding dominated the most part of the south East Asian countries. These factors put together severely impact negatively on food security in the region.

Furthermore in addition to climate change, conflict and war including—structural problem mostly for countries in the Horn of Africa especially Ethiopia—exacerbate the food crisis in the region. Globally, food crisis threatens region and countries namely in Syria and Yemen in the Middles East showing the severity of armed conflict and war to food insecurity and national security in general for a country. For instance in Yemen—which is a very fragile state, the lingering war and hostility in the country means that a lot of people face severe and chronic food crisis. However, the hotspot of extreme food insecurity in the most recent time has been in the Horn of Africa and parts of the Middle East where civil war and internal conflicts are rife.

The focus in this thesis has been with reference to Ethiopia and South Sudan in the greater Horn of Africa. The choice of Ethiopia and South-Sudan for this study is that food insecurity poses the same threat to both countries regardless of their history and

experience. Hence, food insecurity affects both countries in very similar ways threatening the livelihood and national security. In the explanation of the underlying factors of food insecurity in both countries, the approach followed applying the theoretical deductions of the securitization theories embedded in the political economy of both countries in relation to the chronic food aid dependency and pervasive corruption lead to the failure to reject the null hypothesis that food insecurity crisis is merely associated with climate change and natural hazards in both countries.

In conclusion, the analytical deductions in this study reveals that structural problems, pervasive political economy, food aid dependency and rampant corruption are critical factors contributing to the vicious cycle of food insecurity in the Horn of African particularly in relation to Ethiopia and South-Sudan. Although the identified factors mentioned above were found with respect to Ethiopia, the overwhelming evidence in South-Sudan point to very similar conclusion in spite of data problems and limitation for the country. Finally, the identified factors are obviously in addition to climate change, conflict and war in terms of the impact of food insecurity threat to national and regional peace and security in both countries and for the Horn of Africa.

#### **4.1 Policy Recommendation**

According to Guanguenon (2010), it can be argued that rationalization mind set in Africa seem far unfinished, hence rivalries between regional entities and nationality is still ingoing. The resultant effect of this is conflict and war affecting food security in the continent. In this regard, it is recommended that a United Nation stand by, African force be established and committed to peace and stability in the areas where conflict and war rages. The imperative of this measure is as a result of the failure of

other regional security organization particularly for the Horn of Africa such as the Eastern African stand by force coordination mechanism (EASFOM) to maintain peace and stability in the region.

Although, the United Nation has commitment for peace keeping in Africa that span decades—a robust and coordinated peace keeping operation is vital for the Horn of Africa in view of the frequent conflicts in the region. In this regard, In 2011, the United Nation invoking its charter under the Security Council Resolution 8/07/1996- created a United Nation Mission for the South–Sudan in recognition of the conflict in the country and the threat to both regional and international peace and security.

Furthermore in spite of the efforts and policy action by international government and other global organizations to reducing hunger and malnutrition—such as the context of the United Nation millennium development goals (MDG)—the number of the severely hunger and malnourished people tend to be on the rise in the Horn of Africa. In this regard, we recommend that national and regional actors concerned with food security should commit to more longer–term strategy and action plan. This will include addressing corruption and structural imbalance in the countries in the Horn of Africa, reduction of high dependency of emergency food aid and also addressing illiteracy and ignorance. Measure to strengthen food production is recommendation— however expert have argued that intervention measures to address food insecurity by focusing on agricultural approach alone is unlikely to yield desired positive national and regional outcome. Thus, favorable national economic policies promoting growth and sustainable development would help to reduce and address the problem of poverty, hunger and malnutrition for the Horn of Africa countries in general.

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