

# Food Crisis in Yemen: The Roles of Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) from 2015 to 2020

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#### Abstract

Since the conflict in 2015, the food crisis and water scarcity in Yemen have worsened and increased the number of victims who died due to hunger and malnutrition. Therefore, food insecurity in Yemen also ultimately has an impact on politics, economy, and various other aspects. Thus, the international community attempted to prevent worse situations through international cooperation. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) carried out this cooperation with the commitment of its members to solve this issue. Therefore, that is the beginning of this research which discusses FAO's efforts in dealing with food crisis in Yemen. This paper used the theory of neoliberal institutionalism with qualitative research method to get a full illustration of FAO's activities through a literature review. Finally, this paper found out that FAO has contributed and played an important role in dealing with food crisis in Yemen through programs that have been designed and implemented.

Keywords: Yemen, FAO, Food, Security, Conflict, International Cooperation.

## Abstrak

Sejak konflik Yaman pada tahun 2015, Krisis pangan dan kelangkaan air di Yaman semakin parah dan meningkatkan jumlah korban yang meninggal karena kelaparan dan kekurangan gizi. Oleh karena itu, kelangkaan pangan Yaman juga pada akhirnya berdampak pada politik, ekonomi, dan berbagai aspek lainnya. Dengan demikian, masyarakat internasional berusaha mencegah situasi yang lebih buruk melalui kerjasama internasional. Organisasi Pangan dan Pertanian (FAO) melakukan kerja sama dengan komitmen negara-negara anggotanya untuk menyelesaikan masalah ini. Oleh karena itu menjadi awal dari penelitian ini yang membahas tentang upaya FAO dalam menangani krisis pangan di Yaman. Tulisan ini menggunakan teori institusionalisme neoliberal dengan metode penelitian kualitatif untuk mendapatkan gambaran yang utuh tentang kegiatan FAO melalui tinjauan pustaka. Akhirnya, makalah ini menemukan bahwa FAO telah berkontribusi dan memainkan peran penting dalam menangani krisis pangan Yaman melalui program-program yang telah dirancang dan dilaksanakan.

Kata kunci: Yeman, FAO, Pangan, Keamanan, Konflik, Kerjasama Internasional.

## INTRODUCTION

Energy has become an importance issue due to the daily needs of the current industrialized society. The Middle East region has an abundance of natural resources, especially petroleum sources. In spite of its abundance, it does not mean that the Middle East countries live in a wealthy and safe situation. Diverse problems such as war, terrorism, in addition to economic disaster took place in



this location. One of the serious problems that Middle East countries has to face is food insecurity and water scarcity. Essentially, food insecurity is an economic and social state of affairs at the household level, which has boundaries and uncertainties of food access (Murthy, 2016). In other cases, primarily based on World Food Summit (1996), food security may be interpreted as a situation when people have physical and monetary ability to get right of entry to wholesome and nutritious meals at any time to meet the need of active and wholesome lifestyles (Napoli, 2011).

The food security situation in the Middle East vicinity is the poorest one. It is far from the easiest inside the location that experienced a food crisis. As a result, this food crisis is a collective challenge that they have to face as well as by means of the related international locations and worldwide community so one can attain sustainability improvement in the Middle East location, in line with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) plan in 2025. However, in this paper, the authors focus on providing an explanation about the food crisis situation in Yemen.

We selected Yemen as a study case due to the fact that this country is experiencing the worst food disaster after being categorized as the poorest country in the world. The food crisis problem which occurred in Yemen has been multiplied since 2015 because of the war escalation. Essentially, Yemen's inner conflict was a civil war between the governments against the rebellions of Northern Yemen, called Al-Houthi. This conflict was the continuation of Yemen's internal problems getting complicated since 2004 and considering the number of involved parties, and different instances such as the Arab

Spring event in recent years. Therefore, the event of the Arab Spring was considered as the root cause of the Yemen conflict that heated up in 2015.

After Ali Abdullah Saleh's role of Yemen president replaced by Abedrabbuh Mansour Hadi, the state of affairs in Yemen became even more complicated. This was caused by 'jihad' 1 motion or separatism act with the aid of people of southern Yemen which are dependable followers of ex-president Saleh, as well as different challenges along with corruption, unemployment, and food insecurity as the impact of politic transition due to the Arab Spring in Yemen (BBC, 2019).

Dissatisfaction with President Hadi's leadership and political transition after 2011 have become the ideological battle primarily based on the sect of Sunni Islam (southern Yemen people) and the Shia Islam (northern Yemen people). Al-Houthi was a group of people from Saada province which started their rebellion in late 2014 until early 2015. They took control of Sanaa province, the capital city of southern Yemen, using various terror acts and asked President Hadi to leave his position as president (BBC, 2019). Al-Houthi took control of Sanaa because they were treated Hadi's leadership. unfairly by This sentiment emerged because South Yemen appeared to be in a better situation than North Yemen, which was not yet developed.

The minority people of Yemen, loyal followers of ex-president Saleh, and partial southern Yemen people who were dissatisfied with Hadi's leadership supported the Houthi to bring back the northern Yemen power just like the situation before they were separated into northern Shia and southern Sunni. On the other hand, President Hadi obtained the support of other Arab countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, to remain as president and protect the civilian population from the Houthi terrorist act. This was because other Arab countries see the Houthi, led by Badruddin Al Houthi, as a group with Shia background and a radical sect (BBC, 2019).

Therefore, the conflict in Yemen was not only an ideological war, but also a conflict that, by its effects, endangers the security of the civilian population and regional stability. Due to this situation, the civil war between the parties continues, and to this day, it seems very far from the word of peace. Since 2015, the Yemen conflict has impacted a food crisis situation which is extremely increasing and getting worse as it becomes a long-term problem. Although Yemen is not the sole country that experiences the food crisis, Yemen remains in a food crisis situation among the Arabian countries. According to Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC), Yemen's food insecurity has nearly touched the highest level which is an "Emergency" level (FAO, 2019). Moreover, agriculture may be a sector that is mostly destroyed by the conflict. It makes food production in Yemen decreases and causes a depression.

Therefore, Yemeni cannot get access to fulfill the necessity for food. The conflict has caused Yemen's economy to collapse, which has made the country's food security issue worse. With access being restricted and the Riyal experiencing significant swings, food prices have skyrocketed. Many Yemenis are unable to buy basic goods as a result of rising unemployment rates.

Supported by the previous reason, it can be seen in what scale the urgency of food security issue in Yemen is. The impacts that emerged due to food insecurity in Yemen influenced one another and triggered other complicated issues. Now, these issues in Yemen are getting a response from the world society because it is related to human values and human security. On a very big scale, those issues finally get the attention of the global organization (UN), especially within the framework UN Sustainable of Development Goals (SDGs) which is Zero Hunger programme in 2030. Hence, in this paper, the authors discussed the role of Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the UN so as to find out the most effective solutions to realize food security in Yemen.

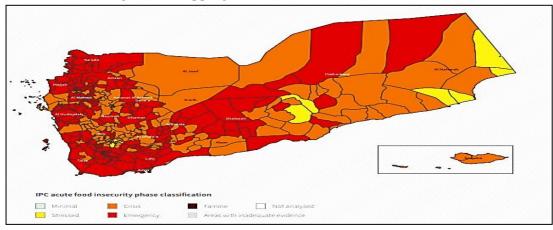


Figure 1. Mapping Yemen AreaBased on IPC Indicator

Source: FAO, 2019

# METHOD AND THEORY

## Research Method

In this study, the authors used qualitative research methods through literature review from relevant and credible resources. Qualitative research is a method which is more exploratory and aims to get understanding as well as getting the answers from the research conducted (Bakry, 2016). Internet-based and document-based research were used as the data collection technique. In addition, the authors attempted to obtain more information through previously published documents such as articles, journals, books, reports, and electronic news to ensure that the information in this paper was updated. The authors used a study case as the research type. Hence, this paper used a combination of descriptive and analytical writing techniques. The authors tried to describe this discussion as well as sought the role of FAO as the effort to tackle the starvation issue in Yemen. Furthermore, after analyzing FAO's performance in this issue, the authors looked at the correlation between cause and effect among the variables (i.e., food security situation in Yemen and role of FAO), and compared it with another implemented programme. This was done to answer the previously determined problem formulation.

# Theory

Since the conflict in the middle of 2015, the humanity and food security issue in Yemen has significantly increased the number of victims and created the worst situations. One aspect that was mostly destroyed by this conflict was the food production sector, which caused food insecurity and malnutrition, disrupted economic activities, destroyed people's livelihoods and reduced their purchasing power, making it difficult to meet their food needs (FAO, 2019). Therefore, the international society worked together to help the victims through FAO as one of the international institutions in the field of food security. This is in accordance with the idea given by Jackson and Sorensen (2013) who stated that an institution is a set of tools which is called a regime to manage states behave in specific fields, especially food security.

Basically, FAO is a special agency under the auspices of the UN. FAO is aimed to fight the starvation issue, achieve food security in the whole world and make sure each individual has access to food in order to create prosperity as well as active and healthy life (FAO, 2019). Yemen is a targeted country by FAO to achieve their goals because Yemen is in a food crisis situation right now. This situation is correlated with neoliberal institutionalist assumption that institution is not only by its state's membership, but also as an actor to manage the agenda, to encourage the creation of coalition, and to act as an arena for political maneuver, even though it is weak and small although by weak and small (Viotti & Kauppi, 2012).

Neoliberal institutionalism assumes that institutions are considered important independently and believed to be able to promote cooperation among the countries dealing with an issue (Jackson & Sorensen, 2013). This assumption can be seen from the FAO formation which involves the approval as well as commitment by members-state which voluntarily join this institution. Today, FAO has cooperated with more than 194 member-states. It can said that cooperation be in the international order is a possible thing to do. Although each country may have different reasons for the legitimacy they grant to the FAO, at least it can be seen that countries decided to join were motivated by their own will. Furthermore, it is also in accordance with neoliberal institutionalist assumption that cooperation among countries does not always mean based on the favorable national interests, but it can be encouraged by self-willingness.

The problems of poverty and hunger handled by FAO mostly occur in lowincome and developing countries. Consequently, a number of developed countries joined FAO to help countries with low-income and food-deficit country such as Yemen. Meanwhile, the funds to help those countries mostly came from members- state voluntary contributions to achieve FAO goals creating a zero- hunger world. Furthermore, it can be seen that FAO is more about providing food assistance rather than cooperating and negotiating on something, and as an institution that cares about humanitarian issues. Today, at least world countries have done their best to fight food scarcity through international cooperation which is made in the framework of FAO with programmes that have been planned and implemented.

Food crisis issue has become the object of research for scholars and others. Theoretical perspective and previous research studies would be discussed as an illustration. Basically, neoliberal institutionalism may be seen as an optimist paradigm because of the world politics today and a belief that institutions are a key role which have the responsibility to make political progress and peace in world order (Wheeler, 2014). It is identical with the idea from Ruggie (1992) who mentioned that institutions can prevent the states from conflict and help states to support peace and world security with multilateral relations under cooperation as an effective mechanism. This is because within the or similar international institutions organizations, there are always formalized norms and rules through negotiation which then agreed by involved states as the members of the institution. Therefore, international agreement creates and contains a function because there are guidelines for states to behave.

Based on the previous explanation, neoliberal institutionalism emerged as a response to criticism toward the conventional international relations theory, especially neorealism, which assumes that the world politics isdominated by powerful nation-states and international institution is not an important actor. Consequently, peace and cooperation through institutions are considered as a utopian thing. Realism cooperation assumes that possibly happens, but in an anarchy international system and only applies if states seek a profit to reach their national interests. To challenge the assumption of realism, Keohane (1988) argued that international cooperation does not only depend on a number of things such as altruism, self-honor, idealism. common goals. internalized norm, or mutual trust in a set of values embedded in a culture. Sometimes, international cooperation is motivated by its human will.

Based on Keohane's view (1988), there are some points that are the main assumptions of neoliberal institutionalists, such as; 1) Institutions may provide information flow and opportunities for negotiation as well as cost-efficiency in cooperation; 2)

Institutions may enhance the ability of governments to monitor the compliance of countries or other international relations actors. In addition, the members can implement their own commitments that have been made from the beginning; 3) Through institutions. states can strengthen the international community's expectations of solidarity in an international treaty as a legal liability. In addition, testing the effectiveness is one of the ways to take a look at the future and the sustainability of the institutions. The test was conducted by looking at the institution's history and past performance, as well as what steps and interactions have been done (Johnsson & Heiss, 2018).

Those explained perspectives told us that the existence of institutions plays an important role in every cooperation activity. Overall, states which join the institution show the obedience of any agreements made and even occurred without enforcement mechanisms (Stein, 2008). Although in diverse interests, states that are members of an institution do not join with no reason and usually they are using it to achieve their interests through influences they share. International institutions have various types and dimensions, whether it is the membership, the nature (regional or global), or the specific issues (Prayuda, 2019).

Mostly, institutions are created as a solution to gain cooperation for any collective problems that have broad implications and are related to specific issues to be handled together (Stein, 2008). In this perspective, the institution can be seen as a tool to promote international cooperation, even when the interests of a state that led to the institution's formation no longer exist (Hellmann, 1993). This assumption is based on the fact that institutions are formed because states consider that institutions are important to exist in order to gain their interests. This is because the state's membership in the institutions is influencing the rulemaking progress based on their interests. Some institutions were made to handle the specific issues and to influence the state nature (Hellmann, 1993). In this paper, the authors discussed FAO as an international institution that plays a role in food security, aims to eliminate the hunger issue, and empowers the food needs through member-states policy coordination.

# RESULT AND ANALYSIS FAO's Role in Yemen

The institutional liberalism in the previous discussion explains that institutions are a guide for affiliated countries to promote cooperation to solve global economic or political problems. International relations scholars such as Grieco and Ikenberry argued that institutional liberalism tends to "see institutions as agreements or contracts between actors that reduce uncertainty, reduce transaction costs, and solve problems collectively." (Grieco, 2003).

Based on this understanding, FAO as an institution that accommodates international cooperation has tried to play a role in providing food assistance to countries affected by hunger and natural disasters, especially Yemen. Furthermore, Yemen's food crisis has attracted FAO's attention as an institution that specialized itself in handling various causes related to food. Certainly, it is in accordance with the vision and basic goals of FAO, which is to help and build a food safe world. Therefore, FAO has a mission to help UN memberstates that have difficulties in fulfilling their need for food. Moreover, FAO also has a mission to reduce food insecurity level, fulfill sustainable food needs, and be present in bureaucracy to recommend policies and legislation related to food security.

In the first year of the Yemen conflict, food accessibility decreased drastically. Thus, it caused Yemen to be vulnerable to food crisis and famine. Yemen is categorized as an underdeveloped country where starvation and malnutrition have threatened the people's lives. The difficult access to fulfil food need is impacting the increased number of hunger and malnutrition. Consequently, Yemen needs to strengthen their agriculture sector, especially the revitalization of plant and livestock production for food security. FAO initiates various programs to respond to this situation to help Yemen (FAO, 2019).

The first, famine prevention plan (FRP), which is a framework to support local food production and make sure the access and food stock in Yemen. This program is designed to provide the basic needs, production tools, and food protection, and to create opportunities to generate people's income. In addition, FAO has also been involved in the effective and timely coordination of food security procurement, production of food safety information, analysis and dissemination of information related to institutional capacity building for early warning and responsive action (FAO, 2019). Additionally, this program also aims to reduce food insecurity and malnutrition through cash transfer and livelihood assistance. There are 2 main activities to support this program; a) Increasing the

availability and access to food for the most vulnerable and food-insecure households. It was successful in increasing people's purchasing power, food production capacity and income diversity; b) Coordinating and integrating action in hunger risk reduction. This was successful in identifying locations and what activities would be carried out based on priorities to reduce the hunger risk. In addition, these activities also succeeded in increasing the monitoring capacity to determine the next action as early as possible.

The second, emergency livelihoods Response Plan (ELRP) has some programs. Those are; a) The Economic empowerment and livelihoods restoration for most vulnerable and food-insecure households, which is based on the diversity of income and livelihoods. This program also succeeded in rehabilitation and restoration of infrastructure and agricultural facilities to support vulnerable and food- insecure households. As a result, about 2,000 livestock keepers in Yemen have received around 200 tons of animal feed concentrate, and as many as 40.000 households have received the benefits of their livestock care (FAO, 2017). Those activities were done to reach FAO's mission to protect Yemen livestock. b) Capacity building of national institutions and involvement of other institutions. Today, FAO's activities increased its capacity in terms of early warning, quarantine and food safety. In FAO's collaboration addition. with International Organization for Migration (IOM) has reached 106.777 Yemenis to help them in medical consultations (IOM, 2019). Thus, it seems like this situation is correlated with liberal institutionalist assumption that there is a possibility to

exchange the information within the institutions.

The third. strengthening coordination as an effective humanitarian response. As a result, food security coverage and agricultural livelihood needs are increasing in the areas most affected by hunger. Furthermore, today, more than 16.200 households in Yemen have received the cereals and vegetable seeds as well as agricultural tools to help their food production management (FAO, 2017). Naturally, this achievement is also intended to restore food production and increase both nutrition and the income of Yemeni.

The programs such as the FRP and ELRP seem to be in line with the current situation and what people need in Yemen. In general, these programs were aimed to accelerate the recovery of community livelihoods for food security and sustainable income opportunities through the availability of food. Moreover, it also food. provides access to economic infrastructure empowerment, improvement, coordination and for effective decision-making, which are the focus assistance for people who face difficulties accessing the basic necessities of life. In addition, about 595.000 Yemeni have been reached and assisted by FAO since the conflict occurred in 2015 (FAO, 2017).

After the crisis escalation in Yemen, FAO has carried out its role according to its function. Therefore, the success of FAO's members to push Yemen agriculture reformation showed us that FAO's performance was making positive progress (FAO, 2019). It was also FAO's contribution to achieve its goals and proved the effectiveness of FAO in dealing with food crisis in Yemen. In this paper, to determine the effectiveness of FAO, the pattern of implementation in achieving its goals must also be noticed. Based on the programmes that have been initiated by FAO, these are the three approaches to achieve the goals:

The first, institutional framework. FAO has a country representative based in Sanaa as well as its branch office to get closer to people who need it the most. In addition, the collaboration with partners allows FAO to reach and help the entirety of Yemeni. Today, FAO has developed a resilience-based framework and an action plan for a number of crisis-affected countries in the Near East and North Africa region, and provided technical support with expert assistance from other offices. Moreover, FAO nearby Headquarters also gives support through strategic resilience programs by providing assistance and knowledge technical sharing in order to ensure livelihood security and face the threat of food crises.

second. coordination The and intervention. It is done by FAO in the framework of coordination arrangement namely Food Security and Agriculture Cluster (FSAC) through intensive collaboration with the hostcountry authorities and counterpart agencies to facilitate clearance for the movement of FAO's personnel, either to or from the location where assistance is being implemented.

The third, Communication and Outreach. The role of communication is a core of FAO's mission to assist in consensus building for a world without hunger. Thus, in this paper, the authors discussed Yemen as one of the targeted states in the FAO's assistance program. Communication and outreach carried out by FAO are to increase

awareness, knowledge, understanding and visibility about the importance of emergency interventions that target people's livelihoods in agriculture to eradicate hunger and promote the positive actions that can be improved and institutionalized in this state (FAO, 2021). Therefore. FAO's effectiveness and credibility as a forum that facilitates policy-making, knowledge and technical expertise in food procurement in an effort to eradicate hunger ultimately depend on how FAO communicates and publicizes its program widely.

# FAO's Role in Handling the Yemeni Food Crisis

Yemeni continuous conflict in the past years has decreased the economic level and disrupted their public services. It has impacted the number of victims and brought difficult situations. Furthermore, some issues have emerged significantly since the mid of 2015, such as human security and famine. People were endangered by this conflict because it impacted food production, increased food insecurity, disrupted the economy, destroyed people's livelihood, decreased their purchasing power, and made it difficult to meet their food needs (FAO, 2019).

Prior to the conflict, Yemen was already vulnerable to food insecurity and hunger. Yemen is categorized as the least developed region. Severe malnutrition and environmental factors such as the difficulty to access freshwater exacerbate the situation. As a result, Yemen needs to strengthen the agricultural sector. especially the revitalization of crop and livestock production. That is because most of the Yemeni population works in the agricultural sector. However, the existence of conflict worsens the situation. The conflict itself has relatively accelerated the destruction of the potential natural resources in Yemen. People in Yemen will certainly experience a worse food crisis. Therefore, urgent assistance is needed to ensure their survival.

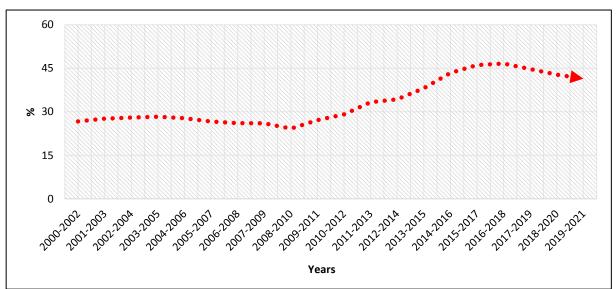


Illustration 2. Graphic Prevalence of Yemen Malnutrition (3 Years Avg)

Source: FAOSTAT, 2019

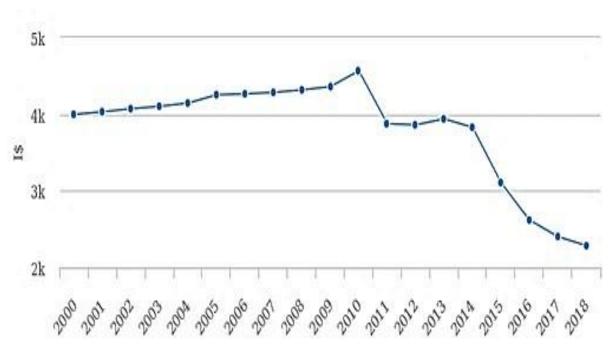


Illustration 3. Gross DomesticProduct (GDP) per Capita

Source: FAOSTAT, 2019

The two graphics shown previously are illustrations that the conflict in Yemen has significantly affected the economic condition as well as the accessibility of food. It's because the internal situation, either stable or unstable, is really influencing the country's situation, especially for people's prosperity. Since the conflict occurred, food accessibility has dropped significantly. It's upside down compared to previous years whichillustrate a better condition.

As an international institution, FAO has an assist function to provide food for countries affected by hunger and natural disasters, especially Yemen. FAO has committed to assist them against the food insecurity threat. Activities that have been done by FAO are seen as a side of liberal institutionalism. This theory argues that international institutions help and cooperation world increase among

countries. Moreover, it is similar with the utilitarian and rationalistic point of view where countries see and act as rational actors that operate in the international political system. In addition, the hierarchy within this theory cannot be forced (Keohane, 1993).

FAO's initiation to achieve food security goals in Yemen is considered in line with the current situation. The number of people in rural areas has increased, and it is assumed that they have difficulty in trying to interact with others outside their area. Moreover, the conflict made it difficult to fulfill their basic needs, specifically food. Consequently, it means that Yemen's food security level is influenced by the domestic situation, either the unstable situation or due to natural circumstances and geographical terrain causes.



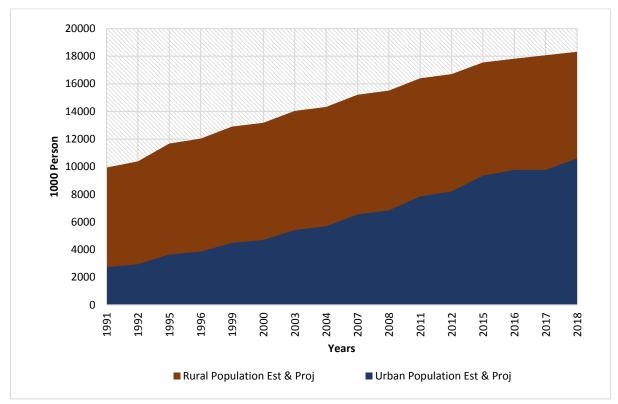


Illustration 4. Rural Population and Urban Population

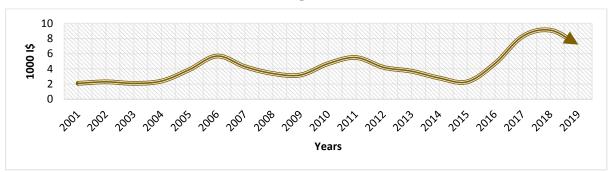
## Source: FAOSTAT, 2019

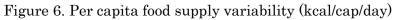
Figure 4 shows that the urban population began to rise in line with the instability of GDP in Yemen. This was due to the scarcity of the processing power of food production in rural areas which was increasingly uncertain. It has resulted in the migration of some residents to cities to maintain the economy and avoid hunger because the assistance from the outsiders has still been centered in the city.

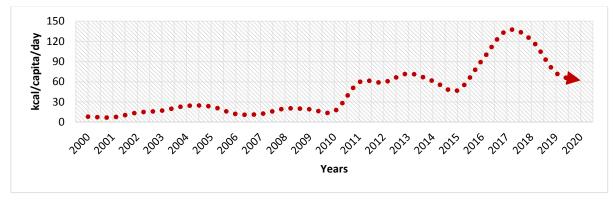
The difficult access to fulfil food needs, especially for those who live in rural areas, has impacted hunger and malnutrition The issues in Yemen. continuous conflict since 2015 increased disrupted those issues, and food accessibility and its affordability. Therefore, it can be concluded that the

conflict creates more difficulty to fulfill people's food needs because of the disrupted food availability. The graphic prevalence of malnutrition issue and graphic of Yemeni Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita until 2018 presented in illustration 2 and 3 are to show the correlation with food availability in Yemen. Those two graphics illustrate that the conflict in Yemen has significantly affected the economic condition and the accessibility of food. It was because the situation, either stable internal or was really influencing the unstable, country's situation, especially people's prosperity. Since the conflict occurred, food accessibility has dropped significantly. It is upside down compared to previous years which showed a better condition.

Figure 5. Per capita food production variability (Constant 2014-2016 thousand int\$ per capita)







Source: FAOSTAT, 2020

This worse situation has encouraged the need for international community support to create Yemen's food security. Since the conflict occurred, Yemen's GDP has dropped drastically. The GDP's preconflict was \$3828.5 in 2014 and dropped to \$3108.8 in 2015. It decreased \$719.7 as shown in the previous graphic. Thus, it is a must for FAO to contribute and assist Yemen in fulfilling the food access through its programs. Those activities that have been done by FAO brought a positive impact. It can be seen from the previous illustration that Yemen's GDP per Capita only dropped \$119.4. Although FAO could not increase this number, at least this is a positive result because FAO through its programmes has succeeded in reducing the drastic decline in GDP due to the conflict. Positive trends would be seen again if the programs could be continuous. Those intended to make sure people's livelihood could be recovered quickly in order to create sustainable food security and source of people's income.

FAO's presence and support since 2015 in Yemen were considered to have played an important role. This support was in order to create food security and to provide the needs for agricultural activities, financial help, and also the training activities for people. These supports were considered helpful and could contribute to the Yemeni to improve their nutrition, guarantee their food security, and strengthen their ability to cope with the crisis. Therefore, as a real support, the action program in 2018 was established for a period of three years until 2020. Overall, the goals of these plans were intended to

give a significant contribution to increase food security and people's nutrition, strengthen the resilience of vulnerable people in terms of food needs fulfillment, and recover the agriculture sector (FAO, 2018). Yemen's agriculture sector was the main livelihood source for most people, especially for those who lived in rural areas (FAO, 2018). Thus, the agricultural sector was the main priority of FAO assistance in Yemen to support them to create food security. A good rainy season and programs that intervention provided farmers with better seeds and other resources helped the recovery. (ACAPS, 2020).

Based on figure 5 and 6, it can be seen that the dynamics of the FAO's program intervention in 2010 could increase the country's internal supply and the intervention in 2016 could drastically increase the supply to meet the nutritional needs per capita in Yemen. Aid interventions were still centered on staple foods such as cereals and wheat because agricultural land was still recovering to be reproducible to support overall nutritional

stability in Yemen. Furthermore, as a response to the food crisis in Yemen, FAO was engaged and played a role to address this issue together with other institutions, such as Food Security and Agriculture Sector (FSAC) (FAO, 2021). These efforts were carried out with several activities, for example, providing agricultural and livestock assistance; providing livelihood support for fishing communities; promoting resilience of rural people through water infrastructure rehabilitation and irrigation systems; and increasing the utilization of agricultural and livestock assets. These efforts were needed to protect, restore the productivity of the agriculture sector, create livelihood opportunities, and build Yemen back. Naturally, it was intended to reduce the worrying level of food security and malnutrition, and to encourage the Yemeni's economic recovery (FAO, 2021). The following illustration is a projection map of the food crisis distribution in Yemen that shows most areas in Yemen are in a difficult situation to fulfill its food needs.

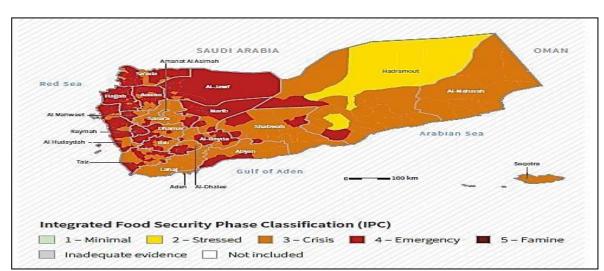


Figure 7. FAO's Projection of Yemen Food Crisis (January-June 2021)

Source: FAO (2021), Humanitarian Response Plan 2021

Based on figure 7, Yemen needed international community's support, especially from FAO, in an effort to fight the food crisis threat. There were still many areas in a crisis, as shown in the illustration, that experienced an emergency which meant that they needed international community's attention to help with food assistance program. As an institution that accommodates international cooperation and has a role to provide food assistance for world countries, as what has been done in Yemen, it shows that FAO has played an important role as an international institution to build cooperation among world countries.

This food crisis issue has occurred in Yemen because of some reasons. Continuous conflict is considered as the crucial factor. Moreover, the disrupted economy and unstable country situations have impacted people's prosperity to fulfill their food needs. Therefore, the roles of FAO are needed through its program to create food security for people. Today, FAO has shown up its performance with some real positive achievements for Yemeni.

Programs for the populations in need of assistance should be scaled up to their strengthen already weakened resilience and prevent them from decreasing further. Increased funding for humanitarian aid is necessary in order to safeguard the lives and livelihoods of Yemenis who are most in need. The abundance of donations from donors helped to stabilize the food security situation by providing desperately needed funds to increase food assistance and stabilize the economy in order to prevent a famine in early 2019. s

In recovering the infrastructure in the basis of food development in Yemen, the maintenance of the agricultural sector and the plantation sector will support food stability again in the future. On the other hand, infrastructure assistance is a bit constrained because it requires the trust of investors and stakeholder to continue discussing this with many parties.

# CONCLUSION

Since a few years ago, the food crisis in Yemen has become a serious problem that has attracted the international community's attention. Suffice to say that this issue has impacted people's health and is one of the causes of death. In other words, this food crisis is a problem that is related to human security issue that requires moral. Therefore, this issue is considered urgent to be handled. Yemen's food crisis has been getting worse since the civil war between the government under Hadi's presidency and the rebellion group namely Al-Houthi.

One of the efforts made by the international community was to conduct international cooperation through the FAO institution. FAO exists to facilitate international cooperation and plays a role in food Yemen food assistance. Therefore, the FAO's effectiveness can be assessed through its programs that have been planned, such as Famine Prevention Plan (FRP), and Emergency Livelihoods Response Plan (ELRP). Those programs initiated by FAO have been implemented three using the patterns namely institutional framework approach, coordination and partnership, and communication and outreach.

Most of people in Yemen have experienced difficulties with food access, especially those who live in rural areas.



Moreover, there is also continuous conflict which has impacted the local people. FAO has helped Yemen since 2015 through its programs, such as FRP and ELRP. Moreover, it is considered to have an important role to help Yemeni in that kind of difficult situation. The support provided by FAO included assistance in providing food needs such as agriculture and fisheries, assistance in the form of finance provision and training, and of infrastructure to support related activities.

Based on the previous explanation, it can be concluded that since 2015 FAO has contributed and played a role in dealing with food crisis in Yemen. FAO has achieved numerous goals which demonstrate its good performance through the designed and implemented programs. Therefore, reflecting on FAO's performance, it can be seen that FAO is one of the neoliberal institutions that has shown real activities in dealing with food crisis in Yemen.

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