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2. Background

2.1 Evolution of the Title II Food Security Objective

Food security has been an important focus of the U.S. Title II food assistance program for more than two decades, beginning with the passage of the 1990 Farm Bill and reinforced by USAID's 1995 Policy Paper and the USAID/FFP 2006–2010 Strategic Plan. It was not until the major increases in international food prices in 2007 and 2008, however, that this interest spread more broadly within USAID as a whole, and the decision was made to make improved food security within USAID a humanitarian and development priority. With the development of FTF in 2009, food security has become an even greater priority—mainstreamed—within USAID, the U.S. Department of State, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA).

2.1.1 The 1990 Farm Bill

The 1990 Farm Bill made major changes in the U.S. Public Law 480 food assistance program, starting with the designation of improved food security in the developing world as the program's overriding objective. The legislation included addressing “famine or other urgent or extraordinary relief requirements” and carrying out “feeding programs” as two of the uses of food under the Title II program. But it went beyond these activities, which are focused on the satisfaction of immediate food needs, to identify a number of broader, longer-term uses for U.S. Public Law 480 food assistance, including combating “malnutrition, especially in children and mothers”; carrying out “activities that attempt to alleviate the causes of hunger, mortality and morbidity”; promoting “economic and community development”; and promoting “sound environmental practices.”

2.1.2 Defining Food Security

In 1990, many still thought of food security in very narrow terms, as dependent primarily on the

availability or supply of food at the national level. The definition of food security used in the Title II legislation was much broader than that, as was the definition that USAID adopted in 1992.

Food security exists when all people at all times have both physical and economic access to sufficient food to meet their dietary needs for a productive and healthy life.¹⁰

This definition of food security is founded on three fundamental elements:

- Adequate food **availability**
- Adequate **access** to food by all people (i.e., the ability of a household to acquire sufficient quality and quantity of food to meet all household members' nutritional requirements for productive lives)
- Appropriate food **utilization**¹¹

The three elements have a hierarchical relationship: Food must be available for households to have access, and a household must have access to food for individual household members to have appropriate food utilization. All three elements of food security must be achieved for food security to be attained.

¹⁰ USAID Policy Determination Number 19, April 1992. The definition, adopted by the 1996 World Food Summit, also includes the concepts of safe and nutritious food, and food that meets people's dietary preferences.

¹¹ Policy Determination #19 (1992) also provided the following definitions for these elements: “Food availability: sufficient quantities of food from household production, other domestic output, commercial imports or food assistance; Food Access: adequate resources to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet, which depends on income available to the household, on the distribution of income within the household and on the price of food; Food utilization: proper biological use of food, requiring a diet providing sufficient energy and essential nutrients, potable water and adequate sanitation, as well as knowledge within the household of food storage and processing techniques, basic principles of nutrition and proper child care and illness management.”

2.1.3 The 1995 USAID Policy Paper

In 1995, USAID issued a major new policy on food aid and food security. This Policy Paper was designed to bring the Title II program into better conformity with the purposes laid out in the 1990 Farm Bill, and the policies set forth in this document guided program development and resource allocations during the FAFSA-2 time period. Key among the changes introduced were a focus on rural areas, the identification of new geographic priorities, **sub-Saharan Africa** and **South Asia**, and two program priorities, **improving household nutrition** and **increasing agricultural productivity**. The Policy Paper also recognized the importance of complementary resources—especially cash—to the success of development programs in particular and to achieving food security on a sustainable basis. And it encouraged more integration of Title II and USAID Mission programs.

USAID/FFP responded to the 1995 Policy Paper by making a series of major changes in the Title II program, particularly the development program.¹² The nature of these changes and their impact were documented in the 2002 FAFSA and are summarized below.

- **Geographic priorities.** The number of development programs and the percentage of Title II development resources going to sub-Saharan Africa increased significantly between FY 1994 and FY 2001, as USAID/FFP responded to the Policy Paper's directive to "give more priority to countries in Sub-Saharan Africa where food insecurity is greatest."
- **Technical sectoral priorities.** USAID/FFP also placed more priority on "improving household nutrition, especially in mothers and children," and on "alleviating the causes of hunger, especially by increasing agricultural productivity." Despite the change in USAID/FFP guidance, the percentage of Title II development resources programmed

to these two priority sectors—agriculture and household nutrition—remained fairly constant, at 80 percent, between FY 1998 and FY 2001. The relative priority of these two sectors did shift, however, with more attention being devoted to agricultural activities, as measured by changes in the percent of programs with agricultural components and an increase in the proportion of resources going to agricultural activities. Some of this shift, as the FAFSA pointed out, was probably due to the increase in resources going to programs in Africa, many of which were heavily focused on agriculture (only 55 percent of the African development programs included an HN component in FY 2001, for example, while 87 percent included an AG component.)

- **Managing for results.** USAID/FFP also began to place much greater emphasis on monitoring the food security impacts of the Title II programs in response to the Policy Paper. Concrete steps taken to focus more attention on program results included the development of a strategy and a set of "generic" performance indicators and the provision of technical assistance (TA) and training. As the FAFSA also pointed out, however, there was still a need to reduce the variability in how indicators were defined, measured, and reported; to provide more guidance on data collection methods, analysis, and use; and to improve monitoring of program management.
- **Expanding complementary activities.** According to the FAFSA, much of the success in the HN and AG/NRM components, within the development program, was achieved through increases in complementary inputs, including TA and training, financed largely by monetization. The need for funds to support these important complementary activities resulted in a dramatic increase in monetization during this time period, from less than one-third of the total commodities used in the program in FY 1994 to more than three-quarters in FY 2001.
- **Integration with Mission strategies.** The Policy Paper put considerable emphasis on the integration of food aid resources with other

¹² These and subsequent policy and programmatic changes were communicated to potential Awardees through the Development Program Guidelines that USAID/FFP published each year in advance of the next year's proposal submissions.

development resources (other USAID resources in particular). The FAFSA found that some progress was made in integrating the Title II programs with Mission strategies, but more at the conceptual level than in terms of the operational integration of Mission and Title II resources.

- **Sustainability.** The question of the sustainability of program activities and impacts became much more important as the Title II development program shifted its emphasis from feeding people in the short run to trying to improve the food security of the more food insecure populations over the medium and longer term.
- **Strengthening food aid partner capacity.** The Awardees, with USAID/FFP assistance, took a number of steps to improve the food security focus of their programs and to improve their ability to manage for results. These efforts were important, since the changes introduced by the Policy Paper required major changes in the way development programs had to be designed and implemented, as well as in the technical quality of the Awardee staff.¹³
- **Strengthening the food aid partnership.** USAID/FFP made progress in strengthening its partnerships with its internal partners (i.e., USAID's regional Bureaus and Missions) and its external partners (primarily the Awardees). However, the FAFSA also concluded that additional improvements were needed in the areas of transparency, consistency, flexibility, communications, and consultation.

¹³ Examples of USAID's efforts to strengthen the capacity of the Awardees included the provision of Development Assistance (DA)-funded Institutional Support Grants (ISGs), Institutional Support Assistance (ISA) grants, and Title II-funded 202(e) grants to the Awardees to strengthen field and headquarters offices and to support the Food Aid Management (FAM) Unit; technical support in program design and implementation, M&E, and dissemination of best practices through the USAID Office of Population, Health, and Nutrition's IMPACT and FANTA projects; and a partnership between the DCHA Environmental Office and the FAM Environmental Working Group for TA and training to the Awardees in environmental review and compliance.

2.1.4 The 2006–2010 USAID/FFP Strategic Plan

The environment in which the Title II program was operating had changed significantly by the early 2000s, around the time that the initial work began on the 2006–2010 USAID/FFP Strategic Plan. New challenges that USAID/FFP had to deal with, according to the Strategic Plan, included “the increased frequency and severity of natural and man-made disasters; the heightened diplomatic, military and humanitarian demands on the United States; and the destabilizing potential of HIV/AIDS and the persistent high levels of corruption, conflicts and refugees and internally displaced persons” (USAID/FFP, 2005, p. 12). The integration of USAID/FFP into DCHA also brought changes, including the decision that fragile, failed, and failing states should be the organizing principle for the Bureau. This decision also raised the question of how the Title II program, which typically had worked in two basic types of environments—emergencies and non-emergencies (or development)—fit within this new optic.

The USAID/FFP Strategic Plan, which was developed in close collaboration with major stakeholders, the Title II NGO community in particular, included much that was new conceptually, strategically, and operationally.¹⁴ The decision to have a single SO rather than separate objectives for the emergency and development programs was a major one, as was the decision to couch this objective in terms of reducing food insecurity—“Food insecurity in vulnerable populations reduced”—rather than increasing food security. This new emphasis on the “in” in food insecurity was done deliberately to put the focus where it should be, as the argument went, on those populations already food insecure or vulnerable to food insecurity. These are the target groups for the program: populations that are at risk of food insecurity because of their physiological status, which includes pregnant

¹⁴ A number of the new concepts reflected in the USAID/FFP Strategic Plan were drawn from the two background papers that were produced under FANTA's auspices by Webb and Rogers (2003) and Haddad and Frankenberger (2003).

and lactating women and children under two; socioeconomic status; or physical security (see Box 2.1).

This formulation also put much greater emphasis on reducing risk and vulnerability to decrease the likelihood of shocks; decrease the damage caused by shocks when they do occur; and increase the capacity of communities, households, and individuals to cope with shocks. To provide intellectual support to this new emphasis on risks and vulnerability, the Strategic Plan also introduced a new conceptual framework that added a fourth pillar to the basic food security framework that

Box 2.1. Definitions Related to Target Groups

- **Vulnerable populations** are people that are at risk of food insecurity because of their physiological status, socioeconomic status, or physical security; also people whose ability to cope has been temporarily overcome by a shock.
- **Physiological status** includes people that are undernourished, suffering from HIV/AIDS, pregnant and lactating women, and children under two years of age.
- **Socioeconomic status** includes the poor (those that by definition do not have sufficient income to purchase an adequate diet and other basic necessities) as well as those that suffer from economic and social discrimination due to ethnicity, gender, or other characteristics, and many that live in environmentally marginal regions.
- **Physical security** includes refugees, internally displaced persons, and victims of war.

Source: USAID/FFP Strategic Plan, p. 26.

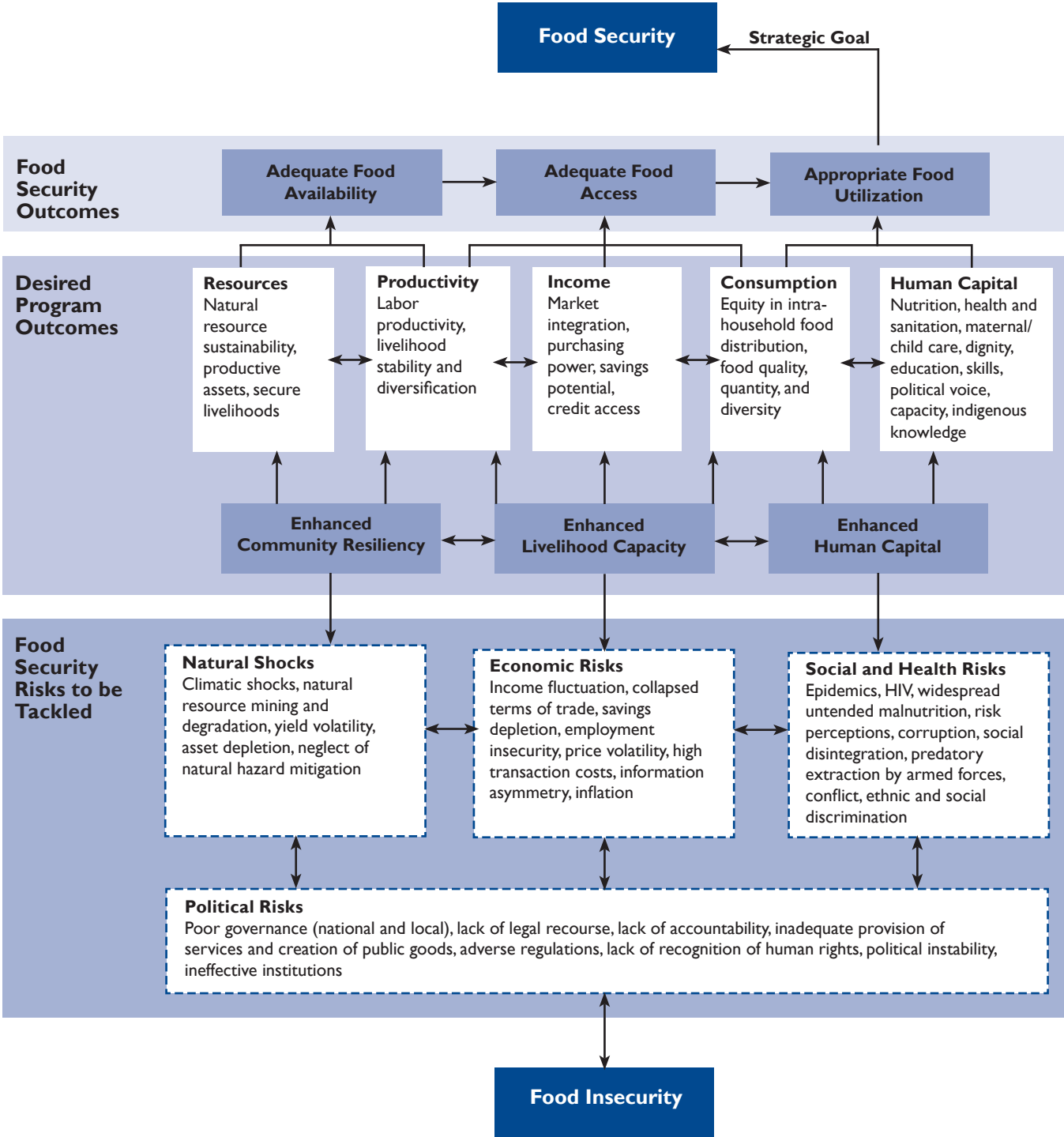
makes explicit the risks (economic, social, health, and political, as well as the risk of natural shocks) that impede progress toward improvements in food availability, access, and utilization (see Figure 2.1). Bringing the emergency and development programs together under a single SO was expected to facilitate synergies between emergency and development interventions and encourage program designers and implementers to think more in terms of the relief to development continuum.

The Strategic Plan also introduced an important new dimension to the work of USAID/FFP through its first IR—“FFP’s global leadership in reducing food insecurity enhanced”—in addition to its more traditional focus on the field, which is captured in the second IR—“Title II program impact in the field increased.” The language that was used to describe the supporting activities was also changed to focus on protecting and enhancing “human capabilities” (IR 2.1), “livelihoods capacities” (IR 2.2), and “community resiliency” (IR 2.3), and increasing “community capacity to influence factors (decisions) that affect food security” (IR 2.4) (see Figure 2.2). This is in contrast to the more traditional focus on technical sectors—AG, NRM, MCHN, and WASH—or in terms of the three elements of food security—availability, access, and utilization.

The Strategic Plan also committed USAID/FFP to several key approaches that built on and reinforced approaches first introduced in the 1995 Policy Paper. These are summarized below.

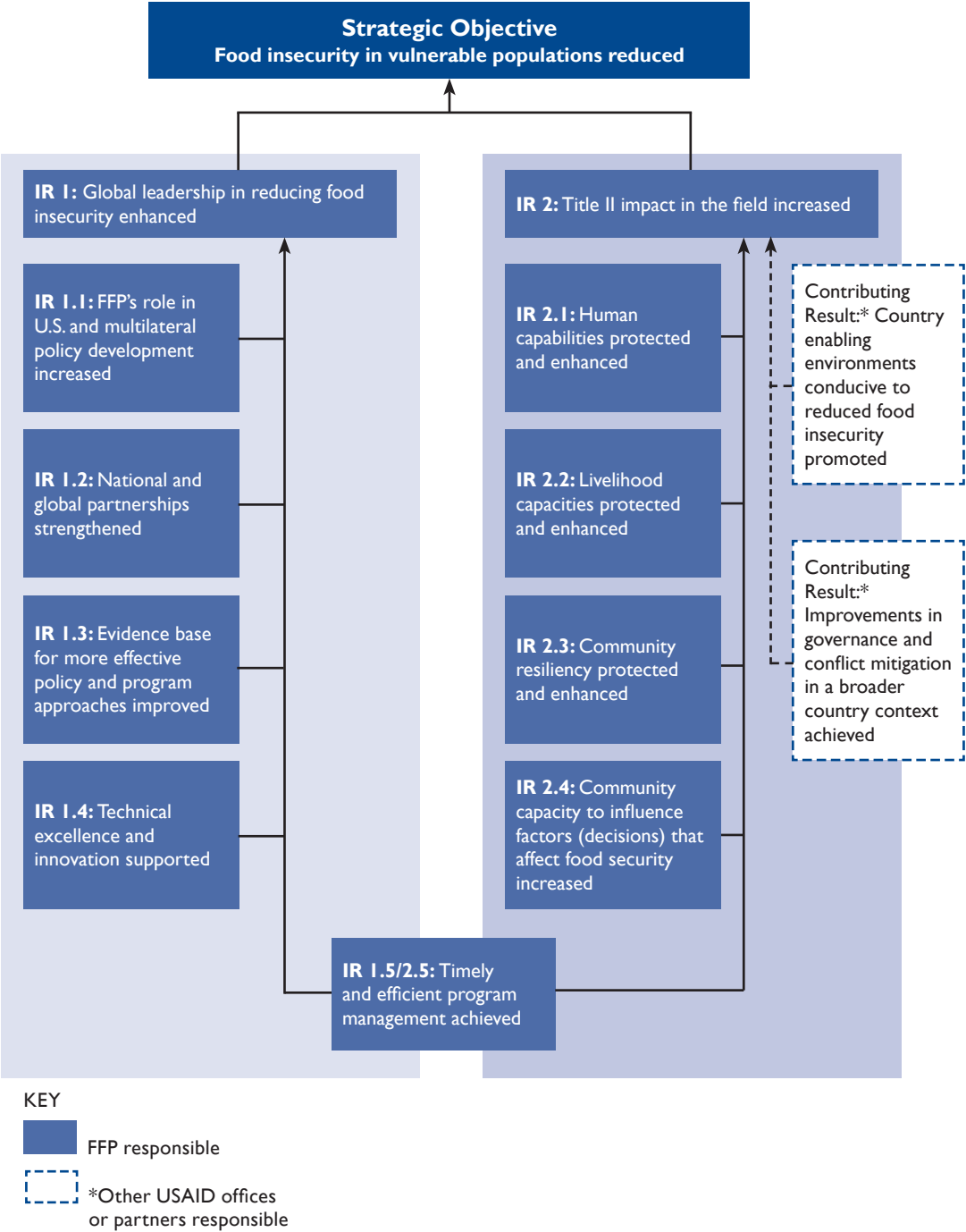
- **Using food in direct distribution programs.** The wording in the Strategic Plan made it clear that USAID/FFP expected the direct distribution of food to play an important role under the new strategic framework. Food, according to the Strategic Plan, “will be used to have an immediate impact—protecting lives and maintaining consumption levels—while also contributing to longer-term impacts—enhancing community and household resilience to shocks, helping people build more durable livelihood bases (enhancing assets, resources and infrastructure), and enhancing the capabilities of individuals through improvements in health, education and nutrition.”

Figure 2.1. An Expanded Conceptual Framework for Understanding Food Insecurity



Source: USAID/FFP Strategic Plan, p. 20.

Figure 2.2. USAID/FFP’s Strategic Framework for 2006–2010



Source: USAID/FFP Strategic Plan, p. 24.

- **Combining food with other resources.**
The Strategic Plan recognized, as did the 1995 Policy Paper, that distributing food by itself was of limited value in reducing food insecurity, even in emergency situations. “Food,” the Strategic Plan concluded, “needs to be combined with other non-food (cash and in-kind) resources...to insure that it has an impact beyond just feeding people.” To further emphasize this point, the Strategic Plan included in its elaboration of illustrative activities detailed information on the use of non-food assistance in conjunction with food assistance. The Strategic Plan also recognized that “mobilizing sufficient resources, whether from FFP’s expanded 202(e) authority, monetization, and/or increased access to other resources through improved collaboration and integration with other USAID and other donor programs,” was going to be a major challenge.¹⁵
- **Targeting resources to the vulnerable.**
The Strategic Plan continued USAID/FFP’s commitment to target Title II resources to the most vulnerable countries and communities within these countries. In the Strategic Plan, USAID/FFP also committed itself to developing new criteria to identify these countries and populations which are more consistent with the Strategic Plan focus on food insecurity and vulnerability.
- **Building capacity.** Enhancing the capacity of vulnerable individuals, households, and communities was a central focus of the Strategic Plan, as was the continued commitment to helping build the capacity of USAID/FFP’s partners in the field. To help strengthen the capacity of its partners (including local cooperators), USAID/FFP indicated that it planned to use a combination of approaches, as in the past, including funding of individual Awardee grants, development of guidance and standards, identification of best practices, and training.

¹⁵ See FFPIB 11-01, of October 15, 2010, for additional information on Section 202(e) and eligible uses.

Box 2.2. Specific Strategic and Streamlining Activities Identified in the USAID/FFP Strategic Plan

- Developing a new set of criteria for identifying countries, areas, and populations in greatest need of food aid resources, and the level and type of resources needed, and using them to improve the allocation of Title II resources.
- Identifying strategic management countries for the Title II development program and developing and implementing a strategy for enhancing the impact of the Title II program in these countries, including by focusing more staff time and attention on the programs in these countries, developing food security plans in these countries, and integrating food security concerns and objectives into Mission strategic plans.
- Integrating the FEWS NET program into USAID/FFP, expanding its geographical coverage, and supporting improvements in early warning and vulnerability assessment techniques.
- Reorganizing the Washington Office; replacing the Emergency and Development Programs Divisions with two regional divisions to better integrate the emergency and development assistance programs; and strengthening the regional offices, building their surge capacity, and providing them with expanded and redelegated authorities.
- Adding a section on the Title II program to USAID’s Automated Directive Systems (ADS) to ensure that Title II programming is better integrated with programming in the rest of USAID.
- Reviewing and updating USAID/FFP’s information technology (IT) systems to create a management tool that provides accurate, user-friendly, secure, web-based information.
- Reducing time cycles for USAID/FFP operations through the use of procedure manuals, training and appropriate staffing, and improvement in results reporting guidelines and reporting requirements.

- **Measuring impact and learning what works.**

The Strategic Plan also continued USAID/FFP's commitment to manage for results. Specific activities identified included activities to assess the impact of the program on the achievement of the first Millennium Development Goal (MDG) to reduce the prevalence of underweight children under five and to improve the measures of food access and community coping capacity. The Strategic Plan also committed USAID/FFP to putting more emphasis on knowledge management—learning more about what works and why and “using this knowledge to influence policy and program impact in the field.”

USAID/FFP also used the Strategic Plan to outline its intention to adopt a more strategic approach to how it manages its program and to streamline its management processes. USAID/FFP, as the Strategic Plan pointed out, manages the largest budget of any office in USAID, regularly obligating more than US\$1 billion each year. Since USAID/FFP programs commodities as well as dollars, the management of these resources also comes with many regulations and complications that other USAID offices do not have to deal with. These resources also have to be programmed with and through other agencies, such as USDA. The USAID/FFP staff also work with a wide range of programs, from short-term disaster responses to longer-term development activities. All of this puts a unique and heavy burden on USAID/FFP and its staff.

2.2 The Current Operating Environment

The environment in which the Title II development program is operating has changed since 2003 (the beginning of the FAFSA-2 time period). Many of the challenges that USAID/FFP faced at the time its Strategic Plan was being written still exist, but the severity of some challenges has lessened and new challenges have arisen, as have new opportunities.

2.2.1 The Development Challenge: Food Insecurity Is a Continuing Problem

For the United States, reducing the number of people in the world suffering from hunger and undernutrition and threatened by famine continues to be “both a humanitarian concern and a development challenge”—a point that was also made in the Strategic Plan (p. 12).

- **Crises resulting from human conflict and natural disasters will continue to place additional pressure on food resources during a time of increasing budget constraints.** The number of people displaced in their own countries due to conflict and violence increased from more than 17.4 million in 1997 to 27.5 million in 2010, and the displacements are increasingly prolonged. The number of natural disasters reported each year during the 2000s also continued at more than double the rate in the 1980s and 1990s, and it is predicted that the number and scale of natural disasters will continue to increase. These trends are reflected in the WFP Appeal funding requirements, which also increased during the 2000s, from just under US\$1 billion in 2000 to US\$6.8 billion in 2010.
- **Famine, war, and drought in the Horn of Africa are in the headlines again,¹⁶ but there have been improvements in other areas of Africa since the early 2000s.** The large-scale civil wars in Africa of the 1990s and 2000s have ended, and political stability has improved in former conflict countries. Title II transition/development programs were initiated in Liberia and Sierra Leone during the FAFSA-2 time period as their civil wars ended and the countries began to return to democracy, and the Title II development programs in Uganda were moved to the northern area of the country as the fighting there began to recede. Economic growth also resumed in Africa during the FAFSA-2 time period, and advances in preventing and treating

¹⁶ <http://action.usaid.gov/index.php>. Accessed June 22, 2012.

HIV contributed to reducing child mortality and the burden of the disease in countries most affected by the pandemic.

- **The food security situation in the world worsened toward the end of the FAFSA-2 time period, initially as a result of the steep rise in global food prices that began in 2007.** These rapid increases in food prices led to food riots and political changes in some countries, but they also shocked many in the donor community and helped put the issue of food insecurity back on the international agenda. Although food prices did start falling in the second half of 2008, about the time that the global economic crisis began to accelerate, the combination of still-high food prices and the economic crisis led to a significant increase in the number of undernourished people in the world—from 852 million in 2000–2002, just before the beginning of the FAFSA-2 time period, to 1.02 billion in 2009. According to FAO (2010, p. 8), this meant that there were more undernourished people in the world in 2009 than at any time since 1970, and a worsening of the adverse trends that were present even before the food price and economic crises. Small, import-dependent economies, especially in Africa, were most negatively affected by the food and economic crises. The poor, who spend proportionately more of their household budgets on food, were also most adversely affected, including many of the rural poor that are net purchasers of food.
- **Higher and volatile food prices are likely to continue, with adverse effects on food security in both the short and longer term.** On the demand side, populations will continue to grow, demand from consumers in rapidly growing economies will increase, and further growth in biofuels will place additional demand on food systems. Challenges on the supply side include increasingly scarce natural resources in some regions, climate change, and declining rates of growth in yield for some food staples. Food price volatility may also increase due to

stronger linkages between the agricultural and energy markets and an increased frequency of weather shocks. Higher food prices can mean more incentives to invest in agriculture, which could help improve food security in the longer term. But, in the short run, the benefits of higher prices are likely to be captured by better-off farmers, who have access to more land and other resources, with the urban and rural poor, many of whom are net purchasers of food, the losers. Price volatility can also make smallholder farmers and poor consumers increasingly vulnerable to poverty and food insecurity. Since food can represent a large share of household budgets for poor urban and rural consumers (as well as a large share of the incomes of many small farmers), large price changes can have significant effects on their real incomes. This means that even short episodes of high prices for consumers or low prices for farmers can lead to sales of productive assets at low prices, further decapitalizing already poor households. Resource-poor farmers are also less likely to invest in measures to raise their productivity when price changes are frequent and unpredictable.

- **Meeting the MDGs remains a challenge, especially for many of the Title II priority countries.** The first MDG, to “eradicate extreme poverty and hunger,” has two targets: to halve the number of people living in extreme poverty between 1990 and 2015 and to halve the proportion of people suffering from hunger.¹⁷ According to a September 2011 Progress Report on the MDGs from the Center for Global Development (Leo and Thuotte, 2011), low-income countries have improved on average on four core MDG indicators: extreme poverty, hunger, HIV/AIDs, and water. Five of the Title II

¹⁷ The poverty reduction target is being measured using World Bank data on the proportion of people living on less than US\$1.25 per day. The hunger reduction target is being measured using two indicators: the prevalence of underweight children under five years of age (UNICEF-FAO data) and the proportion of the population below a minimum level of dietary energy consumption (FAO data on undernourishment).

priority countries—Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Mali, Mozambique, and Niger—were on track to meet both their poverty and their hunger targets by 2015, and four—Burundi, Guatemala, Madagascar, and Zambia—were not on track (see Table 2.1). Four other countries (three for which poverty data were not available)—DRC, Haiti, Liberia, and Uganda—were also not on track to meet their hunger goals.

Progress appears to be worse with respect to the nutrition indicators, according to the United Nations Standing Committee on Nutrition 6th Report on the World Nutrition Situation (United Nations System Standing Committee on Nutrition [UNSCN], 2010). “Child underweight and stunting prevalence are falling significantly in most countries,” according to this report, “except in Africa...Overall African countries show

insufficient progress to achieve MDG1, whereas many Asian countries as well as Latin American (and Caribbean) countries are on track to achieve it or have already achieved it.”

- **Progress was made in controlling the threat of HIV during the FAFSA-2 time period.** “On the cusp of the fourth decade of the AIDS epidemic, the world has turned the corner—it has halted and begun to reverse the spread of HIV (MDG 6.A)” (UNAIDS, 2010). While the challenges that HIV can pose to household food security described in the USAID/FFP Strategic Plan remain valid, the impressive progress in controlling the epidemic has reduced the magnitude of the threats foreseen at the time of the FAFSA in 2002. As described in the UNAIDS Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic (2010), governments, donor agencies, and the private sector invested an unprecedented amount in the AIDS response during the FAFSA-2 time period, e.g., US\$15.9 billion in 2009, more than 25 percent of which came from the U.S. government. According to the UNAIDS 2010 report, “HIV prevention works—new HIV infections are declining in many countries most affected by the epidemic.” The incidence of HIV fell more than 25 percent in 33 countries from 2001 to 2009, including 22 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The biggest epidemics in sub-Saharan Africa have either stabilized or declined. More than 5 million people are receiving therapy in low- and middle-income countries, a 13-fold increase since 2004 that is greatly extending and improving lives. Fewer HIV infections and AIDS-related deaths (a 14 percent decline from 2004 to 2009) and less illness affecting work capacity and livelihoods together have had a favorable impact on food security. Nevertheless, HIV continues to be a major concern in a number of the USAID/FFP priority countries in Africa, particularly Southern Africa, where an estimated 11.3 million people were living with HIV in 2009, up nearly one-third from the number a decade earlier. Access to HIV prevention, treatment, care, and support are far from universal, and are heavily dependent on international assistance. Ten million people living with HIV (PLHIV) eligible for treatment are still in need according to the

Table 2.1. USAID/FFP Priority Countries’ Progress with Respect to the MDG Poverty and Hunger Targets in 2011

Priority Countries	Poverty (P) and Hunger (H)		
	Off Track	Some Progress	On Track
Afghanistan			H
Bangladesh		P H	
Burkina Faso			P H
Burundi	P H		
Chad			H
DRC	H		
Ethiopia			P H
Guatemala	P H		
Haiti	H		
Liberia	H		
Madagascar	P H		
Malawi		P	H
Mali			P H
Mauritania			H
Mozambique			P H
Niger			P H
Sierra Leone		P H	
Sudan			H
Uganda	H		P
Zambia	P H		

Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) (2010).

- **Urban food insecurity is growing.** As noted in the USAID/FFP Strategic Plan, the developing world is continuing to urbanize, and the number and proportion of urban poor and food insecure are increasing rapidly, including in sub-Saharan Africa. Poverty still remains primarily a rural problem in many of the Title II priority countries, however, extreme poverty in particular.

2.2.2 The Foreign Assistance Environment—Changes and Challenges

2.2.2.1 Stakeholder Support

At the beginning of the FAFSA-2 time period, food assistance still enjoyed strong support from a broad coalition of political, agricultural, commercial, and civil society interests within the United States. Supporters included farmers; other agricultural interests, such as food processors and producers of nutrient supplements; transporters and shippers; private voluntary organizations (PVOs); and the American public more generally. Food aid also represented the major source of resources available within the U.S. government to devote to the problem of reducing food insecurity in the world. Attitudes were already changing elsewhere in the world at the time the Strategic Plan was being developed, however, with other donors becoming less supportive of food aid as a development assistance tool. These critics argued that food aid was an inferior resource, less efficient than cash, and more likely to distort markets and local economies. These changes in attitudes were reflected in the positions that other donors took in a number of international forums and in a reduction in overall food aid donations.

Criticism of food aid as a development tool—the use of monetization,¹⁸ in particular—began to increase in the development community in the United States in the mid-2000s. Most of this criticism

¹⁸ Monetization is a practice that involves the sale in a recipient country of the food aid commodities that have been bought in and shipped from the United States.

centered on the inefficiency of food in comparison to cash, the fact that the amount of money that the Awardees receive from the sales (monetization) of the food commodities does not cover the costs of getting them to these markets, and worries about the potential for these sales to have adverse impacts on the markets in these countries and on local production.

CARE, one of the bigger players in the Title II development program, announced in 2007 that it was no longer going to monetize food aid, because it was too expensive to manage and because of its potential adverse impacts on development in the countries where the food was being monetized.¹⁹ Using cash to support food security programs, it argued, was more cost-effective than monetization (CARE, 2006). A number of other major assessments of monetization have been published by prominent organizations since then, including the Partnership to Cut Hunger and Poverty in Africa (Simmons, 2009), the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (Barrett and Lentz, 2009), the U.S. Government Accountability Office²⁰ (GAO) (GAO, 2011), and the Center for Global Development in cooperation with the Center for American Progress (Norris and Veillette, 2011). Recommendations from these assessments ranged from making improvements in how the monetization process is handled, with better data and analysis done before programs are undertaken and more systematic, independent M&E of programs as

¹⁹ Bangladesh is the only country where CARE is continuing to use the proceeds from monetization to support its Title II development program, and that is because the commodities are sold to the Bangladesh government, which uses them in its own direct feeding programs.

²⁰ The GAO recommendations focused on steps that USAID and USDA could take to increase the level of cost recovery and reduce the likelihood of adverse market impacts, including: (1) jointly developing an agreed-upon benchmark or indicator to determine “reasonable market price” for sales of U.S. food aid for monetization; (2) monitoring food aid sales transactions to ensure that the benchmark set to achieve “reasonable market price” in the country where the commodities are being sold is being achieved, as required by law; (3) improving market assessments and coordinating their development in countries where both USAID and USDA may monetize; and (4) conducting market impact evaluations after monetization transactions have taken place to determine whether they caused adverse market impacts.

they are being implemented (Partnership to Cut Hunger and Poverty in Africa and GAO) to limiting monetization under the Title II development program and looking for other sources of funding to replace the resources lost to the Awardees (Chicago Council) to eliminating monetization entirely (Center for Global Development and Center for American Progress).

2.2.2.2 Legislation and the Current Budget Climate

The U.S. Congress, on the other hand, has continued to be supportive of the Title II development programs and monetization, at least through the 2008 Farm Bill (which was renamed the Food for Peace Act [FFPA] in 2008). The Title II program, which has been authorized by a series of farm bills, has a legislative history that is very different from the rest of the foreign assistance program. The program is under the jurisdiction of the agricultural committees in Congress and its budget is included in USDA's budget, although the budget totals are now included in the International Affairs (150) account.

In the 1990 Farm Bill, which introduced a food security focus into the program, Congress also called for increased coordination and integration of food aid with U.S. Development Assistance (DA) and facilitated this integration by giving USAID sole responsibility for managing the relief and economic development programs (i.e., Titles II and III of Public Law 480). Congress also added a number of provisions, some at the behest of stakeholders, to support and strengthen the development programs. This included the establishment of a yearly minimum commodity tonnage for the program as a whole and a second minimum (referred to as the sub-minimum) for the quantity of commodities that are required to be used in the non-emergency (development) programs each year, both of which could be waived by the USAID administrator. The process of monetization was also introduced into the program in the 1986 Farm Bill as a means of making additional cash available for transporting and handling commodities. The 1990 Farm Bill increased the monetization minimum to 10 percent of the total value of non-emergency

commodities and expanded the use of these proceeds to include income generation, health, nutrition, and agricultural activities. The 1996 Farm Bill raised the minimum to 15 percent. The current minimum total commodity tonnage for the whole of the program is set at 2.5 million metric tons (MT) of agricultural commodities/year, with at least 1.875 million MT/year to be used for non-emergency (development) assistance.

The 2008 FFPA included two new provisions, one that created a new mandate for the development program and a second that strengthened USAID/FFP's oversight and M&E activities. The new mandate requires that at least US\$375 million be used for non-emergency food assistance beginning in FY 2009 and that this amount must increase by US\$25 million per year until FY 2012. It has also been referred to as a "hard" mandate, because it can be waived only "if an extraordinary food emergency exists and the President determines, and informs Congress, that no other food or financial resources are available to meet the emergency." The program oversight and M&E activities envisioned in the FFPA include "in-country monitoring, evaluation of food aid impacts and monetization activities, identification and implementation of best practices, early warning systems to prevent famine, and upgrading of information technology (IT) systems."²¹ The FFPA also authorized up to US\$22.0 million in funds each year to be used for oversight of the Title II development programs from FY 2009 through FY 2012.²²

2.2.2.3 The Executive Branch: New Priorities and Initiatives

The "F" process. The Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance Resources (F) was created in the U.S. Department of State in June 2006 to focus the use

²¹ The 2008 Farm Bill Side-by-Side—Title III: Trade. 2008. <http://www.ers.usda.gov/FarmBill/2008/Titles/TitleIIITrade.htm>. Accessed July 15, 2011.

²² The legislation also provided that up to US\$2.5 million of the US\$22.0 million could be used for upgrading IT systems and up to US\$8.0 million for famine and early warning systems, but only if at least US\$8.0 million is provided for that purpose under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

of foreign assistance on achieving the Secretary's transformational diplomacy goal. State/F was given responsibility for developing, among other things, a coherent, coordinated USG foreign assistance strategy; multi-year, country-specific assistance strategies and annual country-specific operational plans; consolidated policy, planning, budget, and implementation mechanisms and staff functions required to provide leadership to USAID and Department of State foreign assistance; and guidance for foreign assistance delivered through other USG agencies.

The development of a standard Foreign Assistance Framework with a common goal, objectives, program areas, elements, and indicators was also part of this process (see Box 2.3). The current administration is in the process of rebuilding USAID's policy, planning, and budgeting responsibilities, but USAID programs, including USAID/FFP, are still required to report on the Standard Foreign Assistance Indicators.

Food security. The U.S. government took swift action in response to the global food price crisis in 2007–2008 by providing more than US\$1.5 billion in food and DA to meet immediate humanitarian needs and to stimulate increases in agricultural productivity in developing countries hard hit by the food price increases. These investments served as the foundation for FTF, which is one of several Presidential Initiatives (another being the GHI, which is discussed in the following section).

FTF is the U.S. component of a global initiative launched by the President at the London Summit of the G20 in 2009. Its aims are to promote a comprehensive approach to food security by accelerating economic growth and raising incomes through greater agricultural productivity, increasing incomes and market access for the rural poor, and enhancing nutrition. U.S. government efforts are driven by country-owned strategies and coordinated with the efforts of other donors and stakeholders. Other stakeholders include academia, foundations, multilateral institutions, NGOs, and the private sector. The global part of the initiative also includes the establishment of the Global Agriculture and

Box 2.3. U.S. Foreign Assistance Framework

Goal: Helping to build and sustain democratic and well-governed states that will respond to the needs of their people and conduct themselves responsibly in the international system.

Objectives:

- Peace and Security
- Governing Justly and Democratically
- Investing in People
- Economic Growth
- Humanitarian Assistance

Source: <http://www.state.gov/f/indicators/>.

Food Security Program (GAFSP), a multilateral trust fund based at the World Bank designed to help poor farmers grow, sell, and earn more. GAFSP was launched in April 2010 with commitments from the United States, Canada, South Korea, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. At an earlier 2009 G8 Summit in L'Aquila, Italy, the President also pledged at least US\$3.5 billion in assistance over three years, which helped leverage more than US\$18.5 billion from other donors to support the common approach. The United States was also instrumental in the development of five key principles adopted at the Rome Food Security Summit in November 2009 (see Box 2.4), which provide the foundation for common action.

USAID, which is the lead USG agency for FTF, has created a new BFS to spearhead the program (U.S. State Department, 2010). But the intent is to also make good use of the expertise in other USG agencies, including the Department of State, the Peace Corps, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), the Treasury Department, the U.S. Trade Representative, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), the U.S. African Development Foundation, and USDA. Investments

Box 2.4. Rome Principles for Advancing Global Food Security

- Invest in country-owned plans that support results-based programs and partnerships, so that assistance is tailored to the needs of individual countries through consultative processes and plans that are developed and led by country governments
- Strengthen strategic coordination to mobilize and align the resources of the diverse partners and stakeholders—including the private sector and civil society—that are needed to achieve our common objectives
- Ensure a comprehensive approach that accelerates inclusive agricultural-led growth and improves nutrition, while also bridging humanitarian relief and sustainable development efforts
- Leverage the benefits of multilateral institutions so that priorities and approaches are aligned, investments are coordinated, and financial and technical assistance gaps are filled
- Deliver on sustained and accountable commitments, phasing in investments responsibly to ensure returns, using benchmarks and targets to measure progress toward shared goals, and holding ourselves and other stakeholders publicly accountable for achieving results.

Source: USAID Feed the Future Guide, 2010, p. iv.

by USAID in FTF, which vary by country depending on each country's priorities and its own and other donor and key actors' investments, are addressing the key elements of food insecurity: food availability and access through investments in agricultural productivity, agribusiness, and market development, and the equitable distribution and control over productive resources; food utilization, through a multifaceted approach to nutrition; and food stability by ensuring that effective mechanisms are in place to address chronic food insecurity. More information on the expected results of the initiative is provided in Box 2.5.

FTF includes 19 focus countries—Bangladesh, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Nepal, Rwanda, Senegal, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia—and 5 regions—Asia, Central America and the Caribbean, East Africa, West Africa, and Southern Africa.²³ Ten countries were included in both FTF and the Title II development program focus country lists as of the beginning of 2011—Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Uganda, and Zambia—and multi-year FTF strategies had been developed and formally reviewed for all 10 of these countries by the end of 2011. These five-

²³ See http://feedthefuture.gov/sites/default/files/ftf_progress_report_2012.pdf. Accessed February 20, 2013.

Box 2.5. Expected Results of the FTF Initiative over Three Years

The FTF initiative aims to:

- Assist 18 million vulnerable women, children, and family members—mostly smallholder farmers—to escape hunger and poverty.
- Reach 7 million children with highly effective nutrition interventions to prevent stunting and child mortality.
- Generate US\$2.8 billion in agricultural gross domestic product in target regions through research and development activities.
- Leverage US\$70 billion in private investment in agriculture that improves sustainable market opportunities and linkages with smallholder farmers.

Source: USAID Policy Framework 2011–2015, p. ii.

year planning documents represent a coordinated, whole-of-the-U.S.-government approach to addressing food security in these countries/regions that align with and support country priorities.

2.2.2.4 Health and Nutrition

Maternal and child survival. USAID has had a maternal and child survival focus in the health sector for the past several decades, supporting interventions that have successfully prevented the major causes of death of women in pregnancy and childbirth, newborns, and children in the first five years of life (USAID, 2009 and 2011a). A renewed consensus on and push for scaling up high-impact interventions came with the review of evidence on child survival interventions feasible for delivery at high coverage in low-income settings, and the quantification of how many children's lives could be saved (Jones et al., 2003). By design, the health components of Title II programs work on many of the same high-impact maternal and child health (MCH) interventions as other USAID programs, focusing on those that are community based or for which coverage can readily be increased by assisting local health systems with outreach, referrals, and supplies.

HIV. The implications of the HIV pandemic for food security were noted as a concern in the 2002 FAFSA. In 2003, the U.S. government stepped up its response to the pandemic exponentially through the US\$3 billion/year U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), which was reauthorized in 2008 for five years and US\$46 billion total.²⁴ This program has greatly increased access to prevention, care and support, counseling and testing, medications for HIV treatment and prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV (PMTCT), as well as nutrition assessment, counseling, and support (NACS). The USAID/FFP and PEPFAR "HIV and Food Security Conceptual Framework," issued in 2007 for coordinating their activities and mutual objectives, encouraged Title II programs

to provide food and livelihood assistance to HIV-affected vulnerable families, while PEPFAR targeted its resources for food and NACS to specific priority target groups. For the past five years, PEPFAR has increasingly funded its own nutrition and food security activities. It now has an earmark for nutrition of US\$130–US\$150 million annually. (See Chapter 8 on HIV for more discussion on PEPFAR and joint programming with Title II.) The United States (through PEPFAR) is also a major contributor to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (Global Fund), which was launched in 2002.

The Global Health Initiative. The ongoing GHI, which was launched in 2009 with a US\$63 billion pledge for six years, is the latest chapter in the U.S. government's commitment to global health.²⁵ The GHI has an ambitious agenda for achieving major health outcomes using a new business model (see Box 2.6 and Box 2.7). It moves away from a vertical approach to specific diseases toward an integrated service delivery system that is community based as much as possible. The GHI is a woman- and girl-centered approach that emphasizes improving the health of women, newborns, and children. Strengthening health systems is a priority for ensuring sustainability. While the GHI applies everywhere, the U.S. government assists health programs in developing countries. In its initial phase, eight "GHI Plus" countries²⁶ will receive

Box 2.6. Global Health Initiative: New Business Model

- Collaborate for impact
- Do more of what works
- Build on/expand existing platforms
- Innovate for results

Source: <http://transition.usaid.gov/ghi/factsheet.html>, accessed November 11, 2011.

²⁴ This includes funding for malaria and tuberculosis (TB). There were originally 15 focus countries, but support now goes to 32 countries and 2 regional programs. The original 15 countries continue to receive a greater share of the funding. <http://www.pepfar.gov>. Accessed November 14, 2011.

²⁵ The GHI budget includes the funding for PEPFAR. <http://www.ghi.gov>. Accessed November 14, 2011.

²⁶ Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Nepal, and Rwanda.

Box 2.7. Global Health Initiative: Expected Outcomes over Six Years

- **HIV/AIDS.** Through PEPFAR: Prevent more than 12 million new HIV infections; treat more than 4 million people; and care for more than 12 million people, including 5 million orphans and vulnerable children (OVC).
- **Malaria.** The President's Malaria Initiative will reduce the burden of malaria by 50 percent for 450 million people, representing 70 percent of the at-risk population in Africa.
- **Tuberculosis (TB).** Save approximately 1.3 million lives by reducing TB prevalence by 50 percent. Treat 2.6 million new TB cases and 57,200 multi-drug resistant TB cases across assisted countries.
- **Maternal health.** Save approximately 360,000 women's lives by reducing maternal mortality by 30 percent across assisted countries.
- **Child health.** Save approximately 3 million children's lives, including 1.5 million newborns, by reducing under-five mortality by 35 percent across assisted countries.
- **Nutrition.** Reduce child undernutrition by 30 percent across assisted food insecure countries, in conjunction with FTF.
- **Family planning and reproductive health.** Prevent 54 million unintended pregnancies by meeting unmet need for modern contraception. Contraceptive prevalence is expected to rise to 35 percent across assisted countries, reflecting an average annual 2 percentage point increase. First births by women under 18 should decline to 20 percent.
- **Neglected tropical diseases.** Reduce the prevalence of seven neglected tropical diseases by 50 percent among 70 percent of the affected population, and eliminate onchocerciasis in Latin America by 2016, lymphatic filariasis globally by 2017, and leprosy.

Source: <http://transition.usaid.gov/ghi/factsheet.html>, accessed November 11, 2011.

additional support for intense implementation and learning to inform the work of all countries. Five of these countries are also USAID/FFP focus countries, creating special opportunities for synergy. Title II program experience with integration at the community level provides valuable lessons and promising practices to shorten the learning curve for new GHI activities. As part of the GHI, USAID has assisted a planning process in 29 countries; this process is known as BEST—Best Practices at Scale in the Home, Community, and Facilities: An Action Plan for Smart Integrated Programming in Family Planning, Maternal and Child Health, and Nutrition.²⁷

²⁷ The following BEST process countries are also USAID/FFP priority countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, DRC, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, South Sudan, and Uganda.

Nutrition. While nutrition is part of USAID's MCH activities, it was not a high budget priority for USAID DA during the FAFSA-2 time period, and was underfunded relative to maternal health and child survival interventions. The main funding for nutrition during that time came from PEPFAR for HIV-related nutrition activities. Limited funding for nutrition from other parts of USAID made the USAID/FFP Strategic Plan that directs major resources and gives high priority to nutrition all the more important. A boost was given to the importance of nutrition programs by the 2008 maternal and child undernutrition series in *The Lancet*, which lays out the magnitude and consequences of the problem (Black et al., 2008). The authors in the series make it clear that there is ample evidence of the effectiveness of a package of direct nutrition interventions that reduce child mortality, improve nutrition outcomes, and protect human capital

(Bhutta et al., 2008). Another breakthrough came in 2009 with the inclusion of nutrition alongside agriculture in FTF, formalizing the U.S. government's commitment to increasing its assistance to nutrition programs as part of an integrated global response to reducing hunger and food insecurity.

In recognition of the critical role of nutrition in both the GHI and FTF, in September 2009, the Acting Director of State/F approved the incorporation of a Nutrition Program Element as the ninth element in Program Area 3.1, "Health," of the "Investing in People" Objective in the Foreign Assistance Standardized Program Structure and Definitions.²⁸ That elevated the importance of working on nutrition and monitoring USAID resources and nutrition outputs and outcomes. Until that change, which also made nutrition a separate budget category, it was merely a sub-element under the MCH Program Element, competing with many other MCH priorities. The United States is committed to helping 7 million children through nutrition interventions that prevent stunting and child mortality (USAID, 2011b). Nutritional status indicators will be used to measure the impact of the GHI and FTF, as they have been in the Title II program.

International nutrition initiatives. The international community, along with the United States, is also increasing support for preventing undernutrition in developing countries. At center stage is the Scaling Up Nutrition (SUN) Movement, launched in September 2010, which 21 developing countries had joined as of 2011.²⁹ Along with the SUN Movement, the 1,000 Days Partnership was also launched in New York in September 2010, on the occasion of the United Nations (U.N.) Summit on the MDGs.³⁰ (Also see Box 2.8.)

²⁸ <http://www.state.gov/F/>. Accessed April 8, 2010.

²⁹ See http://www.unscn.org/en/scaling_up_nutrition_sun/ and <http://ScalingUpNutrition.org>. Accessed November 16, 2011. Countries that are a priority for USAID/FFP that are also SUN countries are: Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Uganda, and Zimbabwe.

³⁰ The U.N. General Assembly launched the 1,000 Days Partnership in conjunction with U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, the Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and other global leaders. See "1,000 Days: Change a Life, Change the Future." Joint Donor Statement. http://transition.usaid.gov/our_work/global_health/nut/news/joint_donor_statement.pdf. September 21, 2010. Accessed September 28, 2010. A follow-up high-level meeting on nutrition was held in New York on September 20, 2011, at the U.N. General Assembly.

Box 2.8. Two International Nutrition Initiatives

- **Scaling Up Nutrition Movement.** The SUN movement is led by developing countries affected by and tackling undernutrition. It brings organizations together across sectors to support national plans to scale up nutrition interventions. The basis is the 2010 SUN Framework, which promotes: (1) increasing the coverage of 13 evidence-based direct nutrition interventions (from Bhutta et al., 2008); (2) integrating nutrition goals into broader efforts in health, agriculture, education, employment, social protection, and development; and (3) expanding the pool of resources for this effort. The target group is pregnant and lactating women and children under the age of two years, in what is now popularly referred to as the "1,000-day window of opportunity," during which better nutrition can have its greatest impact on reducing death and disease, increasing intellectual and physical work capacity, and lowering the risk of non-communicable diseases. The framework was endorsed by more than 100 governments, including the United States (USAID), in addition to academic, business, and civil society organizations.
- **1,000 Days Partnership.** This partnership (<http://www.thousanddays.org>) is an advocacy hub formed by Interaction and the Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN) in collaboration with the U.S. Department of State. It strives to achieve measurable results in global nutrition during the 1,000 days between September 2010 and June 2013 by promoting targeted action and investment to improve nutrition for mothers and children during the first 1,000 days of life, including galvanizing support for the SUN movement.

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