



Research Paper

Analyzing the Challenges of the World Food Programme in Addressing Food Security in Madagascar (2019-2023)

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Abstract

Madagascar continues to face one of the highest levels of food insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa, even after decades of international humanitarian intervention. Between 2019 and 2023, the World Food Programme (WFP) allocated substantial resources to combat hunger across the country, especially in the southern regions affected by drought. However, food security outcomes remain critically poor, raising questions about the institutional and structural barriers impeding long-term progress. This article explores why the WFP has failed to meet its stated objectives in Madagascar, shifting the analytical focus from operational delivery to systemic governance challenges. Using liberal institutionalist theory as a conceptual framework, the study applies a qualitative case study approach, drawing on WFP strategic documents, independent evaluations, and academic literature. The analysis identified six interrelated institutional weaknesses: fragmented data infrastructure, lack of enforcement mechanisms, limited reciprocity with local actors, poor coordination, short-term programmatic focus, and weak integration with broader development agendas. These limitations have reduced the effectiveness and sustainability of food interventions in the Malagasy context. The findings suggest that achieving food security in fragile environments requires more than technical efficiency or financial input. Effective responses must be grounded in inclusive governance, institutional accountability, and long-term planning. By highlighting the gap between resource mobilization and structural transformation, this article contributes to the broader debate on humanitarian governance and the need to redesign food aid systems for lasting impact.

Keywords: Food insecurity, Liberal Institutionalism, Madagascar, World Food Programme

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I. Introduction

It is both paradoxical and disturbing that hunger continues to claim lives in a century defined by technological advancement and surplus production in the modern world. Despite producing more than enough calories to feed the entire planet, millions of people today still remain undernourished, caught in a cycle of scarcity that is largely driven by structural inequalities, climate stress, and institutional failure. Food insecurity is not solely the result of insufficient supply; it is a complex issue stemming from unequal access, poor governance, and global neglect. The Food and Agriculture Organization estimated that in 2023 over 735 million people endured chronic hunger, mainly in fragile states and regions susceptible to climate change, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa.¹ Although the global community has pledged to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal 2, "Zero Hunger," progress has been sluggish, and in several instances, it is actually deteriorating.

The situation is even more disturbing when looked at in countries such as Madagascar, where cyclical drought, political instability, and extreme poverty combine to result in a persistent food crisis. Madagascar is among the world's ten poorest countries and is plagued by some of the highest rates of chronic malnutrition worldwide, particularly among children under the age of five.² The southern regions of Androy, Anosy, and Atsimo-Andrefana exemplify what some specialists call the "new face of famine," caused not by conflict but by climate change.³ These regions have experienced prolonged droughts that have severely impacted agricultural production and traditional relief strategies, leaving entire communities reliant on humanitarian aid for survival. In this context, the World Food Programme (WFP), which is the largest humanitarian agency focused on hunger, has played a central role.

WFP's mandate and logistical capabilities make it the leading humanitarian organization in food assistance. During the 2019–2023 period in Madagascar, the agency utilised substantial financial and material resources via interventions such as school feeding programs, nutrition-sensitive support for at-risk groups, and resilience-based initiatives. Despite significant investments, the country's food insecurity has demonstrated limited long-term progress. The gap between resources allocated and outcomes achieved necessitates a more in-depth examination of the institutional aspects of humanitarian intervention.

The persistence of food insecurity in regions such as southern Madagascar that rely heavily on aid, highlights the necessity of moving beyond typical humanitarian evaluations. This prompts a question about whether the frameworks of global food management of which the World Food Programme (WFP) is a central component are sufficiently prepared to handle the intricacy of hunger in vulnerable settings. Are short-term relief systems unintentionally hindering long-term recovery efforts? Do institutional constraints, weak local partnerships, or flawed coordination mechanisms account for why, despite substantial funding and international attention, food security goals continue to prove elusive? This study maintains that these questions can only be resolved by means other than metrics. A more in-depth examination is

¹ FAO et al., *The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2023: Urbanization, Agrifood Systems Transformation and Healthy Diets across the Rural–Urban Continuum* (Rome: FAO, 2023), 4, <https://openknowledge.fao.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/1f66b67b-1e45-45d1-b003-86162fd35dab/content>.

² World Bank, "Madagascar Country Overview" (Washington DC: World Bank, 2022).

³ World Food Programme, "Madagascar: Climate-Induced Hunger Crisis" (WFP Briefing Note, 2021).

needed into the political economy of aid, the governance structure of food programmes, and the interactions between international institutions and fragile states.

The lack of lasting improvements in food security in Madagascar following international interventions is not merely a matter of technical or logistical challenges it is a deeply ingrained problem. Between 2019 and 2023, the World Food Programme (WFP) implemented significant initiatives such as food deliveries, nutritional support, and infrastructure investments, yet the overall food security situation in southern Madagascar remains unimproved.⁴ Short-term interventions have undoubtedly averted famine in several instances, but they have not disrupted the long-term cycle of dependency and vulnerability. Internal appraisals by the WFP, along with independent evaluations, have found that coordination between the agency and local institutions is still inadequate, resulting in duplicated efforts, mismatched priorities, and uncatalyzed opportunities for local empowerment.⁵

Many WFP programs continue to be designed with an emergency approach that includes swift action, short-term goals, and schedules driven by donors, but this approach often does not align with situations that demand fundamental change. While focusing on operational aspects may be comprehensible in humanitarian contexts, it could inadvertently hinder the establishment of food security systems within the Malagasy state.⁶ If aid does not strengthen national systems or support community-led development, it may exacerbate the fragility it aims to alleviate. The core issue is essentially not just about food, but about governance, accountability, and the way institutions are structured.

The question this paper aims to address is pressing and essential: Why has the World Food Programme (WFP) been unable to meet its food security goals in Madagascar despite its resource allocation between 2019 and 2023. Given the global discussions on aid effectiveness, localization, and the future of multilateralism in humanitarian response, this question takes on increased importance. This study contributes to a body of critical scholarship on global food security governance by examining it through the perspective of institutions, which aims to comprehend how it functions in vulnerable regions and why it sometimes falls short.

The paper's focus is directed towards four primary objectives in order to answer the research question. The primary goal is to pinpoint the key institutional and operational hurdles that constrained the effectiveness of WFP programs in Madagascar between 2019 and 2023. Furthermore, it examines how the lack of long-term strategic coordination between emergency assistance and sustainable development has led to ongoing food insecurity. It focuses on the nature and quality of coordination between WFP, the Malagasy government, donors, and non-governmental organizations, with a particular emphasis on alignment, ownership, and accountability. Ultimately, this study aims to contribute to theoretical debates about the part played by international organisations in development governance by examining the WFP in Madagascar as a real-world test case for liberal institutionalist theory.

⁴ World Food Programme, "Evaluation of Madagascar WFP Country Strategic Plan 2019-2023" (WFP, 2023), 6.

⁵ World Food Programme, "Evaluation of the Strategic Plan in Southern Madagascar 2022" (Rome: WFP, 2023), 9.

⁶ Daniel O'Connor et al., "Living with Insecurity: Food Security, Resilience, and the World Food Programme (WFP)," *Global Social Policy* 17, no. 1 (April 29, 2017): 3–20, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468018116658776>.

The paper's aim in pursuing these objectives is not to criticise the WFP's mandate or humanitarian obligations. It aims to understand the institutional mechanisms, constraints, and governance dynamics that affect the agency's performance in complicated environments. This approach aims to provide policy-relevant insights for improving the design, delivery, and institutional foundation of international food security interventions.

Research on food insecurity has shifted from initial studies focused on food production and distribution to more complex frameworks that highlight the importance of political economy, institutional frameworks, and global regulation. Albert Sasson's influential work on food security in Africa contended that the continent's hunger crisis stems from decades of global disregard and institutional exclusion, specifically within international trade, finance, and development frameworks.⁷ He underscored the necessity of elevating food production, in conjunction with structural reforms in governance, land ownership, and community involvement.

Matthew Chidozie Ogwu *et al.* expand on this foundation by presenting a multidimensional perspective of food insecurity in the Global South, which they characterise as resulting from interconnected crises encompassing economic, environmental, institutional, and social factors. Critics claim that many food aid programs are unsuccessful because they are not aligned with national policy guidelines, do not involve local communities, and rely on externally dictated objectives.⁸ This research questions the efficiency of traditional top-down humanitarian methods, recommending more coordinated, community-focused, and systems-based strategies.

Oluwole and Olagunju-Yusuf highlight the main causes of food and nutrition insecurity in Africa, which are climate change, conflict, women's inequality, and poor governance.⁹ They recommend a shift in food security strategies to prioritize resilience, fairness, and nutrition-focused planning. In the Malagasy context, the analysis is especially pertinent due to institutional fragility, climatic shocks, and donor fragmentation, which contribute to a policy environment where emergency aid prevails at the expense of long-term solutions.

The authors collectively advocate for a fundamental change in the way food security is conceptualized and addressed. The effectiveness of international institutions is being questioned, especially when they fail to adjust to local circumstances or give national actors the authority they need. These arguments by O'Connor *et al.* suggest that living with insecurity is a common experience for many aid recipients, not because food delivery is impossible, but because the systems meant to provide food security often create the vulnerabilities they aim to overcome.¹⁰ This research uses these insights to evaluate the performance of WFP in Madagascar, highlighting the need to re-examine the structure, coordination, and longevity of international cooperation.

⁷ Albert Sasson, "Food Security for Africa: An Urgent Global Challenge," *Agriculture & Food Security* 1, no. 1 (December 19, 2012): 2–16, <https://doi.org/10.1186/2048-7010-1-2>.

⁸ Matthew Chidozie Ogwu *et al.*, "Food Security Complexities in the Global South," in *Food Safety and Quality in the Global South*, ed. Matthew Chidozie Ogwu, Sylvester Chibueze Izah, and Nontuthuko Rosemary Ntuli (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2024), 3–33, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-2428-4_1.

⁹ Oluwatoyin Bolanle Oluwole and Olusola Fatimah Olagunju-Yusuf, "Food and Nutrition Insecurity in Africa: The Primary Drivers and Sustainable Strategies to Improve the Current Status," in *Food Security and Safety Volume 2*, ed. Olubukola Oluranti Babalola, Ayansina Segun Ayangbenro, and Omena Bernard Ojuederie (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023), 265–82, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-09614-3_12.

¹⁰ O'Connor *et al.*, "Living with Insecurity: Food Security, Resilience, and the World Food Programme (WFP)," 8.

2. Theoretical and Methodological Approach

This study is grounded in the liberal institutionalist tradition, a theoretical framework that highlights the role of international institutions in reducing the effects of anarchy, fostering cooperation, and influencing state behavior within a decentralized global system. Robert Keohane, a prominent figure of this school, views institutions as not just facilitators for international interactions but as active forces that lower transaction costs, improve transparency, and create the expectation of ongoing continuity.¹¹ Liberal institutionalism maintains that in critical areas such as food security, where collaborative action is essential, international bodies like the WFP act as mechanisms to coordinate responses, enforce commitments, and direct resources more efficiently. The theory also recognizes that the effectiveness of institutions hinges on actors' willingness to cooperate, the credibility of enforcement, and the robustness of institutional design.

In the context of Madagascar, liberal institutionalism offers a framework for analysing both the advantages and disadvantages of the WFP as an actor functioning within a fragile state. The World Food Programme acts as a central coordinator, working with donor countries, host governments, and non-governmental organisations to provide vital services. Its ability to achieve structural outcomes is constrained by a weak state capacity, limited reciprocity, fragmented information systems, and unstable funding flows. According to Sylvester, achieving food security is a challenge that goes beyond logistics, instead being deeply tied to institutional factors such as sectoral coherence, accountability in implementation, and the presence of political will.¹²

From a methodological perspective, this research employs a qualitative case study methodology, concentrating on the WFP's activities in Madagascar spanning the period of 2019 to 2023. This period was chosen for three primary reasons: firstly, it covers a time of heightened global response to food shortages in southern Madagascar; secondly, it coincides with the WFP's Country Strategic Plan cycle; and thirdly, it encompasses various pertinent reports and evaluations that enable in-depth institutional analysis. The case study method facilitates a thorough examination of causal processes and organisational dynamics, rather than simply assessing correlations or outcomes.

Information was collected from a variety of sources, such as WFP policy and program documents, independent evaluation reports, government publications, and peer-reviewed academic journals. The study employed thematic analysis to categorize and structure findings around six key institutional obstacles, which stemmed from six liberal institutionalist factors: (1) inadequate information sharing; (2) lack of enforcement measures; (3) limited reciprocity and national involvement; (4) coordination shortfalls among actors; (5) weak integration of long-term strategies; and (6) lack of connection between humanitarian assistance and development frameworks. The categories that follow serve as the fundamental structure for the analysis presented in subsequent sections of the paper.

¹¹ Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton University Press, 2005), 85.

¹² Olivia Sylvester, "Achieving Food Security in the Face of Inequity, Climate Change, and Conflict," in *The Difficult Task of Peace*, ed. Francisco Rojas Aravena (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 277–95, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-21974-1_13.

The study's goal is not to deliver a final judgement on WFP's performance, but instead to highlight the organisational structures that influence its success in complex settings such as Madagascar. The paper draws on both theory and empirical evidence to contribute to the ongoing discussion about how international organisations can more effectively achieve their objectives in unstable environments. This framework not only critiques food security interventions but also provides a constructive approach for reimagining them from an institutional perspective.

This introduction has provided the conceptual and empirical groundwork for a comprehensive examination of the WFP's involvement in Madagascar. This paper is guided by the central question of how the World Food Programme (WFP) was unable to meet its food security goals in Madagascar, even though it had allocated its resources for the years 2019 through 2023. The following section will discuss in detail the particular institutional difficulties that are the foundation of this paradox.

3. Finding and Analysis

The World Food Programme (WFP) has played a pivotal role in combating food insecurity and malnutrition in Madagascar via its Country Strategic Plan (CSP) for 2019-2023. Notwithstanding the WFP's dedication and initiatives to enhance food security, the results have not completely corresponded with the desired goals. This paper investigates the shortcomings of the WFP's involvement, utilizing the framework of liberal institutionalism, a theory that emphasizes the significance of institutions in fostering cooperation, mitigating uncertainty, and enhancing collaboration. By analyzing the six fundamental variables of liberal institutionalism: Challenges of Inadequate Information Provision by the WFP, weak Enforcement of Commitments by the WFP in Food Security Initiatives, Coordination Deficiencies Between the WFP and Stakeholders, lack of Reciprocity in WFP Partnerships, Insufficient Long-Term Strategies by the WFP for Food Security, ineffective Linkages Between WFP Food Security Programs and Broader Issues we can gain insight the reasons for its failure of WFP to attain food security objectives in Madagascar.

3.1. Challenges of Inadequate Information Provision by the WFP

The World Food Programme (WFP) plays a pivotal role in addressing global food insecurity, particularly in regions facing chronic challenges, such as Madagascar. Between 2019 and 2023, the WFP faced significant hurdles in achieving its food security objectives in Madagascar with inadequate information provision emerging as a critical factor. This deficiency undermined the organization's capacity to design, implement, and monitor effective interventions, ultimately hindering its ability to address the escalating food crisis.¹³

One of the key problems was the lack of real-time data which made it difficult to identify vulnerable populations and shift the strategy as the situation evolved. Food security status in

¹³ These informational shortcomings reflect broader institutional challenges faced by the WFP across Africa, where conflict, governance failures, and weak food systems amplify the consequences of poor data management. See, e.g., Emmanuel Oghenekome Akpogheli et al., "Malnutrition and Food Insecurity in Northern Nigeria: An Insight into the United Nations World Food Program (WFP) in Nigeria," *Discover Food* 4, no. 1 (November 26, 2024): 165, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s44187-024-00249-7>; Korbla P. Puplampu and George O. Essegbey, "From MDGs to SDGs: The Policy and Institutional Dynamics of African Agriculture," in *From Millennium Development Goals to Sustainable Development Goals: Rethinking African Development* (Grant MacEwan University, Edmonton, Canada: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 53–73, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315228068>.

Madagascar is influenced by multiple factors, such as climate shocks, poverty, and political conflicts. However, the WFP resorted to the most out-of-date, fragmented data information system which mostly could not keep up with food insecurity information systems. As an example, the poor integration of updated data over time, particularly during severe droughts in southern Madagascar in 2021, affected response times and the reach of the program.¹⁴ In addition, the organization's reliance on national statistical data instead of localized data meant that many at-risk populations were excluded, rendering the interventions less effective.¹⁵

The issue was worsened by reliance on data as an external source. The WFP would often quote secondary statistics supplied by international organizations or government agencies which at times were not fully executing reality. This was particularly troubling after an extreme weather event such as Cyclone Batsirai in 2022, as the differences between the estimates of the WFP and the verifications by locals caused setbacks at the beginning of relief operations. Research has found that agencies such as the WFP are not able to fully integrate indigenous knowledge systems into their data framework, resulting in poorly organized response strategies.¹⁶ The absence of such a sound approach to address these gaps poses a bigger institutional challenge regarding the use of localized knowledge in developing appropriate solutions.¹⁷

The information gap among the stakeholders involved in food security initiatives is another significant obstacle. The actions of the WFP in Madagascar relied on national governments, NGOs, and local communities. Nonetheless, the absence of efficient organizational frameworks results in poorly integrated information systems, which makes it impossible to gather and assess essential data easily. For instance, Madagascar's National Office for Risk and Disaster Management (BNGRM) outlined discrepancies between its evaluations and those of the WFP during intervention in the context of the 2021 drought.¹⁸ Such delays increased the chances of implementing or providing services in areas with different objectives, such as health, food, and nutrition security, and might have tended to breed suspicion among the partners, making collaborative efforts even more difficult.¹⁹

¹⁴ World Food Programme, "Evaluation of Madagascar WFP Country Strategic Plan 2019-2023."

¹⁵ Relief Web, "Evaluation Approfondie Multisectorielle de La Sécurité Alimentaire Grand Sud de Madagascar (Avril 2022)," May 30, 2022, accessed on 6 June 2025, available at <https://reliefweb.int/report/madagascar/evaluation-approfondie-multisectorielle-de-la-securite-alimentaire-grand-sud-de-madagascar-avril-2022>. In broader African contexts, similar problems occurred when WFP failed to integrate climate variability data into programming, which led to weak preparedness during droughts and floods. See Menghestab Haile, "Weather Patterns, Food Security and Humanitarian Response in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, vol. 360 (World Food Programme, Parco dei Medici, 00148 Rome, Via C. G. Viola 68, Italy: Royal Society, 2005), 2169–82, <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2005.1746>; Oluwatosin O. Adesina and Omolara Campbell, "Multidimensional Aspects of Zero Hunger in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Smart Technologies for Sustainable Development Goals: Zero Hunger* (Department of Economics, Lead City University, Ibadan, Nigeria: CRC Press, 2025), 234–51.

¹⁶ In Nigeria and South Sudan, similar mismatches between WFP figures and local assessments undermined trust and slowed food distribution during crises. See Olutosin Ademola Otekunrin, "A Critical Assessment of the Interplay of Conflict, Hunger, Poverty, and Food Insecurity in Africa," *Food and Humanity* 4 (May 2025): 100544, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foohum.2025.100544>; Chikere G. Nkwonta, Carolyn I. Auma, and Yunyun Gong, "Underutilised Food Crops for Improving Food Security and Nutrition Health in Nigeria and Uganda—a Review," *Frontiers in Sustainable Food Systems* 7 (July 5, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsufs.2023.1126020>.

¹⁷ Jennifer Clapp, "Food and Hunger," in *International Organization and Global Governance*, ed. Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2018), 707–18.

¹⁸ Mamy Randrianarivelo, *Optimisation de La Planification Relative Aux Risques et Catastrophes d'origine Hydrométéorologiques et Climatiques à Madagascar* (Antananarivo: Gouvernement de Madagascar, 2022).

¹⁹ This challenge resonates across Africa, where policy incoherence and governance fragility often prevent the establishment of unified monitoring frameworks. See Shikha Vyas-Doorgapersad, "Assessing the Status Quo

In addition, the WFP's data management systems have not kept pace with the advancement of technology and the increasing need for rapid reporting. The evaluations carried out within the organization pointed out that some of the tools for data collection were obsolete; hence, reporting would take too long and sometimes may not be accurate. These shortcomings were most partly in the monitoring of the results of the program because missing information made it difficult to measure the overall success or sustainability of a particular food aid. There are opinions that international organizations cannot do without financing modern data systems to perform their mandate with efficiency and accountability.²⁰ Notwithstanding this requirement, the inability of the WFP to meet its data infrastructure demands during the 2019-2023 period hampered its capacity to deal with the multifaceted food insecurity problems in Madagascar.²¹

Liberal institutionalism suggests that global challenges can only be effectively handled through information-sharing and cooperation among actors in the global political system. The WFP has not been able to establish strong exchange mechanisms to cooperate with local and international partners, suggesting a lack of intra-institutional cooperation. Closing this gap demands a commitment to the development of data technologies, better collaboration with local partners, and increased reporting disclosure. With the threats to food security in the country deepening, it is even more necessary for WFP to work on its information systems to improve its activities and credibility towards its partners.²²

3.2. Weak Enforcement of Commitments by the WFP in Food Security Initiatives

The World Food Programme (WFP) commitment issues were critical to its failure to achieve food security objectives over the period 2019-2023 in Madagascar. The Country Strategic Plan (CSP) 2019-2023 of the WFP on the one hand indicated specific objectives for reducing hunger, improving resilience, and supporting vulnerable people, yet failures in accountability mechanisms, insufficient resources, and poor implementation all hampered the achievement of this goal. All these factors point towards the existence of structural problems within the WFP and other factors that were determinants of its capacity to deliver on its commitments.

of Sustainable Development Goal Number 2 in Africa," *OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development* 17, no. 10 (2024): 57–68; Prudence Atukunda et al., "Unlocking the Potential for Achievement of the UN Sustainable Development Goal 2 – 'Zero Hunger' – in Africa: Targets, Strategies, Synergies and Challenges," *Food & Nutrition Research* 65 (May 26, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.29219/fnr.v65.7686>.

²⁰ Clapp, "Food and Hunger," 644–655.

²¹ The lack of investment in modernized systems mirrors wider concerns about outdated monitoring tools in Africa's humanitarian architecture, limiting long-term sustainability and transparency. See Sefater Gbashi et al., "Food Safety, Food Security and Genetically Modified Organisms in Africa: A Current Perspective," *Biotechnology and Genetic Engineering Reviews* 37, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 30–63, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02648725.2021.1940735>; Youngwan Kim, Hyuk-Sang Sohn, and Bokyeong Park, "Make the Village Better: An Evaluation of the Saemaul Zero Hunger Communities Project in Tanzania and Bangladesh," *World Development* 124 (December 2019): 104652, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2019.104652>.

²² This aligns with calls for stronger regional food information networks and evidence-informed decision-making as key to achieving SDG 2, "Zero Hunger". See Lindiwe M. Sibanda and Sithembile N. Mwamakamba, "Policy Considerations for African Food Systems: Towards the United Nations 2021 Food Systems Summit," *Sustainability* 13, no. 16 (August 12, 2021): 9018, <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13169018>; F. B. Zotor and P. Amuna, "The Food Multimix Concept: New Innovative Approach to Meeting Nutritional Challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* 67, no. 1 (February 2008): 98–104, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0029665108006071>.

The most significant issue is the lack of linkage between CSP obligations and means to meet these obligations. WFP's goal is to increase the resilience of more than 1.64 million people in Madagascar through projects such as climate-resilient agriculture and community-based disaster risk reduction.²³ However, many of these programs are implemented only at a minimal level because of a lack of funding and changing donor priorities. For example, some parts of the region received support, whereas other key areas, such as southern Madagascar, had limited resources during the 2021 drought and only weak responses for this vulnerable group. This lack of resources not only affects the WFP's ability to deliver on these promises but also undermines its credibility in the eyes of stakeholders and beneficiaries regarding the promises made.

The lack of solid accountability systems to track and ensure adherence to set program objectives has emerged as another formidable challenge. Such enforcement requires appropriate measurable targets, periodic assessments, and the ability to change plans when necessary. Notably, this is frequently the case for the WFP operations in Madagascar. For example, the school feeding program, which is a flagship intervention aimed at addressing child malnutrition while simultaneously enhancing education, experienced sporadic supervision and inadequate submission of reports.²⁴ Consequently, it was difficult to evaluate whether the program was fulfilling its intentions or to search for and correct deficiencies in the provision of services. Such a lack of accountability not only attenuated the WFP organizational effectiveness but also decreased the confidence of the donors and local actors, which made enforcement of other measures even more difficult.

Furthermore, the lack of coordination between the WFP and its partners also interfered with the fulfillment of its obligations. The role of the WFP is embedded in many government agencies, local NGOs, and international donors who often have divergent goals and limitations. Therefore, in Madagascar, inconsistencies in national structures, including the National Office of Nutrition (ONN), led to operational malfunctions. WFP was accused of the lack of alignment between its emergency response strategies and the government's nutrition agenda during the 2021 drought, which resulted in overlapping efforts and resource wastage. These coordination problems not only postponed the implementation of the most important projects but also allowed the WFP to enforce commitments poorly.

Dependency on donors was another factor that made WFP's enforcement mechanisms more complicated. The WFP is a voluntarily funded organization and therefore depends on member states' contributions as well as international donors who are swayed by a number of global events and changing geopolitical interests.²⁵ For instance, the COVID-19 pandemic caused a major reallocation of resources to address new food security needs worldwide and underfunded programs like in Madagascar. Such volatility of funding sources underlines the precariousness of the WFP's operational model and its exposure to external shocks, thus negatively affecting the ability to uphold commitments in the long run.²⁶

²³ World Food Programme, "Evaluation of Madagascar WFP Country Strategic Plan 2019-2023."

²⁴ FAO et al., *The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2023: Urbanization, Agrifood Systems Transformation and Healthy Diets across the Rural–Urban Continuum*.

²⁵ Thiago Lima and Jenifer Queila Santana, "Enlarging the Donor Base: An Analysis of the World Food Programme's Reform Process and the Brazilian Bridge Diplomacy," *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 63, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-7329202000203>.

²⁶ Fernando O. Mardones et al., "The COVID-19 Pandemic and Global Food Security," *Frontiers in Veterinary Science* 7 (November 10, 2020): 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fvets.2020.578508>.

Liberal internationalism indicates that the problems faced by the WFP in compliance with obligations give an idea of the weaknesses of international institutions in terms of seeking compliance and cooperation. It has been established that the WFP has played an important role in reducing hunger worldwide, but the case of Madagascar shows that without stronger institutional frameworks, this would be difficult to achieve in the future. These problems have to do with a number of factors, including stronger alignment with local governments, strengthening of monitoring mechanisms, and broadening of the funding base. By strengthening its enforcement capacity, the WFP would be able to confront more structural barriers that obstruct its functioning, thus increasing its efficiency in meeting food security targets in Madagascar and elsewhere.

3.3. Coordination Deficiencies Between the WFP and Stakeholders

The lack of coordination between the World Food Programme (WFP) and its stakeholders has considerably impeded the efficacy of its food security programs in Madagascar between 2019 and 2023. The environment within which the WFP operates is quite demanding in terms of collaboration between national government institutions, local entities, world donors, and affected people.²⁷ However, the misalignment of WFP's strategies and those of the local and national actors have led to fragmentation of efforts and, consequently, low effectiveness of the program. Coordination is important because it prevents interventions from being done in an overlapping manner, which helps maximize resource use, and it ensures that the needs of vulnerable groups are addressed. Unfortunately, the WFP's inability to affirmatively engage with its relevant stakeholders has adversely affected its food security programs in various regions of Madagascar, which are worst hit by the problem.

A striking example of the lack of coordination is the contradiction between the WFP operations in Madagascar and the policies in place for food security at the national level. Although there is an *Office National de Nutrition* (ONN) whose role is to coordinate the country's food security action plan, the WFP faced great difficulties in coordinating its emergency and developmental work with what the ONN had stated as its priorities. For instance, in southern Madagascar, at the onset of the drought crisis in 2021, there seemed to have been an overly fixation from the WFP with food aid, while the ONN made a strong case for constructing nutritional resilience as well as sustainable agriculture in the region in the long term.²⁸ Consequently, the WFP's programs, which were heavily dominated by short-term intervention with the aim of relief, community rebuilding, and onset of agricultural production, did not tend to the food insecurity structures that ONN had marked as pivotal. Such dysfunction between WFP and ONN contradicted the broader context of strengthening food and nutrition security in the country.²⁹

The issue of coordination worsened further, considering that local NGOs were not included in the early stages of planning by the WFP. Local NGOs, which are used to working at the grassroots level, are extremely important in the actualization of food security

²⁷ Uma Lele and Sambuddha Goswami, "The World Food Programme," in *Food for All: International Organizations and the Transformation of Agriculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press Oxford, 2021), 849–918, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198755173.003.0013>.

²⁸ Office National de Nutrition, *Plan National d'Action Pour La Nutrition-III (2017-2021)* (Antananarivo: Office National de Nutrition, 2017).

²⁹ Jennifer Clapp et al., "Viewpoint: The Case for a Six-Dimensional Food Security Framework," *Food Policy* 106 (January 2022): 102164, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2021.102164>.

interventional programs as they understand the community's needs and dynamics. However, there have been complaints by several local organizations that international NGOs and UN agencies have taken center stage at the expense of local ones, which resulted in resources not being used efficiently as they should have been. It was particularly in areas such as Anosy and Androy, where food insecurity was at its worst, and where the complete absence of local players was an issue. Local NGOs were annoyed that their skills in community mobilization, agricultural extension, and social protection were not effectively considered in WFP interventions, resulting in poorly tailored programs that could not adequately address the requirements of vulnerable groups. In areas most affected by food insecurity, the lack of partners on the ground practically made these interventions worthless.³⁰

In addition, coordination problems emerged with international donors, whose funds are crucial for the functioning of the WFP's activities. However, these donors did not always allow that, as WFP could, in some cases, use their funds only within certain parameters defined by the donor. For instance, during the COVID-19 pandemic, many food security programs were left underfunded, because some large donors decided to focus on health and related activities.³¹ WFP had to reallocate resources and change its strategies without sufficiently discussing these issues with local stakeholders or government partners, further aggravating the disintegration of the intervention. The reallocation of funds also left gaps in food security programs, especially in rural areas, which further restricted access to food with high nutritional value. These difficulties in the coordination of donor resources and the alteration of focus by agencies have reduced the efficiency of the WFP in Madagascar.³²

Another serious structural inadequacy of the WFP coordination model is the absence of a single unified platform which can accommodate all the relevant actors and encourage their interactivity. WFP's attempts to establish joint working groups with the government of Madagascar and other UN agencies fell short in most cases, because of a lack of transparency in responsibilities, goals, and processes. Consequently, the overlapping mandates of agencies such as the WFP and FAO have created confusion and delays in food security responses. For example, in the case of the locust invasion in 2020, disregard for inter-agency communication between the World Food Programme (WFP) and FAO delayed the delivery of food and agricultural assistance to affected communities. The lack of a clear delineation of the specific functions and responsibilities of the two agencies led to parallel actions between the two institutions with little or no communication, which, in turn, resulted in aid being distributed in a fragmented manner and at a much later date. Strengthening coordination frameworks within WFP and among all actors would have avoided such inefficiency; consequently, the response to the crisis would have been much more coherent and comprehensive.³³

According to liberal institutionalism, these weaknesses emphasize the need for cohesive, transparent, and effective institutional frameworks. In practice, international institutions such as the WFP rely on common values, rules, and practices of cooperation to carry out their missions and harmonize the interests of different stakeholders. However, when the structures

³⁰ FAO et al., *The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2023: Urbanization, Agrifood Systems Transformation and Healthy Diets across the Rural–Urban Continuum*.

³¹ HLPE, "Impacts of COVID-19 on Food Security and Nutrition: Developing Effective Policy Responses to Address the Hunger and Malnutrition Pandemic" (Rome, 2020), <https://www.fao.org/3/cb1000en/cb1000en.pdf>.

³² Matthew Canfield, Molly D. Anderson, and Philip McMichael, "UN Food Systems Summit 2021: Dismantling Democracy and Resetting Corporate Control of Food Systems," *Frontiers in Sustainable Food Systems* 5 (April 13, 2021): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsufs.2021.661552>.

³³ World Food Programme, "Evaluation of Madagascar WFP Country Strategic Plan 2019-2023."

for integrating activities are poorly developed or absent, the interventions of these agencies can be organized in a dispersed and ineffective manner. To optimize its contribution to Madagascar, the WFP must focus its attention on broadening its recommendations, including better alignment with national strategies, the invitation and involvement of local structures as partners, and the best and respectful financing mechanism for international donors. Such changes could not only increase the effectiveness of organizing the program's food security interventions but also promote more sustainable and long-term solutions for food security in Madagascar.³⁴

3.4. Lack of Reciprocity in WFP Partnerships

The principle of reciprocity is of vital importance in all partnerships, but even more so in the case of international organizations such as the World Food Program (WFP). In this case, reciprocity means the sharing of resources, information, and responsibilities between WFP and its partners such as national governments, local organizations, and global funding agencies. In Madagascar, the absence of a significant degree of reciprocity in WFP partnerships between 2019 and 2023 seriously compromised the effectiveness of its food security initiatives. This lack of reciprocity took several forms, including inadequate localization of food security programming and limited engagement with Malagasy institutions, thereby reducing WFP's efforts to achieve global impact.

One of the main challenges of WFP partnerships in Madagascar was the uneven relationship the organization had with the Malagasy government. While the WFP was able to provide funding and technical resources, it frequently encountered difficulties in obtaining the necessary political endorsement and collaboration from national authorities. This imbalance was manifested in the lack of political will on the part of the Government of Madagascar to implement and sustain long-term food security solutions, despite the substantial resources made available by the WFP. Despite the considerable funds and resources that the WFP has devoted to addressing food insecurity in the country, it has faced significant resistance and delays in aligning with government policies. In particular, the government's refusal to incorporate local and sustainable long-term food security strategies means that many WFP interventions have been short-term and have not led to significant and sustainable changes in the long term. This lack of reciprocity on the part of the Malagasy government to fully commit to WFP's objectives highlights a fundamental weakness in the partnership and has meant that WFP has been unable to achieve its food security goals in the long term.³⁵

The WFP also had difficulty obtaining reciprocity from local NGOs, which could contribute to improving program delivery at the national level. WFP most often collaborated with local NGOs to deliver aid, but the extent of their involvement remained low because of their dependence of local NGOs on WFP resources and decisions. Many local NGOs, which have a better understanding of the socio-cultural environment and local needs, are often limited to administrative tasks of project implementation, rather than benefiting from their full participation in decision-making and project formulation processes. This lack of genuine partnership meant that WFP initiatives were sometimes not sufficiently adapted to the specific challenges faced by different communities in Madagascar. In addition, many local NGOs complained that they were not sufficiently involved in strategic planning and decision-making processes, creating a gap between WFP objectives and the real needs of the local population.

³⁴ FAO et al., *The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2023: Urbanization, Agrifood Systems Transformation and Healthy Diets across the Rural–Urban Continuum*.

³⁵ World Food Programme, "Evaluation of Madagascar WFP Country Strategic Plan 2019-2023."

Consequently, the scope for more contextually relevant and adaptive responses is compromised by the lack of true reciprocity within these partnerships.³⁶

In addition to the challenges faced by governments and local NGOs, the WFP also experienced a lack of reciprocity in its relationships with international donors. Financial support from donors is crucial to the successful implementation of WFP programs, yet many donors imposed rigid conditions on funding that restricted WFP's ability to adapt to changing circumstances. For example, some donors prioritize short-term relief over long-term development, resulting in an imbalance between the WFP's objectives and available resources. This lack of flexibility in donor commitments often hampered the WFP's ability to adjust its strategies to the changing needs of the food-insecure population in Madagascar.³⁷ In addition, donors did not always ensure that their contributions were aligned with the WFP's long-term objectives. The gap between donor priorities and the real needs of food security programs in Madagascar is the result of a lack of mutual commitment between WFP and its donor partners. This dynamic has prevented WFP from developing more sustainable and context-specific solutions for food insecurity in the country.

WFP's inadequacy of WFP in fostering mutual relationships with its partners is also evident in its approach to local capacity-building. While WFP has sufficient resources to provide emergency food assistance, it has sometimes failed to empower local institutions and communities to take control of food security initiatives. Instead, WFP interventions have often been externally driven with little involvement or leadership from local actors. This top-down approach has created a lack of local ownership and limited the sustainability of WFP programs. In the absence of reciprocity through joint accountability for results, WFP programs have become more donor-dependent and have not fostered the development of local capacity that would enable self-reliance in addressing food insecurity. The lack of a long-term commitment to local capacity building has therefore limited the WFP's ability to implement regional solutions for food security in Madagascar.³⁸

From a liberal institutionalist perspective, the lack of reciprocity in WFP partnerships is indicative of a critical weakness in cooperation mechanisms designed to foster mutual gains in international development. Liberalism holds that international organizations, such as WFP, should operate within a system of shared norms, mutual benefits, and reciprocal obligations. When these principles are not respected, partnerships become less effective, and the organization's goals become more difficult to achieve. In the case of Madagascar, the lack of reciprocity between the WFP's partnerships with the government, local NGOs, and international donors has led to poor coordination of priorities, failed interventions, and a failure to address the structural causes of food insecurity. Strengthening reciprocal relationships with all stakeholders is crucial to ensuring the success of future WFP interventions in Madagascar and other countries facing similar challenges.³⁹

³⁶ Dominique Fayad, *Food Insecurity and Climate Shocks in Madagascar: Republic of Madagascar*, Selected Issues Papers (Washington DC: International Monetary Fund, 2023), 5–9, <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2023/02/07/Madagascar-Selected-Issues-529430>.

³⁷ World Food Programme, "Madagascar Annual Country Report 2020: Country Strategic Plan 2019 - 2024" (Rome, 2021), <https://docs.wfp.org/api/documents/WFP-0000125448/download/>.

³⁸ World Food Programme, "Evaluation of Madagascar WFP Country Strategic Plan 2019-2023."

³⁹ Matias E. Margulis, "The Global Governance of Food Security," in *Palgrave Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations in World Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2017), 503–25, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-36039-7_24.

3.5. Insufficient Long-Term Strategies by the WFP for Food Security

WFP plays a key role in combating food insecurity in Madagascar. However, its interventions from 2019 to 2023 have been criticized for not focusing on long-term and sustainable solutions to combat food insecurity. One of the main reasons for the failure of WFP initiatives in Madagascar is that it has not been able to develop and implement long-term actions to address the root causes of food insecurity. Despite the relatively high resources and funding dedicated to combating poverty and insecurity, the WFP's actions, particularly regarding humanitarian aid, do not allow for long-term development in the fight against food insecurity in Madagascar.

The WFP's approach in Madagascar has been relatively ineffective owing to its emphasis on short-term emergency actions. While short-term food assistance is necessary in times of crisis, especially in a country like Madagascar, where recurring natural disasters such as cyclones and droughts exacerbate food insecurity, such actions do not address the root causes. While the WFP's response is critically important in the short term, it has not been adequately aligned with long-term development strategies. The organization's ability to provide immediate assistance has overshadowed its ability to address the broader agricultural, economic, and social factors that underlie persistent food insecurity in the country. WFP's Country Strategic Plan 2020-2023 (CSP) has underlined its commitment to strengthening food security through short-term humanitarian assistance complemented by long-term development programming.⁴⁰ However, these measures often lacked the resources and political support needed to be fully implemented effectively, and the WFP's role in capacity building and structural change remained minimal.

In Madagascar, the main reason for the absence of long-term strategies is the lack of partnership between WFP and Malagasy stakeholders, particularly the government and local agricultural organizations. WFP has been able to mobilize significant resources for emergency food aid, but these efforts have not been accompanied by adequate investments in long-term agricultural development. In Madagascar, agriculture remains underdeveloped, with low yields and a low capacity to resist climate hazards. However, WFP programs have often failed to create sustainable partnerships with agricultural structures at the local level and promote the development of capacities essential for long-term solutions. In the absence of these local commitments, WFP initiatives for the development of sustainable agriculture and the improvement of local food systems have not been sufficient. The lack of integration of these agricultural strategies in the medium and long term in WFP programs has created chronic acute malnutrition, no development of food self-sufficiency, and dependence on international aid remains.⁴¹

The WFP's approach to improving long-term food security in Madagascar has been hampered by its limited attention to some of the systemic causes of food insecurity, such as poverty, lack of infrastructure, climate change, and governance. By focusing on food insecurity primarily as an issue of immediate scarcity, WFP has focused on food distribution while ignoring structural factors. For example, although climate change has a major impact on food production, WFP has not sufficiently incorporated long-term climate resilience strategies into its programs. Emergency relief efforts, while essential to meet immediate needs, have not been complemented by measures to help communities address environmental challenges through sustainable agricultural practices, water management, and disaster risk reduction. This

⁴⁰ World Food Programme, "Madagascar Annual Country Report 2020: Country Strategic Plan 2019 - 2024."

⁴¹ Ibid.

problem is also compounded by the WFP's reliance on donor funding, which is often short-term, earmarked for specific projects, and therefore biased towards quick results rather than gradual, sustainable solutions. Without some predictability and flexibility in funding to implement long-term initiatives, the WFP's attempts to address food insecurity in Madagascar risk prove ineffective in the long term

From a liberal institutionalist perspective, the WFP's lack of long-term strategies in Madagascar can be seen as a trait of an organization that prioritizes short-term goals and does not make room for deeper institutional commitments to sustainable change. Liberal institutionalism emphasizes the importance of cooperation and long-term frameworks to address global issues. WFP's failure to design and implement long-term strategies can be seen as a failure to institutionalize the processes needed for long-term food security. In partnership, the WFP could better address the causes of poverty by integrating development objectives into its food security operations. Moving beyond initial interventions, it would also be preferable to prioritize agreement on partnerships, that is, development-oriented partnerships, because this presents a low risk of dependence on long-term international assistance. WFP could contribute to the establishment of sustainable food systems in Madagascar

3.6. Ineffective Linkages Between WFP Food Security Programs and Broader Issues

The World Food Program (WFP) has struggled considerably in linking its food security programs in Madagascar with broader perspectives of socioeconomic, environmental, and political contexts. The absence of adequate linkages between food security initiatives and broader concerns has remained an important factor in the ineffectiveness of WFP interventions between 2019 and 2023. It is true that food aid is an important tool in combating hunger; however, the absence of linkage to broader development objectives such as economic development, climate change adaptation, governance, and social factors meant that food security initiatives on their own have not been enough to deliver sustainable change. The lack of integration of food security programs with these broader issues has constrained the impact of WFP programming, while the fundamental causes of food insecurity were left unattended.

The food security programs that the WFP has undertaken in Madagascar were implemented on a standalone basis without a full comprehension of other economic and social areas within which they would operate. One of the greatest shortcomings has been neglecting food security as a means for achieving more prominent goals, especially economic growth and poverty alleviation. Madagascar is still ranked among the poorest countries of the globe, and its economic problems have been staring at food insecurity. However, the WFP's attention has been largely the provision of food assistance rather than the tackling of broad-based economic factors, including low capacity of agricultural output and ineffective rural development initiatives responsible for the food shortage in the country. Although food aid programs might reduce food scarcity and hunger in the short term, they never tackle the deeper causes of food insecurity, which are inherently linked to economic and resource inequality. These long-term economic development strategies have not been appropriately used to relate food programs of the WFP with developmental ones that increase the dependence of a greater number of disadvantaged people on foreign assistance, rather than making them self-sufficient and elevate their living standards.⁴²

⁴² World Food Programme, "Evaluation of Madagascar WFP Country Strategic Plan 2019-2023."

Furthermore, the WFP has been judged harshly for its lack of commitment to environmental issues of concern in relation to food insecurity in Madagascar. Droughts, cyclones, and other natural calamities remain major determinants of food instability in the area, as they affect agricultural activities and economically suppress most rural households.⁴³ Even with these causal links being clear, WFP initiatives have often implemented goodby climate adaptation and sustainable farming techniques into their food security projects. The relief posed by food programs, especially during emergencies, is commendable but has not actually been matched up by a strategy that seeks to provide preventative measures to such situations again. In the end, beneficiaries of WFP assistance solely find themselves in a constant pattern of aid-dependence, and repeated climatic shocks inhibit their ability to restore their agricultural base or integrate into food security planning.⁴⁴ These two factors, the WFP's failure to integrate its food security efforts with climate change initiatives, mean that the programs are addressing just a fraction of the reason why there are outbreaks of hunger in Madagascar.

In the case of Madagascar, the political environment also impacted the strategies adopted by the WFP in fighting against food insecurity. The political history of instability, lack of good governance, and high levels of corruption in Madagascar has hampered the effective delivery of several development program strategies, including those aimed at food security. Therefore, it has been difficult for the WFP to address such political concerns and collaborate with regimes in power and local organizational structures. Furthermore, food insecurity has impeded any integration of the WFP and the government for the country to progress economically because the internal political struggles among the leadership and the weakness of institutions of the state are major impediments to the integration of food security within the country's development objective. In addition, Madagascar's volatile political situation has sometimes been a factor in unequal access to food assistance due to logistical and governance arrangements; for example, vulnerable populations living in remote areas may not receive the food assistance they need.⁴⁵ In other words, without sufficient political and governance structures, food security interventions are likely to be ineffective and reach only those who do not need them.

From a liberal institutionalist perspective, the WFP's failure to link its food security programming with development and related issues is, in the first instance, institutional failure. Liberal institutionalism advocates integration and collaboration across sectors to address a global crisis. The case of Madagascar demonstrates WFP's failure to mobilize food security objectives and interests with other socio-economic development objectives and interests that contribute to WFP's effectiveness in addressing the causes of food insecurity. Under these conditions, the integration of food security-focused programming with economic, environmental, political, and social programs is inaccessible to WFP. A more comprehensive approach, examining food security and its linkages with other development objectives, could improve WFP programming in Madagascar and in similar circumstances in other countries.

4. Conclusion

The inability of the World Food Programme (WFP) to achieve durable food security in Madagascar from 2019 to 2023 reflects general difficulties that face international interventions

⁴³ Fayad, *Food Insecurity and Climate Shocks in Madagascar: Republic of Madagascar*.

⁴⁴ Nora McKeon, *Global Governance for World Food Security: A Scorecard Four Years After the Eruption of the "Food Crisis"* (Berlin: Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 2011).

⁴⁵ World Food Programme, "Evaluation of Madagascar WFP Country Strategic Plan 2019-2023."

in vulnerable settings. Despite the availability of large amounts of resources and logistical potential, operations for WFP were undermined by institutional fragmentation, poor data systems, and neglect to substantially incorporate local knowledge. Late recognition of vulnerable groups, combined with weak accountability mechanisms and donor-driven programming, diluted the effects of major flagship activities such as school feeding and nutrition assistance. Inadequate planned coordination among the WFP, the government, NGOs, and international donors also undermined impact, whereas the dominance of short-term emergency responses engulfed the structural determinants of hunger, poverty, agricultural decline, and climate vulnerability.

This study has shown that liberal institutionalism offers a useful but partial explanation for WFP's challenges in Madagascar. While the theory usefully highlights the role of international institutions in facilitating cooperation and reducing uncertainty, it assumes a level of institutional functioning and reciprocity that is often absent in fragile states. In the Malagasy example, the institutional architecture necessary for continued coordination and mutuality of accountability was absent or weak. The over-reliance on external inputs and donor agenda shifts cut short WFP's scope for investment in change over the long term. Liberal institutionalism nonetheless continues to prevail in emphasizing the necessity for institutional coherence, rule-based governance, and multilateral fora as an impulse towards system change provided, they are grounded in local realities.

To address future food security challenges in Madagascar and similar settings, WFP must pursue a more adaptive, inclusive, and integrated approach. This implies the necessity to invest in local capacities, building true partnerships with national actors, and tying emergency assistance to sustainable development agendas. Enhancing data management, inter-agency coordination, and a transition from vertical approaches to locally owned strategies are not simply administrative reforms; they are imperative strategic necessities. Lastly, the way forward for sustainable food security is not merely the giving of aid, but the establishment of institutions capable of maintaining resilience, equity, and autonomy amidst adversity in the world.

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