

Who's Really Fighting Hunger?

ActionAid's HungerFREE Scorecard Investigates why a Billion People are Hungry

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Social Contract

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Glossary

AA	ActionAid	LOSAN	Brazil's Federal Law on Food and Nutritional Security, 2006
AU	African Union	MALNUTRITION	In this report we use the term malnutrition to mean both food
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme		insufficiency (undernourishment) and micronutrient deficiency
COP15	United Nations Climate Change Conference Copenhagen 2009		(malnutrition).
DAC	OECD's Development Assistance Committee	NAPAs	National Adaptation Programmes of Action
EC	European Commission	NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
EU	European Union	NREGS	National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations	NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
GNI	Gross National Income	ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
GSFP	Ghana School Feeding Programme	OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
GSI	Global Subsidies Initiative	PANPP	Pan-African Non-Petroleum Producers Association
HEPR	Hunger Eradication and Poverty Reduction	SAHRC	South Africa's Human Rights Commission
IAASTD	International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge,	SISAN	Brasil's Food and Nutrition Security
	Science and Technology for Development	SOFI	The State of Food Insecurity in the World
ICDS	India's Integrated Child Development Services	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
IDA	World Bank's International Development Association	UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
LDCF	Least Developed Countries Fund for Climate Change	WB	World Bank
		WHO	World Health Organization
		WHOSIS	WHO Statistical Information System



Executive Summary

Over one billion people – a sixth of humanity - don't have enough to eat. Almost a third of the world's children are growing up malnourished. This is perhaps one of the most shameful achievements of recent history, since there is no good reason for anyone to go hungry in today's world.

Even before the food and financial crises, the number of people facing chronic malnutrition was extremely high, and falling extremely slowly. Since 2005, it has jumped by 20 percent. An extra 170 million people have been pushed into hunger – equivalent to the populations of Germany, France and Canada combined.²

Without concerted action by world leaders, the worst is yet to come. Food prices remain stubbornly high in developing countries;³ the global recession is hitting jobs and incomes; and climate change is battering rain-fed agriculture.

The heaviest price of rising world hunger, however, will be paid by our children. Already nearly one in three of the world's children is growing up chronically malnourished. As a result, many will die before the age of five. Those who survive are likely to suffer irreversible cognitive and physical damage. They will complete fewer years of school, and earn less as adults. Their immune systems permanently impaired, they are 12 times more likely to die from easily preventable and treatable diseases. The children of undernourished mothers often suffer stunting while still in the womb, ensuring the vicious cycle will continue.⁴

However, hunger is a choice that we make, not a force of nature. Hunger begins with inequality – inequality between men and women, and between rich and poor. It grows because of perverse policies that treat food purely as a commodity, not a right. It is because of these policies that most developing countries no longer grow enough to feed themselves, and that their farmers are amongst the hungriest and poorest people in the world. Meanwhile, the rich world battles growing obesity.

But policies can be changed. In this scorecard, ActionAid tracks the dramatic progress that has been made when countries translate the right to food into concrete actions, such as investing in poor farmers, and introducing basic measures to protect the vulnerable. Their success makes the inaction and apathy of other countries all the more inexcusable.

HungerFREE

When, in the year 1996, governments first adopted a UN goal for halving hunger, they were not starting on an equal footing. Some were emerging from civil wars, while others were dealing with a rampant AIDS pandemic. Some, with historically severe levels of poverty and food insecurity, simply had further to travel, and fewer resources to fund the journey. Hence, we have designed our scorecard to give credit for effort and progress, not just outcomes; and we set a tougher standard for wealthier developing countries, such as South Africa, Brazil, China and India, than for low income countries.

Our indicators are based on the actions that the UN has identified as most critical to reverse growing global hunger, most recently in its 2008 Comprehensive Framework for Action.⁵ Developing countries have been graded on four indicators: their legal commitment to the right to food, their investment in agriculture and social protection, and their performance on hunger and child nutrition. Developed countries have been ranked on their aid to agriculture and social protection; and their commitment to sustainable agriculture and tackling climate change.

The first section of this report, 'HungerFREE Global Indicators,' compares performance and progress across countries. The second section of this report, 'HungerFREE Country Scorecards', takes a closer look at each country with ataglance scorecards.

The results (**table 1**) show that ability and commitment to fight hunger does not depend on wealth. Some relatively poor countries have made striking progress. On the other hand, some middle income countries have allowed rural misery to deepen in the midst of growing wealth. Pakistan, for instance, is performing no better than desperately poor and conflict-torn countries such as Sierra Leone, despite having a per capita income over two and half times higher.⁶ India ranks below Ethiopia and Cambodia.

Brazil tops our league table, showing what can be achieved when the state has both resources and political will to tackle hunger. President Lula da Silva has made it his objective to eradicate hunger. Within six years, the program Fome Zero (Zero



Hunger) has introduced food banks, community kitchens and locally procured school meals along with simultaneous support for smallholder family farmers and land reform settlers. The result: child malnutrition has fallen by 73 percent and child deaths by 45 percent.⁷

China (2nd place), through heavy investment in supporting its poor farmers and a relatively equitable distribution of land, has reduced the number of undernourished people by 58 million between 1990 and 2001. Now less than 9 percent of the population goes hungry.⁸

Ghana (3rd place) has made food security a national priority and backed this with consistent support to smallholder farmers and democratic, stable governance. Ghana has made remarkable strides in reducing hunger – especially for a low income country.⁹

Vietnam (4th place) pursued equitable land reform and investment in smallholders, and with relatively strong social policies has made unprecedented progress, reducing poverty by half in the decade of the nineties, with comparatively low levels of inequality.¹⁰

Even Malawi (5th place), one of the poorest countries in the world, and burdened with a devastating HIV epidemic to boot – has reaped rich results within three short years. Through a massive boost of investment to small scale farmers, it has trebled production to halt a famine that threatened to leave nearly a third of its population hungry.

In line with their different circumstances, our top five countries have followed different paths. However, they have some interesting things in common.

- Rejecting the conventional wisdom of the free-market era, all retained or reclaimed – a central role for the state in agriculture, and especially in developing and supporting poor farmers (whether through credit, research and extension, technology, income or price supports, input subsidies or a combination of these, targeted on smallholders).
- While these countries have also invested in commercial agriculture for export, they have maintained or introduced specific policies to ensure that production of staple foods for domestic markets continues to thrive.
- They either already had a relatively equitable distribution of land or introduced land reforms (although land reform in Brazil needs to go much further).
- Finally, all have introduced basic social protection measures (although in Malawi and Ghana, which endured donor-imposed cuts in social spending in the 1990s, these are still at an early stage).

Table 1: Developing Countries - Overall Scores, Grades and Ranks

Country	Scores (1/100)	Grade (A-E)	Rank (1-29)
Brazil	63	В	1
China	59	С	2
Ghana	53	С	3
Vietnam*	51	С	4
Malawi	51	С	5
Guatemala	48	С	6
Uganda	46	С	7
Gambia	44	С	8
Senegal	44	С	8
Nigeria	44	С	8
Kenya	42	С	11
Mozambique	42	С	11
Lesotho	41	С	13
Tanzania	41	С	13
Bangladesh	41	С	13
South Africa	40	D	16
Rwanda	38	D	17
Ethiopia	36	D	18
Nepal	35	D	19
Cambodia	35	D	19
Zambia	34	D	21
India	33	D	22
Guinea Bissau	32	D	23
Liberia	32	D	23
Sierra Leone	30	D	25
Pakistan	24	D	26
Haiti	23	D	27
Burundi	13	E	28
Democratic Republic of Congo	9	E	29

Scale for Overall Scores:

A: 81 - 100 B: 61 - 80 C: 41 - 60 D: 21 - 40 E: 0 - 20

*Vietnam takes fourth place over Malawi due to substantially lower hunger prevalence



Table 2: Developed Countries - Overall Scores, Grades and Ranks

Country	Scores (1/100)	Grade (A-E)	Rank (1-22)
Luxembourg	75	В	1
Finland	50	С	2
Ireland	43	С	3
Norway	42	С	4
Denmark	36	D	5
Sweden	36	D	5
Netherlands	33	D	7
United Kingdom	32	D	8
France	28	D	9
Switzerland	28	D	9
Belgium	25	D	11
Spain	25	D	11
Austria	21	D	13
Germany	19	Е	14
Italy	19	Е	14
Greece	18	Е	16
Australia	17	Е	17
Portugal	17	Е	17
Canada	16	E	19
Japan	13	Е	20
United States of America	8	Е	21
New Zealand	7	E	22

Scale for Overall Scores:

A: 81 - 100 B: 61 - 80 C: 41 - 60 D: 21 - 40 E: 0 - 20

But apart from a handful of high achievers, most developing countries are doing far less than they could and should.

What is more, our scorecard reveals that most rich countries are reneging on their commitments to finance a more ambitious fight against hunger (**table 2**). Despite signing up to UN 'halving hunger' goals in 1996 and again in 2000, donor countries

reduced official aid to agriculture from 16.8 percent of all official development spending in 1979, to just 3.4 percent in 2004.¹¹ Greece, Portugal, Italy, the United States and New Zealand are the worst offenders (**table 5**). And their contribution to expanding social security programmes remains negligible.

Rich countries' policies to encourage biofuel use are contributing to food price volatility, and threaten to further undermine smallholder farmers. Germany and the US are forking out especially massive amounts to subsidise biofuel interests (**table 6**).

Achieving global food security also demands that industrialized countries move faster to tackle climate change. Experts estimate that food production could drop by as much as 50 percent by 2020 in parts of Africa. That is only a little longer than ten years away. Almost all rich countries are defaulters on this front (**table 10**), doing too little to cut their own emissions and giving too little to underwrite adaptation and mitigation costs in developing countries, but Japan, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the US rank bottom.

Reversing History

The food crisis in the new millennium is the bitter fruit of years of underfunding, political neglect and failed free market policies. At independence, Africa was a net food exporter. In the last three decades, especially in Africa, structural adjustment programmes – imposed by donors and lenders such as the IMF and World Bank – rolled back state support to agriculture and basic social services. Trade liberalisation has further deepened dependence on food imports and vulnerability to global price volatility.

The food crisis has been a rude wake-up call to the fact that markets alone cannot deliver food security. Many world leaders now agree on the need for strong and effective public policies to tackle inequality, support poor farmers and protect the right to food. The World Bank admitted in 2007 that its push for agricultural liberalisation had resulted in "huge costs in foregone growth and welfare losses for smallholders, threatening their competitiveness and, in many cases, their survival". Former US president Bill Clinton went further: "We blew it by treating food as just another commodity", he said. "It is crazy," he added, "for us to think we can develop countries around the world without increasing their ability to feed themselves." Now, home-grown initiatives such as CAADP in Africa and MERCOSUR's push for a regional food security framework are helping to foster increased investment in agriculture in the South. Many individual countries, including Nigeria, Ecuador, the Gambia and Senegal, have announced plans to reverse growing import dependence. Some donors are also beginning to gradually reverse the decline in aid to agriculture.

Since 2000, more developing countries have taken steps to enshrine the legal right to food in their constitutions and laws. The tide is also slowly beginning to turn with the implementation of a range of social protection policies – from India's Rural Employment Guarantee Act to Lesotho's universal social pensions for the aged – which are vital to ensure that poor people can achieve their right to food.

Way Forward

The success stories at the top of our league table show that we already have the answers to ending hunger. The actions needed are clear: strong state leadership to invest in smallholders who grow the majority of food in developing countries, expand social protection, make adequate food an enforceable legal right, and tackle climate change.

At the 2009 G8 summit in L'Aquila July, 27 countries agreed to launch a new global partnership to support agriculture and food security, backed by US \$20 billion over three years pledged by donors. The commitment to coordinate funding as well as policies is a major breakthrough. But so far, most donors have failed to confirm their contributions to the fund. And ActionAid estimates that a serious push to reverse growing global hunger would require US \$20 billion from donors each year, or three times as much as has so far been pledged. The support of the summit of the sum

The UN World Summit on Food Security in November 2009 offers an opportunity to make good on the L'Aquila promises, so that developing countries can plan with confidence and act with the ambition needed. Partners in the new fund must announce a timetable of contributions and begin disbursements within the next six months.

With more than one billion people already going hungry, there is no time to waste. ActionAid calls for all world leaders to work together to end hunger by taking the following priority actions:

1.Sustainable smallholder agriculture:

 Reverse decades of neglect of agriculture by increasing developing country budget allocations to at least 10 percent as part of a comprehensive national anti-hunger action plan. Increase donor aid to agriculture by at least US \$20 billion per year, and ensure these funds directly support national plans by

- channeling them through a coordinated funding mechanism.
- Prioritise investment in poor farmers, especially women, with support to climate-resilient, low-input agriculture as recommended by the UN's International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD).
- Eliminate subsidies for biofuel production, which directly undermine food security.

2. Social protection of right to food

- Make the right to food justiciable in national constitutions and framework laws.¹⁸
- Increase both donor and developing country investment in social protection and basic social services. National anti-hunger plans should include programmes to immediately increase food intake (such as school meals, subsidized foodgrains); to boost incomes (such as old age pensions, child benefit, cash-for-work programmes); and to build human capital (such as free basic education and healthcare).

3.Climate change adaptation and mitigation

 As part of a just global climate deal in Copenhagen in December 2008, developed nations must agree to limit emissions but also to support and sustain adaptation and mitigation measures in developing countries to the tune of US \$182 billion per year.



Section 1 - HungerFREE Global Indicators

Hunger

"Why should there be hunger and deprivation in any land, in any city, at any table, when man has the resources and the scientific know-how to provide all mankind with the basic necessities of life? There is no deficit in human resources. The deficit is in human will."

- Martin Luther King, Jr

The words "food crisis" dominated the headlines in 2008. But for many decades before this, chronic malnutrition was already a fact of life for nearly a sixth of humanity – and for an astonishing one in three of the world's children. With governments making agonizingly slow progress in fighting hunger, much of the world has been living a permanent food crisis.

In the past three years, however, even the tiny gains of the previous two decades have been reversed, and the fight against hunger is losing ground fast. Nearly 100 million more people were forced into the ranks of the hungry in 2008 alone, and the upward trend is continuing in 2009. The UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation estimated that this year the number of hungry people would grow worldwide by about 11 percent this year – exceeding 1 billion for the first time since records began. And this is truly a global problem: every single part of the world, even developed countries, is experiencing double-digit increases in malnutrition.

Things look set to get worse as we enter 2010. Food prices remain unaffordably high in many developing countries. The global recession means loss of earnings for hundreds of millions. Climatic factors add a triple threat.

Already, the failure of the 2009 rains has gripped the eastern provinces of Guatemala, most of Eastern Africa, the gangetic plain in India and the northern farmlands of China – showing exactly how fragile the global food system is. "Food has become a luxury. We eat only when it is really necessary," says 80-year old Kokulam Chemwing, who lives in a part of Kenya that faces its fourth consecutive year of fierce drought.²¹

What does "hunger", based on the UN's definition, actually mean? The UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) says that hunger is the consumption of less than 1600-2000 calories per day. US government scientists say that 2100 calories

per day allows for "minimum food-gathering activities ... comparable to the activity level of a refugee, [but] ... not for work or play."²² Existing in the narrow margin between "minimum food-gathering activities" and physical starvation is not much of a life. It debilitates the body, but more fundamentally, it stunts human potential. Without the capacity for work or play, life holds neither joy nor opportunity.

Even temporary hunger can set off a downward spiral of deepening impoverishment and powerlessness from which many will never escape. Hungry families are forced to withdraw children from school, foregoing the power that comes from knowledge. They become indebted to local elites who exploit them, reinforcing their powerless position in society. They face constant ill health. Ultimately, many of them have no choice but to sell off land, livestock and tools in order to eat.

Under-nutrition in the early years of life is particularly cruel in its effects, causing severe damage to growing minds and bodies that can never be repaired, even if diet improves later. Malnourished children suffer irreversible cognitive and physical damage. They complete fewer years of school, and they earn less as adults. Their immune systems permanently impaired, they are 12 times more likely to die from easily preventable and treatable diseases. The children of undernourished mothers suffer stunting while still in the womb, ensuring the vicious cycle will continue.²³

The aim of the Hunger Indicator in the Scorecard (**table 3**) is to capture progress towards reducing the scale and intensity of hunger. We have set a tougher standard for wealthier developing countries, such as South Africa, Brazil, China, Pakistan, Guatemala, Nigeria and India, than for low income countries, as they should be doing much better at tackling hunger than poorer countries. (See Appendix for detailed methodology.) A few countries stand out on the Hunger Indicator. China made spectacular strides in tackling hunger during the 1990s and in so doing helped pull more than 20 million people out of poverty.²⁴ Ghana and Vietnam have also made exceptional progress – showing that even very poor countries can make huge dents in hunger numbers.

Unfortunately, the latest available FAO statistics on hunger date back to 2003-2005 and UNICEF figures on underweight children to 2006 – prior to the food and



Table 3: Developing Country Indicator - Hunger

	Scale of H	lunger	Intensity of Hunger		
Country	Percentage of children under 5 years that are underweight	Percentage of total population that are undernourished	Food deficit of undernourished population	Grade for Hunger (A-E)	Rank for Hunger
Year	2000-2006	2003-2005	2003		
Weightage	75%		25%		
China	7	9	High	В	1
Ghana	19	9	Moderate	В	1
Uganda	19	15	High	В	3
Vietnam	20	14	High	В	4
Senegal	15	26	High	В	5
Lesotho	17	15	High	С	6
Brazil	4	6	High	С	7
Gambia	15	30	High	С	8
Kenya	17	32	High	С	8
Guatemala	18	16	High	С	8
Malawi	18	29	High	С	11
Nigeria Nigeria	27	9	High	С	11
Nepal	39	15	High	С	11
Tanzania	17	35	High	С	14
Cambodia	28	26	High	С	14
Guinea Bissau	22	32	High	С	16
Rwanda	18	40	Intense	С	17
Mozambique	21	38	Intense	С	18
Liberia	23	40	Intense	С	19
Bangladesh	39	27	High	С	19
Zambia	23	45	Intense	D	21
South Africa	9	5	Moderate	D	22
Sierra Leone	25	47	Intense	D	23
Ethiopia	35	46	Intense	D	24
Haiti	19	58	Acute	D	25
Pakistan	31	23	High	D	26
ndia	44	21	High	Е	27
Burundi	39	63	Intense	Е	28
Democratic Republic of Congo	34	76	Acute	Е	29



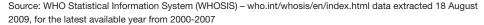
financial crises. Therefore, our scorecard is likely to *under*-estimate the true extent of the hunger problem in most countries.

This is worrying, because our scorecard shows that even before the crises hit, many countries were struggling with high and pervasive malnutrition. In Africa, where states were weakened by structural adjustment programmes, civil wars and the impact of HIV/AIDS, malnutrition stayed above 30 percent for more than 25 years, dipping just below that threshold in 2007 but starting to increase again in 2008. In Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Guinea Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Zambia, and Sierra Leone there was either an increase or stagnation in the proportion of the hungry at the start of the 21st century. Since the mid-nineties, despite rising per capita GDP, 30 million more people in India and 10 million more in Pakistan have been added to the ranks of the hungry.

In fact, there are 17 percent more calories available for every person alive today than there were 30 years ago, even though total population has increased by 70 percent. But poor people still do not grow or benefit from much of that extra food. Most of the recent expansion in agricultural output has been concentrated in just a few major exporting nations, while per capita yields in Africa have been stagnant or falling. It is not surprising, therefore, that average food intake has remained low in poor countries, while rich countries consume more and more calories. The difference in average intake between rich countries, and poor countries in our sample, is now roughly the same as an extra three Big Macs per person, per day.²⁵

South Asian leaders are also waking up to the need to overturn the regional paradox of economic growth accompanied by levels of child undernourishment comparable to conflict-torn Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo in Sub-Saharan Africa (See Chart 1).²⁶

Chart 1. Percentage of Underweight Children



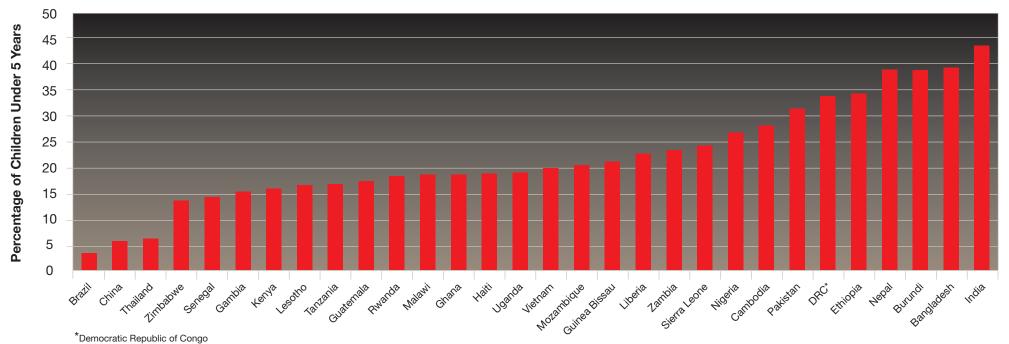
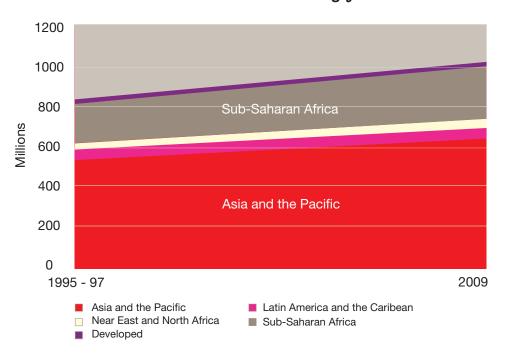


Chart 2. Where are the Hungry Billion?



Source: Calculations based on FAO, 2009, 1.02 Million Hungry, Media Centre, Rome: Food and Agriculture Organisation, 19 June 2009

Who Eats Last?

It is shocks – be they natural disasters, food price hikes (global, seasonal or local), conflicts, health crises or deaths in families which occur as part of daily struggles of the poor – which push the intensity of hunger to the limits of human endurance.

Prolonged conflicts, in particular, have cost Africa US\$120 billion worth of lost agricultural production during the last third of the 20th century, but also countless lives.²⁷ In the DRC in the last decade, most of the nearly five million people who have lost their lives in the ongoing conflict have died from disease and hunger, not violence.²⁸

But even in peaceful and relatively prosperous countries, some social groups are stalked by severe hunger – a sign of harsh inequalities. In Jocotán, in the relatively

prosperous country of Guatemala, rehabilitation centres have recently admitted dozens of children, especially of Mayan descent, with tell-tale signs of severe undernourishment.²⁹ India too is in the midst of a crisis with 46 percent of the country's children underweight.³⁰

The FAO estimates that more than 60 percent of the world's hungry are women and girls, but in some countries the differential is far greater.³¹ Cultural practices in many societies – especially in South Asia and Africa – result in women and girls eating last and least.³² Within communities, the most marginalized face the greatest discrimination in accessing food.³³

Many people with HIV and AIDS face the additional burden of not being able to work or cultivate, leaving their families vulnerable to hunger: whilst people with malnutrition are more likely to pick up infectious diseases including HIV, and so the cycle continues. Female caregivers who are unable to find the time to work are also extremely vulnerable. In a country like Zambia, ravaged by the AIDS epidemic to the point that an average life span has been reduced to 40 years,³⁴ more than a quarter of households also have the added burden of taking care of child orphans, which means more mouths to feed.³⁵



Legal Framework

"It is our ardent desire that not even a single citizen of India should ever go hungry. This is the reason why we have promised a food security law...."

- Dr. Manmohan Singh, 15th August 2009, Prime Minister of India³⁶

Any hungry person is one whose right to food has been violated.³⁷ The human right to adequate food is established in many international instruments, including the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and further defined by the UN's 2004 "Voluntary Guidelines for the progressive realisation of the right to food", signed by 187 member states in 2004.

Since the primary duty-bearers of the right to food are national governments, this HungerFREE Scorecard indicator (**table 4**) analyses two aspects: the inclusion of the right to food in national constitutions and the enactment of framework laws.

Constitutional Guarantee

We use the methodology and updated 2006 database of Vidar (see Appendix for more details) supplemented by updates from individual ActionAid country programmes.³⁸

Worldwide, only 20 countries mention the right to food in their constitutions.³⁹ In our scorecard South Africa is one of only two to score a 'high'. Its constitution, drawn up after the abolition of apartheid, explicitly guarantees the right to food as a separate and stand-alone right.⁴⁰

The Brazilian constitution, modified in 2003, also stipulates social rights for every citizen, including food and free school meals. However civil society in Brazil is currently campaigning for the right to food to be more explicitly guaranteed. Since 2001, the Indian Supreme Court has issued significant 'interim orders' based on the country's constitutional directive principles on a range of entitlements, including that free meals be served in every school.

Legal Commitment

Enshrining the right to food in law can drive policy implementation. Laws also ensure that programmes become permanent entitlements which cannot be easily cut or abolished. By establishing monitoring mechanisms, they enable citizens to hold their governments to account when programmes are poorly implemented. Finally, laws may make it easier for citizens to oppose the introduction of harmful policies. It is worrying to note that China, Ghana and Vietnam, although among our top five performers thanks to sound policies in the past, lack laws to safeguard against new policy directions that could undermine food security.

However, many countries are moving toward legal reform. In 2005, Guatemala became the first country in Latin America to include such a law in its domestic legal system, but its implementation has remained weak.⁴² South Africa, Malawi, Mozambique and Rwanda are finalising and enacting their right-to-food legislation. Brazil's Federal Law on Food and Nutritional Security (LOSAN 2006) establishes a national system of Food and Nutrition Security (SISAN) which brings together policies to support family agriculture and extend social protection; with a range of initiatives ranging from low-income community restaurants to free school meals.

These moves exemplify how the right to food is increasingly recognized as an important and fundamental right.

As Uganda and India are currently gripped by drought, their proposed national legislation needs to be enacted with urgency.

Accountability

Civil society has been crucial in generating momentum for such legislation and in demanding accountability for food entitlements. In Brazil, most of the actions taken by the Lula government are the result of demands made by social movements. Trade unions, consumer groups and producer organisations in South Africa –



assisted by an unusually vigilant Competition Commission - have played a major role in stopping price fixing in the food industry.⁴³ In Malawi, the National Right to Food Taskforce launched its campaign for the Human Right to Food Bill in 2002 – at the height of the worst famine in 50 years.⁴⁴ In Nepal, civil society groups participating in the constitutional reform process are pushing for government officials to be held liable for any death from hunger within their jurisdiction.⁴⁵

The right to food cannot become a reality without properly functioning national accountability institutions. These include courts that hear cases of violations of the right to food, or national ombudspersons who provide restitution, compensation or guarantees of non-repetition of offences. The government of Sierra Leone has established a Right to Food Secretariat, and South Africa, Nepal, Uganda, Pakistan, Nigeria and India, amongst others, have independent national Human Rights Commissions empowered to investigate complaints of violations of citizens' rights and make recommendations to government. Most countries trail behind on providing these safeguards.

Table 4: Developing Country Indicator - Legal Framework

Country	Constitutional Guarantee	Legislative Guarantee	Grade for Legal Framework (A-E)	Rank for Legal Framework
Weightage	33%	67%		
Brazil	Medium High	Yes	А	1
Guatemala	Medium High	Yes	Α	1
South Africa	High	In Progress	С	3
Malawi	Medium High	In Progress	С	4
Uganda	Medium High	In Progress	С	4
India	Medium Low	In Progress	D	6
Mozambique	Low	In Progress	D	7
Rwanda	Low	In Progress	D	7
Haiti	High	No	D	7
Ethiopia	Medium High	No	D	10
Nigeria	Medium High	No	D	10
Bangladesh	Medium High	No	D	10
Nepal	Medium High	No	D	10
Pakistan	Medium High	No	D	10
DRC*	Medium Low	No	E	15
Ghana	Medium Low	No	E	15
Kenya	Medium Low	No	E	15
Liberia	Medium Low	No	Е	15
Sierra Leone	Medium Low	No	Е	15
Tanzania	Medium Low	No	Е	15
Burundi	Low	No	E	21
Gambia	Low	No	E	21
Senegal	Low	No	E	21
Cambodia	Low	No	Е	21
Lesotho	Very Low	No	E	25
Zambia	Very Low	No	Е	25
China	Very Low	No	E	25
Vietnam	Very Low	No	E	25
Guinea Bissau		No	E	29

^{*}Democratic Republic of Congo



Sustainable Agriculture

"Africa can become the world's breadbasket, but you need to work on it. Investing in agriculture is easier than to have millions of people starving."

- Paul Kagame, 2009 President of Rwanda⁴⁵

Over US \$15 trillion has been pumped into financial sector rescues in the United States and Europe since the collapse of Lehman Brothers and other financial institutions in late 2008.⁴⁷ Just one percent of these bailout packages would pay for a five-year programme to revitalise agriculture and strengthen social protection throughout the developing world.⁴⁸ But the one billion people who are hungry don't seem to have the same political clout as bankers.

Hunger among food producers in the developing world is an ironic reality. Seven out of ten hungry people in the world are either smallholder farmers or landless agricultural labourers. The recent tide of farmer suicides in India is symbolic of the chronic neglect of agriculture across the developing world.⁴⁹

Developing countries have been forced to abolish supports to small farmers and open their markets to cheap imports over the last few decades. This has left the world in an absurd position where poor countries no longer grow enough to feed their populations, and their farmers struggle to feed even their own families, while the rich world battles growing obesity.

This 'Sustainable Agriculture' indicator evaluates developed and developing countries support for sustainable agriculture in the developing world. It aims to capture a snapshot view of three dimensions required if states are to ensure their populations do not go hungry: (1) sufficiency of financial commitment to agriculture (budgets and aid), (2) appropriateness of policies to support low input, climate-resilient sustainable agriculture and (3) women's access to land (a fundamental factor in addressing gender inequality and building a more equitable and productive agricultural system).

Box 1: China's Boost to Smallholder Agriculture

China reduced the numbers of undernourished in its population from 1990-92 to 2001-03 by a whopping 58 million – much of this was as a result of boosting investment in agriculture – reducing the percentage of its population classified as "hungry" by a third.

Some analysts emphasise the relatively equitable distribution of land as the key to unlocking its agricultural potential. During the early eighties, a process of "reorganisation" led to land reform on a broadly egalitarian basis to small-scale farmers. Family farms were given control of the use of land without having the right to sell it. 50

At the same time, the government implemented a strong package of support to smallholders. Agricultural input support from the government was sharply increased and provided to farmers at subsidised rates. Water-saving technologies and soil-preservation techniques - such as tillage, planting methods and mulching - were introduced. This was vital as China has a land mass largely unsuited to agriculture. This was coupled with support for crop prices (which were raised 30 percent over the five-year period); strong public procurement policies and the building of grain reserves; and huge investment in rural infrastructure. ⁵¹

These policies boosted an overall reduction of poverty, as growth in agriculture was broad-based and widely shared among a large small-holder farmer population. As a result, the country can now potentially feed its 1.3 billion people, and provide food to around 20 percent of the world's population. As only nine percent of China's land is arable, these achievements are impressive. ⁵² Underweight prevalence in children younger than five has also been reduced by more than half



from 19 percent in 1990 to just under seven percent in 2005. The under-five mortality rate sharply dropped from 49 per 1 000 live births in 1990 to 31 in 2004.

Source: Ghosh, Chandrashekar, 2009, "How did China reduce rural poverty?", Hindu Business Line, Chen, S. and Ravallion, M., ,2004, China's (Uneven) Progress Against Poverty, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper # 3408; OECD, 2005, "OECD Review of Agricultural Policies - China, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development"; Campbell, 2009, "Chinese agricultural boom 'holds lessons for Africa'"; Aiyar, 2006, "Food security: China's success story", The Hindu

Hard to Stomach

At the time of decolonisation in the sixties, Africa was not only self-sufficient in food production, but was a major exporter.⁵³ By the end of the eighties, structural adjustment programmes had systematically destroyed institutional support for agriculture. They dismantled marketing boards; abolished guaranteed prices for farmers; downsized agricultural extension services and removed subsidies on fertilisers. National budgets for agriculture fell from about 14 percent in the eighties to less than four percent in 2007.⁵⁴

Farmers have been left with few choices. Costs of production have spiraled (for example, fertiliser costs went up over 200 percent in 2007).⁵⁵ Farmers who were once supported by the state through a package of 'extension' services have been left to the vagaries of the market.⁵⁶ This, combined with dependence on erratic rainfalls, the increasing impacts of climate change and depleting ground-water tables, have wrecked smallholder agriculture.

By 2007, even the World Bank – the architect of these reforms – implicitly admitted that many of the policies it had previously promoted were not working:

Structural adjustment in the 1980's dismantled the elaborate system of public agencies that provided farmers with access to land, credit, insurance inputs, and cooperative organization. The expectation was that removing the state would free the market for private actors to take over these functions—reducing their costs, improving their quality, and eliminating their regressive bias. Too often, that didn't happen ... leaving smallholders exposed to

extensive market failures, high transaction costs and risks, and service gaps. Incomplete markets and institutional gaps impose huge costs in forgone growth and welfare losses for smallholders, threatening their competitiveness and, in many cases, their survival.⁵⁷

However, the World Bank and others continue to support international trade agreements that are forcing poor countries to slash agricultural tariffs. Tariffs are now at such a low level that American and European farmers are able to flood the markets with their subsidised produce, or send it to developing countries as food aid. ⁵⁸ Producer support to farmers in developed countries is 30 times the amount provided in agricultural aid to developing countries. ⁵⁹ Today, Africa imports 25 percent of its food, with almost every country becoming a net food importer. Wheat is barely produced in Africa, but bread can be found in almost every village. ⁶⁰

Thus, if developed countries really want to assist developing countries to reduce hunger, their funds have to be accompanied by a change in policies. The L'Aquila Food Security Initiative, launched at the 2009 G8 summit with a modest pledge of US \$20 billion incremental funding over five years, is a promising step in the right direction. More than the quantity of money committed, perhaps the most significant feature of the L'Aquila initiative was the commitment to coordinate donor funding in support of long-term, country-driven agriculture plans. This is a clear break from the history of piecemeal, donor-driven projects, and from past reliance on food aid as a short-term palliative. The US, for example, has spent 20 times more on food aid – 65 percent of which is absorbed by shipping and administrative costs – than on long-term agricultural programmes to develop local food production in Africa.⁶¹

The L'Aquila partnership could be the first step towards enabling poor farmers to grow their countries out of hunger. Now the challenge is to get real money on the table. The L'Aquila pledges amounted to only about a fifth of the amount ActionAid estimates is required annually to revitalise agriculture and expand social protection. And donor pledges have proven elusive: in researching this report, we found that no one could tell us which donors have committed how much towards the US \$20 billion or when the funds will be disbursed. Following a 70 percent drop in aid to agriculture during the nineties, 62 it is urgently necessary that all donors step up to the table with new and substantial funding so that developing countries can act with the urgency and ambition needed to reverse growing hunger.

This scorecard indicator evaluates the fulfillment of the fair shares that each Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) country is expected to contribute from their Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) grants to agriculture and food security annually relative to their Gross National Income (GNI). The benchmark used is the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) call for an additional US \$30 billion per year investment in agriculture and rural infrastructure, as well as top-ups to emergency food aid. ActionAid believes that

Table 5: Developed Country Indicator - Aid to Agriculture

Country	Current ODA (average of 2005-07) to Agriculture and Food Security as % of the fair share required in 2012	Grade for Aid to Agriculture	Rank for Aid to Agriculture
Luxembourg	118	А	1
Sweden	79	В	2
Norway	76	В	3
Denmark	57	С	4
Netherlands	54	С	5
Belgium	47	С	6
Switzerland	45	С	7
Finland	44	С	8
France	36	D	9
Ireland	36	D	9
Germany	34	D	11
United Kingdom	32	D	12
Japan	29	D	13
Austria	28	D	14
Canada	28	D	14
Spain	26	D	16
Australia	24	D	17
New Zealand	19	Е	18
United States of America	19	Е	18
Italy	16	Е	20
Portugal	10	Е	21
Greece	9	Е	22

in the context of the global economic crisis, developing countries will only be able to fund about a third of this increase.

The scorecard reveals that, with the exception of the top three donor countries – Luxembourg, Sweden and Norway – most OECD countries do not fulfill even half of their expected fair shares required in 2012.⁶³ The worst performers for ODA contribution are Italy, Portugal, Greece, the US and New Zealand, giving less than 20 percent of their fair share of the total.

Fuelling Hunger?

The 2008 food crisis was not caused by low harvests. In 2008-9 global grain harvests hit record levels, a seven percent increase compared to the previous year.⁶⁴ But only 1.5 percent more grain was used to feed human beings than in the previous year.⁶⁵ Instead, it was earmarked for biofuel⁶⁶ production, which increased nearly a quarter from the previous year, and was used to fuel cars not people.⁶⁷ This reduced cereal stocks to very low levels, which again fed through to higher global prices, by further reducing food stocks.⁶⁸

Agrofuels are considered by some analysts to be the primary cause of the global food price increases in 2007 and 2008. Its production is predicted to continue to increase, due to massive EU and US subsidies and oil prices which are on the rise again. Ironically, compared to fossil fuels, most agrofuels across their life-cycles contribute to an increase in greenhouse gas emissions, with negative impacts on food production.⁶⁹

Not only is EU and US agrofuel use diverting food crops into vehicle fuel tanks, but subsidies and targets for it are also fuelling a land-grab in developing countries. Foreign food and agrofuel importers have acquired an area the size of France – some 20 million hectares of farming land – in developing countries since 2006.⁷⁰ Tanzania, Mozambique, Ghana and Ethiopia have recently experienced an invasion of British, German, Dutch and Swedish agrofuels producers.⁷¹ They are using land that could be used to grow food, further exacerbating hunger (see Box 2).

Without incentives the industry would be on its knees. In 2006, the European Union (EU) and US gave their agrofuel industries some US \$13 billion in subsidies. It is predicted that between 2006 and 2012, the US will have subsidised agrofuels by some US \$76-93 billion.⁷² The EU the Directive on the Promotion and Use of

Box 2: Food or Fuel?

The Senegalese government has launched an ambitious programme to increase agrofuel production.

In 2006, President Abdoulaye Wade announced the formation of the Pan-African Non-Petroleum Producers Association (PANPP). He proposed that African nations should "follow in Brazil's footsteps" to promote agrofuels and other alternative energy sources. In 2007, the Senegalese government began the Jatropha National Production Programme, aimed at increasing the land used for biodiesel to 321,000 hectares by 2012.

The Senegalese government has requested that each rural community allocate a portion of its land for jatropha production. In the Tambacounda region, one of the few areas with large natural forests, 23,500 hectares were allocated for jatropha, compared to 7,200 for food production. In the Anambe Valley production is shifting from rice and vegetable production to jatropha.

The shift to agrofuel production could have serious consequences for those communities. In some areas, forests are being cleared to make way for jatropha production. In the Bignona area, the forestry department estimates that clearing forests to create jatropha plots could entail a 68 percent reduction in income sources for rural populations. Women are especially hard hit by such changes as they gather firewood, nuts and other forest products to supplement their households' incomes and nutritional needs.

The rush to expand agrofuel production could undermine national food security. Senegal currently depends on imports for more than 60 percent of its food needs. The shocks created by price volatility in 2008 led to food riots in Dakar.

There is an acute need to balance the new enthusiasm for agrofuel production with a sober look at the country's food needs, its natural resources and its capacity to expand local food production to achieve food sovereignty.

Source: Action Aid, 2008, Food, Farmers and Fuel: Balancing Global Grain and Energy Policies with Sustainable Land Use, ActionAid Johannesburg: ActionAid

Energy from Renewable Sources, adopted in April 2009, foresees that by 2020, 20 percent of energy should come from renewable sources, with a 10 percent mandatory target for renewable energy in transport, which includes agrofuels. At present, agrofuels production in the EU is heavily subsidised in the form of high import tariffs, production subsidies and fuel tax preferences.

Agrofuels have a negative impact on local communities, food prices and hunger. Any future global 'consensus' must be based on how they could contribute to a low carbon economy, ensuring that they do not displace food crops and that they can be grown sustainably by and for the benefit of local people.

This developed country 'Sustainable Agriculture' scorecard indicator (**table 6**) considers two areas relating to sustainable agriculture. While agrofuels constitute the first, the second sub-indictor simply looks at which countries are signatories of the International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD), which is described in greater detail in the next section.

Germany (17th) sits at the bottom of this sustainability indicator with a high subsidy of US \$23.9 per citizen to support unsustainable agrofuels. The United States (16th) and Sweden (14th) are not far behind in their excessive support for agrofuels. While 2006 is the latest year for which we have comparable data, subsidies are likely to have increased massively, as countries adjust their tax rates and produce more quantities of agrofuels. For example, total subsidies in the UK have gone up threefold between 2006 and 2009.⁷³

Future of Agriculture

The last time there was a massive increase in food prices was in 1974. Soon after, a number of countries (donors and developing) pledged to put agriculture at the centre stage of their development policy and to launch a 'Green Revolution'. It had an important influence, especially in Asia, where India, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines and Bangladesh increased production. The current food prices increase has also led to many calling for a similar Green Revolution in Africa – with similar donor interest in catalysing this.

But there are lessons that must be learned from the Green Revolutions in Latin America and Asia, and mistakes which must not be repeated. These previous Green Revolutions have proved to be unsustainable, having increased dependency



Table 6: Developed Country Indicator - Sustainable Agriculture

Country	Per Capita Subsidies to Agrofuels (US \$)	Signatory of IAASTD	Grade for Sustainable Agriculture	Rank for Sustainable Agriculture
Weightage	90%	10%		
Finland	0.0	Yes	А	1
Ireland	0.4	Yes	А	2
United Kingdom	1.2	Yes	В	3
Greece	0.0	No	В	4
Luxembourg	0.1	No	В	4
Denmark	0.3	No	В	6
Netherlands	1.2	No	В	7
Italy	1.6	No	В	7
France	5.5	Yes	В	9
Spain	2.4	No	В	10
Australia	4.3	No	С	11
Canada	8.6	No	С	12
Austria	13.6	No	D	13
Sweden	22.4	Yes	Е	14
Switzerland		Yes	Е	15
United States of America	21.0	No	Е	16
Germany	23.9	No	Е	17
Belgium		No	Е	17
Japan		No	Е	17
New Zealand		No	Е	17
Norway		No	Е	17
Portugal		No	Е	17

on costly inputs such as fertilisers and patent-protected plant varieties. Unfortunately, over the 20th century, agriculture has been converted from a solar-powered sector to one that depends on fossil fuels. Over time, green revolution farming technologies have led to soil erosion and salination; a dramatic decline in biological diversity (both cultivated and in the surrounding landscapes) and associated traditional knowledge; and a marginalisation of small farmers, who cannot afford the capital investment to buy inputs such as expensive fertilisers. In Brazil, the subsistence ability of many communities surrounded by soya, eucalyptus or sugar cane plantations has suffered greatly with the increasing expansion of agribusiness.⁷⁵

The International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD) - the result of four years of research and consultations involving 400 experts and civil society - has now been endorsed by 58 countries. The report calls on policy-makers to acknowledge the negative environmental externalities of conventional agriculture, to learn from existing agro-ecological initiatives and to look at integrated solutions for agriculture that include social rather than expensive and heavily-patented technologies. It argues for a massive push to develop and scale up low-input and organic farming methods - with a particular focus on working with women and building on local and traditional knowledge.

Agriculture, as practiced today, accounts for nearly 14 percent of greenhouse gas emissions annually and land use change (including deforestation to develop agricultural land) contributes another 19 percent of global emissions. ⁷⁶ The conclusions of the IAASTD pave the way to designing more sustainable food systems for the 21st century. ⁷⁷ In this scorecard we have given countries recognition for signing up to the IAASTD. However, signing is not enough – governments must outline how and by when they will implement the IAASTD's recommendations.

For developing countries the 'Sustainable Agriculture' scorecard indicator (**table 7**) evaluates them on three facets. The first is a simple measure of whether they have signed the IAASTD. The second compares the amount of national budget being spent on agriculture and the third the access of women to land.

Box 3: IAASTD Recommendations for Agriculture

The IAASTD advocates reducing the vulnerability of the global food system through locally-based innovations. It calls for redistributing productive land to the rural poor and restructuring the food system in favour of smallholders. It found that:

- The future of agriculture lies in biodiverse, agroecologically-based farming. This can meet economic imperatives but can also satisfy social and environmental goals.
- The reliance on resource-extractive industrial agriculture is unsustainable, particularly in the face of worsening climate, energy and water crises. Expensive, short-term technical fixes—including transgenic crops—do not adequately address the complex challenges of the agricultural sector and often exacerbate social and environmental harms.
- Achieving food security and sustainable livelihoods for people now in chronic poverty requires ensuring access to and control of resources by small-scale farmers.
- Fair, local, regional and global trading regimes can build local economies, reduce poverty and improve livelihoods.

Source: agassessment.org (International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development)

In the Budget

The food price crisis has proved to be an eye-opener. The plight of farmers and the ripple effects across economies has drawn attention to the need for reinvestment in agriculture. In recent years, especially after the food crisis, there seems to be a positive trend amongst an increasing number of countries to invest more in agriculture to overcome the decades of woeful neglect. For example, in India, a one-off agricultural debt waiver in 2008 aimed to reach 40 million farmers, while in Malawi a farming input subsidy initiative is sowing agricultural miracles

(Box 5).⁷⁸ The Rwandan government has also committed to the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programmeme (CAADP) and is significantly injecting funds into land tenure, seed, fertiliser, infrastructure, storage, transport, and finance projects.⁷⁹

Box 4: Dependence on imports - a risky situation

Food import dependence has grown in many developing countries during the last three decades. This can be attributed to slow growth in domestic food production and trade liberalisation. For lower income, highly import-dependent countries, however, higher food prices and a larger import bill can pose a big risk.

Recent Overseas Development Institute (ODI) research indicates that countries relying on local food crops were most resilient in the face of the 2007-8 food price crises. Countries dependent mostly on imported cereals (wheat, maize and rice) experienced substantial domestic price increases. A diversification of local production will reduce vulnerability to international price fluctuations.

Our research for the HungerFree Scorecard revealed that, spurred by the food crisis, a number of countries have announced plans to boost national self sufficiency. For instance, The Gambia's dependence on imports of its main staple - rice - meant that it was hit hard last year by food price hikes. ⁸³ The country's president responded by calling on Gambians to 'reach food self sufficiency'. ⁸⁴ In Liberia the government has pledged to raise agricultural production over the next four years, with the aim of 70 percent self-sufficiency in food. ⁸⁵ In Senegal where violent protests spilled onto the streets, ⁸⁶ President Wade has responded by announcing ambitious plans to increase rice production five-fold to meet 100 percent of the country's needs by 2015. ⁸⁷ This is a positive trend for the world's poorest who spends more than 60 percent of their incomes on food. ⁸⁸

Source: Sanogo, 2008, "The global food price crisis and household hunger: a review of recent food security assessments", *Humanitarian Exchange Magazine*, London: Overseas Development Institute.

In 2003, all member countries of the African Union (AU) adopted the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP), also known as the 'Maputo Declaration'. They agreed to increase investment in the agriculture sector to at least 10 percent of their national budgets by 2008 - part of their attempts to meet the first Millennium Development Goal to fight hunger and poverty. So far, African governments have been performing badly against this target, however, there are signs that this may be changing. Our scorecard research shows that many countries – Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, Mozambique and Nigeria - are increasing their spending and could soon reach the 10 percent benchmark.⁸⁰ A number of countries are already there – China and Malawi, for instance.

But it must be cautioned that overall budget to agriculture is at best a very crude indicator of political commitment, because agricultural spending does not necessarily reach smallholder farmers who need it most. For example, Brazil has unveiled a US \$53 billion plan to support agriculture, 81 but only 14 percent is estimated to be directed at family and peasant farmers, with most of the remainder benefiting agri-businesses. 82

According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the world has 500 million smallholder farmers with families of two billion – or a third of humanity. Small farms of two hectares or less⁸⁹ produce the majority of the staple crops needed to feed the world's rural and urban populations.⁹⁰ Small farms, for example, provide over 90 percent of Africa's agricultural production, and in Latin America they produce the majority of the maize, beans and potatoes for domestic consumption.⁹¹ Women produce 60-80 percent of the food that is consumed locally in developing countries.⁹²

Small-scale producers also include herders and pastoralists, landless and rural workers, forest dwellers, fisherfolk, gardeners, indigenous peoples and hunters and gatherers. Small producers feed poor communities – including themselves – and small increases in yields on their farms could have a profound impact on poverty and access to food at the local and regional levels. A one percent increase in agricultural GDP reduces poverty by four times as much as a percentage increase in non-agricultural GDP, according to the World Bank.

Only a handful of countries perform well on this indicator. While China tops the scorecard largely due to its large allocation of budget to agriculture, it is heartening

Box 5: Sowing Miracles

"People were so hungry they would do anything," recollects village Chief Herbert Kamponda as he speaks about the 2005 drought when 30 people died of starvation in his village. Malawi was gripped by a horrific famine in 2005, when 5 million of the 12 million population were starving.

The landscape has changed in three short years. Tito Jestala, one of the village's farmers, proudly shows off his maize store, filled with corn cobs. One hectare, which produced 100 kg of maize three years ago, has tripled its yield.

A new government, led by President Bingu wa Mutharika, believed the problem was straightforward. Farmers were not getting enough support. The government took the brave step of defying the advice of the World Bank and international donors – not an easy risk for one of the poorest countries in the world - and brought back the agricultural subsidies they had been forced to dismantle through liberalisation. And it paid off. Between 2005 and 2007, a miracle occurred: the country went from a food deficit of 43 percent to a food surplus of 57 percent as productivity increased two-fold. Maize production nearly trebled. Malawians had enough not only for themselves, but also for export.

The government doubled its expenditure on agriculture from 7.4 percent of its budget to 14 percent. It scaled up access and affordability of farm inputs and high-yield maize seeds and fertilisers. Though the scheme increased maize production, hunger still isn't decreasing among the poorest and costs have shot up to around \$180m a year for the subsidy programme - this is unsustainable. The Malawian government this year started scaling up a nationwide campaign to use cheaper - more sustainable - organic composts and manure as an alternative to synthetic fertilisers. Donors and other governments would do well to learn from this approach.

Source: Barber B, 2008, "Malawi's Free Trade Revolt", Los Angeles Times, Ndungane, 2009, "From Basket Case to Food Basket in Africa – Lessons in Making Hunger History", www.ngopulse.org; Wijeratna, 2009, "Sustaining Africa", The Guardian



Table 7: Developing Country Indicator - Sustainable Agriculture

Country	Budget to Agriculture	Women's Access to Land	Signatories of IAASTD	Grade for SA	Rank for Sustainable Agriculture
Weightage	75%	15%	10%		
China	High	High	Yes	Α	1
Ethiopia	High	Low	Yes	Α	2
Malawi	High	Medium	No	Α	3
Mozambique	Medium	Medium	Yes	В	4
Tanzania	Medium	Medium	Yes	В	4
India	Medium	Medium	Yes	В	4
Ghana	Medium	Low	Yes	В	7
Zambia	Medium	Low	Yes	В	7
Vietnam	Medium	Low	Yes	В	7
Nigeria	Medium	Low	Yes	В	10
Bangladesh	Medium	Low	Yes	В	10
Gambia	Medium	Low	Yes	В	12
Rwanda	Medium	Low	No	С	13
Sierra Leone	Medium	Low	No	С	13
Brazil	Low	High	Yes	С	15
Senegal	Low	Medium	Yes	С	16
Kenya	Low	Low	Yes	D	17
Uganda	Low	Low	Yes	D	17
Pakistan	Low	Low	Yes	D	19
DRC*	Low	Low	Yes	D	20
Liberia	Low	High	No	D	20
Lesotho	Low	Medium	No	D	22
Cambodia	Low	Low	No	D	23
Haiti	Low	Low	No	D	23
Burundi	Low	Low	No	D	25
Guinea Bissau	Low	Low	No	D	26
South Africa	Low	Low	No	D	26
Nepal	Low	Low	No	D	26
Guatemala	Low	Low	No	D	26

to note than low-income countries like Ethiopia (2) and Malawi (3) are investing in smallholder agriculture which forms the bulwark for the livelihood of the majority of their populations. However, ranking at the bottom of the indicator are countries such as Pakistan, Haiti, Nepal, Guatemala, and Uganda which are spending less than 5 percent of their budgets on agriculture.

Women Farmers

Women toil in most of the world's fields - from planting potatoes in South America to harvesting maize in Africa and sowing rice in the waterlogged farms of Asia. Yet many do not own the land they work on, and cannot access extension services, subsidised credit or membership of cooperatives and farmers' unions.⁹⁶ Women own only 1 percent of land on average⁹⁷ and rural women receive less than 10 percent of the credit provided to farmers.⁹⁸ Women farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa also benefit from only 7 percent of farm extension services.⁹⁹

Improving women's status means that everyone eats better. Women with higher status have better nutritional status and provide higher quality care for their children. Other their children. Strengthening women's rights to own, inherit and control property and land in their own right, rather than only through a male relative as in The Gambia (Box 6), is a critical step towards achieving equal status for women and unlocking improvements in food security. Increasing women's access to the means of agricultural production as well as decision-making authority within households is, likewise, crucial to guaranteeing food security and improving the nutritional status of children.

With the exception of only a few countries such as China - whose 2003 land reform policy ensures that women enjoy land distribution - most countries score badly on this indicator. Legal reform, policy change, and funding are essential to increasing women's access to and control over land and other productive resources such as seeds, water, credit and extension services.



^{*}Democratic Republic of Congo

Box 6: "They will feed this nation"

Isatou Fayinkeh grew rice on borrowed land until recently – enough to feed her family of seven and provide a small surplus to sell. Despite her investment in the land, last year her landlord demanded his land back without notice, depriving her of her means of survival. The land is now idle.

"The man woke up one day and told me to give him back his land without any notice," she recalls. "Cases like this are rampant here."

Women in The Gambia have very little ownership rights. Only a small proportion of women have titles to land. The problem is especially acute in rural areas: traditional and cultural practices allow women the right to use land but it is difficult for them to own it. The country has a dual legal system that combines civil law and Islamic Sharia law.

"Let us start by letting women own land wherever they are in this country and they will feed this nation," Isatou says. "Without that we will surely continue to be hungry."

One of the key policy influencing and advocacy issues for ActionAid in The Gambia is women's ownership and control of land. In addition, women do not have equal access to production inputs like their male counterparts.

Source: Social Institutions and Gender Index http://genderindex.org/country/gambia with inputs from Action Aid Gambia



Social Protection

"The true sign of success is not whether we are a source of aid that helps people scrape by – it is whether we are partners in building the capacity for transformational change."

- Barack Obama, 2009 President of United States of America

The queues outside soup kitchens across the developed world from America to Spain have grown longer in the last year. Millions across the globe have been pushed to hunger by the global recession and food price crisis. But there are no free dinners being served in most of Africa, even if there is a crisis.

Social protection, guaranteed in Article 22 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is the right of every man, woman and child. It protects vulnerable people and enhances their capabilities through a range of specific entitlements¹⁰⁴ - for instance, pensions, child support, free school meals, employment guarantees - to enable them to challenge inequities and move out of poverty. The central role of the state to promote, protect and fulfill their citizens' rights through long-term redistributive social justice lies at the heart of social protection.

Empty Plate

Until recently, increasing higher crop yields through 'modern' farming techniques has been the accepted conventional wisdom for eradicating hunger with a tragic neglect of the social, economic, and political roots of hunger. As Amartya Sen has argued for decades, hunger often stems not from a lack of production or availability of food, but from a lack of access and command of food. 105 Kantam, 45, a fisherwoman in India explains her recurring seasonal food crisis, "During the rainy season it is very difficult because we cannot store fish. We do not have the equipment to keep them dry so they spoil. No fish, no food. Then we have to borrow from the money lenders." 106 These bouts of food insecurity, for a variety of reasons, add to the inability of the poor to cope with food crises – be they one-off, recurring or permanent.

Fulfilling the right to food constitutes the most crucial and essential aspect of social protection. The UN FAO says this right has been met when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food for people to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life".

The HungerFREE Scorecard measures both developing and developed countries on their commitment to supporting a comprehensive package of social protection initiatives for the world's hungry – developing countries (**table 9**) are scored on their policy commitments to social protection and developed countries (**table 8**) through their aid allocations.

Borderlines

In most developed countries, social protection lies at the heart of the social contract of the state towards its citizens. Most OECD countries spend more than 10 percent of their GDP on well-established, comprehensive social protection systems ranging from the Nordic model in Scandinavian countries; conservative model in continental Europe; the liberal Anglo-Saxon model in the United States, United Kingdom and Canada; and the post-World War II universal entitlements in Japan.

However, poor people in developing countries who are the most in need of protection from the shocks of their everyday life are left to fend for themselves. Devereux et al (2008)¹⁰⁷ estimate that a 'minimum essential package' across the developing world which consists of community-based management of acute malnutrition, employment guarantee programmes, social pensions and child growth promotion would collectively cost a maximum of GB £48.52 billion (US \$79.31 billion) annually. Based on this benchmark, this sub-indicator estimates the expected fair shares that developed countries are expected to contribute from their Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) commitments based on their Gross National Incomes (GNI). This HungerFREE analysis reveals that most OECD countries, which protect the social security of their own citizens, spend measly



Table 8: Developed Country Indicator - Aid to Social Protection

Country	Current ODA to social protection as % of the fair share of the total needed	Grade for Aid to Social Protection	Rank for Aid to Social Protection
Year	2005-2007 (average)		
Luxembourg	130	А	1
Finland	69	В	2
Ireland	55	С	3
Norway	25	D	4
Portugal	23	D	5
Switzerland	20	Е	6
Denmark	13	Е	7
Spain	12	Е	8
Sweden	12	Е	8
Belgium	11	Е	10
Australia	9	Е	11
France	9	Е	11
Austria	8	Е	13
Canada	7	Е	14
Netherlands	7	Е	14
United Kingdom	6	Е	16
United States of America	6	Е	16
Japan	4	Е	18
Germany	3	Е	19
Greece	3	Е	19
New Zealand	3	Е	19
Italy	1	Е	22

sums on supporting developing countries to extend the most basic protections in developing countries – in fact, many have been prescribing polices that have actually disabled countries from investing in social protection for their citizens.

Winds of Change

Since the late eighties, the world has witnessed the onslaught of neo-liberal reforms. Especially in least developed countries, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have enforced austerity budgeting, making it difficult or impossible for countries to create or maintain social welfare systems. However, not all reductions in social entitlements were imposed from outside. With the deepening of economic reforms in China, the erstwhile policy of controlled buying and distribution of food rations ended in 1993.¹⁰⁸

At the turn of the millennium, the clock is slowly turning back. There is an increasing appreciation that employment and food delivery systems need to be addressed to feed the hungry. Developed countries are also increasingly appreciating the necessity of putting funds into scaling up government programmes and services, instead of running parallel projects. For example, the Dutch government now funds half of the Ghana School Feeding Programmme.¹⁰⁹

Latin America has a rich history of social security crucially essential in a continent which is the most unequal in terms of income distribution.¹¹⁰

Although Africa lags behind in government spending on social protection, the tide is slowly turning as leaders endorsed the 'Livingstone Declaration' in 2006 – agreeing to design and fund national social protection plans, especially cash transfers. At the same time, the governments of Lesotho, Rwanda and Tanzania have declared their intention to expand universal coverage of school meals by 2011.

With the disproportionate impact of the global recession and food crisis witnessed in poor countries, the African Union and the G20 in 2009 agreed on their collective responsibility to extend and fund social protection to buffer the impact of the rise in food prices and job losses.

In the developing world, where 80 percent of countries lack comprehensive social protection, it is impossible to analyse all the relevant initiatives to design and implement comprehensive national social protection policies. For the sake of simplicity the HungerFREE scorecard restricts its evaluation to the existence of

Table 9: Developing Country Indicator - Social Protection

Country	Young child feeding/nutrition	Free school meals	Minimum employment/living standards guarantee	Maternity nutrition/entitlements	Subsidised food rations/vouchers/ community kitchens	Old age Social Pensions	Grade for Social Protection	Rank for Social Protection
Weightage	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%		
Brazil	Medium	High	High	Medium	High	High	В	1
South Africa	High	High	Low	Low	No	High	С	2
India	Medium	High	Medium	No	Low	Medium	С	3
Guatemala	Low	Medium	No	Low	Low	Low	D	4
Lesotho	No	Medium	No	No	No	High	D	5
Bangladesh	Low	No	Low	Low	Low	Low	D	5
Vietnam	No	No	Low	Medium	No	Medium	D	5
Kenya	Low	Medium	Low	No	No	No	E	8
Malawi	Low	Low	Low	No	No	No	E	9
Mozambique	No	Low	No	Low	No	Low	E	9
Senegal	No	Low	Low	No	Low	No	E	9
China	No	No	Low	No	No	Medium	E	9
Gambia	No	Low	Low	No	No	No	E	13
Ghana	No	Low	No	No	Low	No	E	13
Liberia	No	Low	No	No	No	Low	E	13
Nigeria	No	Low	Low	No	No	No	E	13
Cambodia	Low	No	No	No	Low	No	E	13
Pakistan	No	Low	Low	No	No	No	E	13
Burundi	No	Low	No	No	No	No	E	19
Ethiopia	No	No	Low	No	No	No	Е	19
Guinea Bissau	No	Low	No	No	No	No	E	19
Rwanda	No	Low	No	No	No	No	Е	19
Sierra Leone	No	Low	No	No	No	No	Е	19
Zambia	No	No	No	No	Low	No	Е	19
Nepal	No	No	No	No	Low	No	Е	19
Democratic Republic of Congo	No	No	No	No	No	No	Е	26
Tanzania	No	No	No	No	No	No	Е	26
Uganda	No	No	No	No	No	No	Е	26
Haiti	No	No	No	No	No	No	E	26



the most universally relevant and easily measurable food security interventions. However, ActionAid does not see these as standalone inputs. A wider social package (including education and healthcare interventions) is needed to combat the inter-generational cycle of malnutrition. In most cases, we have tried to evaluate the actual reach of programmes - therefore, underfunding or ineffective implementation of an initiative to ensure 'universal' coverage within countries results in a downgrade on this indicator.

The three frontrunners in this indicator are middle-income countries which have a historical legacy of social protection. South Africa's comprehensive package of social welfare policies – such as old age pension, child support grants and school meals – has been widely recognised as having a positive impact on reducing extreme hunger. India also has a wide array of schemes, but their coverage and quality need to be substantially strengthened. In Vietnam, the Hunger Eradication and Poverty Reduction Programme has expanded access to land, credit and free basic education and health, while Programme 135 provides grants to the country's poorest communes. However, there is increasing recognition that a more formal system of social protection is necessary.

Most developing countries score an 'E' on the scorecard: it is imperative that social protection programmes be brought to the forefront of the battle against hunger.

Social Contract

The vicious cycle of hunger often starts with an underweight expectant mother who delivers a low-birth weight child. Poor nutrition is a direct or contributing cause of 50 to 60 percent of child deaths. Breastfeeding constitutes food security for infants and is recommended as the single most effective preventive intervention; however, mothers cannot breastfeed effectively if they don't get extra calories. Young children also need to be appropriately fed several times a day to combat malnutrition and prevent irreversible physical and cognitive damage. But this is a struggle for 80 percent of women in developing countries who need to juggle housework and childcare along with their work in the fields or in the informal sector.

"I have to set out by 7 am for me to get these wild fruits and prepare them in time for tonight's meal," says Mary Ngoleyang, 32, a mother of three in Kenya's parched Rift valley. Her three undernourished children, aged from three to eight, are constantly crying, barely understanding why their mother cannot give them food.¹¹⁵

Thailand, while not included in this scorecard, provides a good example of how countries can make real headway in the fight against child malnutrition. Since the mid-eighties, it has reduced malnutrition among under-fives from 50 percent to 10 percent. Direct nutrition programmes, including the home delivery of locally-produced supplementary foods for moderate and severely malnourished children, have contributed to this success.¹¹⁶

Well-designed and implemented food programmes for children and adults have multiple benefits, as Brazil's range of mutually reinforcing programmes demonstrates (see Box 7).

Box 7: Bolsa Familia

Brazil's "Bolsa Familia" programme, which grants a range of family benefits, is the largest conditional cash transfer programme in the world: in 2008 it covered about 47 million people, 25 percent of Brazil's population. The budget for 2008 was US \$5.5 billion, which represents 0.3 percent of Brazil's GDP. Coverage is expected to be extended to 12.4 million families by the end of 2009 with 94 percent of the funds reaching the poorest 40 percent of the population.

The positive impact of family grants on children and families is being felt in numerous ways. Attendance, dropout rates and school progression indicators are better for children assisted by the programme compared to children living in households with a similar income which do not receive the benefit. Beneficiaries appear to be spending more of their Bolsa Família money on food and child health, education and clothing. The programme has had a significant impact on reducing poverty and inequality (income inequality fell by almost 4.6 percent following the introduction of Bolsa Família).

Source: UNHCR, 2009, "Background report submitted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights pursuant to paragraph 9 of Human Rights Council resolution 10/29 entitled 'The Social Forum'", 24 July 2009, A/HRC/SF/2009/3, and inputs from Action Aid country programme in Brazil



For those who have the ability to work, wages from public employment guarantee programmes can restore entitlements to food. Not only do such programmes generate mass employment, but they also create productive assets and have a 'multiplier' effect of circulating money to revive an economy.

In other cases, cash transfers offer a 'shock absorber' to hunger and poverty. In China, the dibao (Urban Minimum Living Standard Scheme) offers an essential measure of support for 20.6 million households, including unemployed workers. Cash transfers like the dibao can have indirect benefits which impact beyond their immediate beneficiaries to entire families, especially those who can't work.

South Africa's Child Support Grant strikes at core of the intimate link between hunger and HIV & AIDS by providing support to poor caregivers, including those who are not biological parents, for each child they support up to the age of 15 years. The non-contributory old-age pensions in Lesotho have proven to increase the capacity of the elderly to purchase food and care for their grandchildren orphaned by HIV/AIDS.¹¹⁷

Universal coverage of social protection is not only vital for addressing hunger but it is also affordable for developing countries, assuming rich country donors also play their part. For instance, Lesotho has been able to recently implement a successful pension programme for all elderly people above 70 years – at the mere cost of 1.5 percent of GDP. ¹¹⁸

Box 8: Hand to Mouth

"We have to go half stomach many a time during non agricultural seasons when there is no work available" laments Kasamma, a 43 year-old single woman from Malchapur village in south India. When the rainfall is insufficient, waiting for the administrative machinery to declare a drought and the commencement of public work programmes often prove to be too late.

However, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) is changing her life. After sustained pressure from civil society to protect the right to work, the Indian government passed the act in 2005. Permanent social protection measures like cash-for-work schemes offer a reprieve for poor landless labourers and farmers like Kasama. For the past two-and-a-half months, she has been employed on an irrigation canal.

She earns Rs74 (the minimum wage in the Indian state of Karnataka) for a day of work on the project. This is a big leap from the Rs20 to Rs25 she used to earn while labouring in the agricultural fields of the rich landlords in her village. "Now things are much better after the NREGS work has come to our village. The whole family can have a better living than before, as even during the lean season we get work and the wages are better than what we women get as agricultural labourers," adds Kasamma. A positive spinoff of the NREGS is that in many parts of India the market wage for agricultural labour has increased significantly since the scheme took off.

In 2006-7, the scheme cost only 0.3 percent of GDP and once fully operational could peak at best at 1-3 percent of GDP. The real test of the scheme will be this year, when drought has gripped the country. Widespread delays in payments of wages crucially affect people's ability to fend off starvation.

Source: ActionAid India



Cimate Change

"We don't understand the seasons anymore. We used to have 6 seasons, but during the last 5-6 years everything has been upside down. Now the winter is hot and the summer is cold."

- Asiya Begum, smallholder farmer, Charipara, Bangladesh

Tackling hunger necessitates tackling climate change, which is disrupting farming and playing havoc with weather patterns. Adverse weather conditions are already affecting 20 of 41 developing countries which are in the midst of hunger crises or vulnerable to production shortfalls.¹¹⁹

This is set to worsen over the coming years, with experts estimating that food production could drop by as much as 50 percent by 2020 in parts of Africa. ¹²⁰ In the ActionAid HungerFREE Scorecard we have only assessed rich countries' action on climate change. This is because rich countries are historically responsible for causing climate change, while developing countries are likely to bear the brunt of it. Currently, they are absorbing 99 percent of all deaths from weather-related disasters, along with 90 percent of the total economic losses. ¹²¹

Almost all the developed countries score badly on their action on climate on our HungerFREE scorecard. This HungerFREE scorecard indicator (**table 10**) compares developed countries on two areas – reducing greenhouse gas emissions at home and their commitment to financing the estimated US \$182 billion annual cost required by 2020 for tackling climate change adaptation and mitigation in developing countries.

Binding Targets

To prevent dangerous climate impacts in the future, average temperatures must be kept below 1.5 degrees celsius above pre-industrial levels. In order to do this, rich countries must reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by at least 40 percent below 1990 levels by 2020 and by more than 90 percent by 2050. Global emissions must be reduced by at least 80 percent by 2050. 122

Box 9: Historical responsibility and 'climate debt'

The climate forecast doesn't look good for Ines Mazuze. Four years of insufficient rain in Mozambique have left her struggling to grow enough crops. Things look set to get worse as climate change bites.

Like the majority of Mozambicans, Ines depends on the rain to water her crops. Rainfall is set to become more unpredictable in the years to come. As the droughts worsen, Ines and many other Africans could see up to a 50 percent decrease in crop yields by 2020. The injustice of this is that Ines, like most of the populations of developing countries, bears very little responsibility for climate change yet they will feel the worst impacts. Ines doesn't own a car or use vast quantities of resources. Mozambique only produces 0.03 percent of current global carbon emissions compared to the 22 percent that the United States contributes.

Rich countries have a historical responsibly for the largest share of total global greenhouse gas emission. And their emissions, have contributed disproportionately to the impacts of climate change being felt by developing countries.

They have therefore run up a 'climate debt'. As a result of their responsibility for climate change rich countries need to cut their emission levels fastest and deepest and support farmers like Ines to adapt to changing climates through finance and technology. At the same time, so that poor countries can continue to develop, rich countries need to start supporting 'low carbon' pathways to development (there is no example to date of a poor country that has developed without increasing their emissions).

Table 10: Developed Country Indicator - Climate Change

Country	Binding targets to reduce emissions by 40 percent of 1990 levels by 2020	Actual finances to UNFCCC as % fair share of total required	Grade for Climate Change	Rank for Climate Change
Measure	percent	percent		
Weightage	50%	50%		
United Kingdom	34	0.4	С	1
Norway	30	2.5	D	2
Luxembourg	20	4.4	D	3
Denmark	20	2.7	D	4
Austria	20	0.0	D	5
Belgium	20	0.0	D	5
Finland	20	0.9	D	5
France	20	0.2	D	5
Germany	20	0.5	D	5
Greece	20	0.0	D	5
Ireland	20	1.0	D	5
Italy	20	0.1	D	5
Netherlands	20	0.6	D	5
Portugal	20	0.4	D	5
Spain	20	0.1	D	5
Sweden	20	0.5	D	5
Switzerland	20	0.5	D	5
Japan	8	0.0	Е	18
Australia	4	0.1	Е	19
Canada	3	0.3	Е	20
New Zealand		0.7	Е	21
United States of America		0.0	Е	21

Developed countries have so far devised woefully inadequate mitigation targets.

On this HungerFREE scorecard, the United Kingdom comes out top, because of its binding targets are higher than the EU's collective target of 20 percent. The United States (21), on the other hand, has yet to announce a target because the US Congress hasn't yet been able to pass a climate bill, though the House of Representatives has agreed to a marginal 4 percent reduction. Canada and Australia have also set extremely low targets of 3 and 4 percent, respectively.

The world is not on track to reach a just global deal in December that tackles climate change fairly and effectively. This looks set to put the world on a track that could see terrifying changes in our climate –endangering the right to food of hundreds of millions of poor people.

Fair share 124

To deal with dangerous climate impacts happening today, vulnerable countries need help to adapt. Even if drastic steps were taken tomorrow to stop the earth's temperature rising any further, developing countries would still face a huge bill for the costs of coping with and adapting to the climate change that has already happened.

Given developed countries' historical responsibilities as polluters, they need to provide the estimated US \$182 billion a year by 2020 to finance climate change mitigation and adaptation. However, not a single developed country is contributing more than 5 percent of its fair share (based on size of GDP and share of emissions since 1992 – see appendix) towards this total.

A new global institution, under the authority of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), is urgently needed to fund developing countries to reduce their emissions and enable them to adapt to climate change.

A number of innovative sources of finance to generate the resources needed have been proposed to fill this financing gap, including the auctioning of pollution permits and international air passenger levies. However, most rich countries have neither augmented their own contribution to the UNFCCC nor have most of them categorically indicated their support for these alternative financing options. The United Kingdom, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries are among the few to back new ways of generating climate finance.

Reaching a Just Global Climate Deal

With literally months left to strike a just global climate agreement, the world is way off track. In December, representatives from 192 countries will gather in Copenhagen for the United Nations climate change conference (COP15). They are hoping to seal a deal which could halt the worst impacts of climate change and enable vulnerable countries to adapt – but all the signs indicate this won't be achieved.

Rich countries are dragging their feet to the finishing line. Developing countries, which have the least responsibility for causing climate change, understandably need to see action from rich countries which bear the most historical responsibility.

This must be agreed before or at Copenhagen in December 2009. The chances of this being agreed look dismal. At this year's G8 meeting, countries agreed to cut their emissions by 80 percent by 2050 - but without a common baseline year, which is too little, too late.

Developing countries see this as a major stumbling block. They need both money and technology to cope with climatic impacts and to reduce their emissions. As one top South African official recently put it, "No money, no deal." ¹²⁷

Sadly, it seems there is still a mountain to climb, to reach a just global climate deal in Copenhagen.

Box 11: Not living up to adaptation funding obligations

The Least Developed Countries Fund for Climate Change (LDCF), established in November 2002, required countries to prepare National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs) – and 41 have been submitted so far. The NAPAs focus on urgent and immediate needs – those for which further delay could increase vulnerability or lead to increased costs at a later stage. 128

The Bangladesh NAPA details 15 projects totaling US \$77.3m (GB £47.5m). This will be spent on projects such as coastal afforestation; providing drinking water to coastal communities to combat enhanced salinity; information dissemination to communities; construction of flood shelters in major floodplains and research to adapt agricultural crops to increased salinity.

The LDCF has so far only received US \$176.5 million from developed countries. ¹²⁹ However, the budget for all 41 NAPAs comes to roughly US \$1.5 billion (approx. US \$2 billion when the remaining NAPAs are completed), leaving a shortfall of more than US \$1.8 billion. Least developed countries must now select only their top one or two priority projects – within a ceiling of approximately US \$5 million — to receive funding. ¹³⁰ This leaves Bangladesh's NAPA far short of the funding it needs.

Despite the fact that rich countries are the major historic and current polluters, they are clearly not complying with their obligation to fund the adaptation needs of developing countries. Compare the pittance that developed countries are giving to the LDC Fund (in comparison with the overall estimated amount that developing countries will need to adapt to the impacts of climate change - somewhere between US \$28 billion- US \$86 billion annually) with what they are spending on their own climate change adaptation. In England and Wales, for example, GB £175 million (US \$286m) was spent in 2006-7 on maintaining existing flood defenses and GB£162 million (US \$264)¹³¹ in building new ones.¹³²

Read on for a country-by-country analysis of who is fighting hunger.



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Section 2 HungerFREE Scorecards: Developing Countries

All maps are for representation purposes only (national boundaries should not be assumed to be accurate)

HungerFREE Scorecards have been limited to those countries in which ActionAid has a presence.



HungerFREE Scorecard

Country: Bangladesh

Leader: Prime Minister Hasina Wazed

Overall Score: **41/100**Overall Grade: **C (A-E)**Overall Rank: **13/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment	
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger	
Legal Framework	D	No right to food legislation	
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Medium budget to agriculture	
Social Protection	D	Low social protection	
The state of the s			



Remarks:

Bangladesh has made good progress in reducing the number of chronically food insecure citizens - from 40 million to 27 million - over the last decade. However, partly due to its large population, it still has the third highest number of hungry people in the world, after India and China. Largely as a result of high food prices in 2007 and 2008, the number of Bangladeshis facing food insecurity has risen. Cyclone Aila has further added to the pressure.

While the country has improved the nutrition of children under the age of five in the last two decades, it still has a long way to go to combat malnutrition. Providing its 20 million school-going children with hot cooked school meals could potentially make a huge impact. While the government should be commended for increasing budgetary allocations for the absolute poor through increased safety net programmes – which includes partial coverage of nutritional programmes, subsidised food and employment programmes – universalising and increasing coverage of these measures is also necessary.

The annual monga - the hunger season before the annual harvest - needs a permanent solution to reduce the vulnerability of the rural poor. With a high vulnerability to climate change, Bangladesh needs to step up its investment in sustainable agriculture. While the government has taken some good steps forward - through subsidising inputs and making agriculture loans more available - much more will need to be done to address the potentially devastating impacts of climate. The rights of women to own agricultural land also needs to be championed.

HungerFREE Scorecard

Country: Brazil

Leader: President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva

Overall Score: **63/100** Overall Grade: **B (A-E)** Overall Rank: **1/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment	
Hunger	С	Unacceptable hunger as Middle Income Country	
Legal Framework	Α	Right to food legislation enacted	
Sustainable Agriculture	С	Low budget to agriculture	
Social Protection	В	High social protection coverage	
LATIN AMERICA Brazil			

Remarks:

Brazil is at the top of this scorecard for many reasons. President Lula has demonstrated that great advances in hunger reduction can be made in a very short time, if political will exists. The 'Fome Zero' (Zero Hunger) programme launched an impressive package of policies to address hunger – including cash transfers, food banks, community kitchens, school meals prepared with locally produced food and village markets. The 'Fome Zero' project has reached over 44 million hungry Brazilians. This has helped to reduce child malnutrition by 73 percent. 138

In terms of instituting the right to food, Brazil is also exemplary. The Federal Law on Food and Nutritional Security (LOSAN 2006) establishes a system to monitor the delivery of the right to food through the National Council on Food and Nutrition Security. It brings together ministries responsible for ensuring food security with civil society groups for this task. The government has also established a Ministry for Combating Hunger to streamline and lead their initiatives. The social safety net programme - 'Bolsa Familia' – which gives poor families a much-needed cash boost - is also helping reduce hunger and child malnutrition (although coverage could be improved).

Many of these policies have historical roots in demands from Brazilian social movements.

Although Brazil tops our Scorecard, in many respects this is the least we would expect, especially given Brazil's relative wealth and middle income status. There are still areas where Brazil can improve. Challenges remain in combating hunger amongst landless labourers and smallholder farmers, who would benefit from larger landholdings and increased support. They have been eclipsed¹³⁹ by the focus on large scale, export-orientated agriculture.¹⁴⁰ It is imperative that small family farmers are also protected from the expansion of Brazil's massive industrial agrofuels programmes.¹⁴¹

HungerFREE Scorecard

Country: Burundi

Leader: President Pierre Nkurunziza

Overall Score: **13/100**Overall Grade: **E (A-E)**Overall Rank: **28/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment	
Hunger	Е	High prevalence of hunger	
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation	
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture	
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection	
AFRICA Burundi			

Remarks:

More than 70 percent of Burundi's population experiences extreme hunger – with only the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Eritrea reporting a higher rate of distress among their populations. This places Burundi at a dismal second to last on the HungerFREE scorecard.

The country is still recovering from 13 years of civil war which resulted in hundreds of thousands of people fleeing the country. The conflict destroyed communications and social infrastructure such as roads, schools, water sources, health facilities and homes – and damaged livelihoods.

Since the return to democratic governance in 2005, refugees have been returning to Burundi. The country has the second-highest population density in Africa, coupled with skyrocketing population growth – which could double in the next 20 years – and could lead to a land crisis of epic proportions. To tackle this problem, the country will need to introduce sweeping land reform and boost agriculture production.

But there is hope. In August 2009 the government signed up to the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) agreement to invest 10 percent of their budget in agriculture, signaling the political will to start investing more in this crucial sector of the economy. With the support of the international donor community, it is hoped that this nation – among the poorest in the world in terms of per capita income – will begin to reverse its desperate levels of widespread hunger. There is also a patchy school feeding programme in place - scaling this up, along with other social protection measures, will be vital for tackling the scourge of malnutrition.

Country: Cambodia

Leader: Prime Minister Hun Sen

Overall Score: **35/100** Overall Grade: **D (A-E)** Overall Rank: **19/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
A PA	ASIA	C Sand



Remarks:

The Cambodian government has done much to reduce hunger since emerging from three decades of civil conflict and economic stagnation. But Cambodia continues to be a food-deficit country.¹⁴³

Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy and employs 70 percent of the population. He population. He government has highlighted the promotion of agricultural development as its priority for poverty reduction, the landlessness of nearly 20 percent of the rural population needs to be addressed for this to unfold. He Budget to agriculture is also extremely low, and needs to start reflecting the development strategies.

Building climate-resilience in the long term is crucial with more than 79,000 hectares of farmland already affected by the recent drought. As one of the most disaster prone countries in Southeast Asia,¹⁴⁶ the cycles of flooding and drought further impoverish the poor who need comprehensive social protection measures against hunger. Therefore, as well as increasing its budget to agriculture, the government must also focus on sustainable, climate appropriate agricultural practices. The government could do much more to create and implement much-needed social protection measures to help the 26 percent of the population who are hungry.¹⁴⁷

Country: China

Leader: **President Hu Jintao**

Overall Score: **59/100**Overall Grade: **C (A-E)**Overall Rank: **2/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	В	Low prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	А	High budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection



Remarks:

China commendably reduced the numbers of undernourished people between 1990 and 2001 by 58 million and today less than 9 percent of the population is hungry. They also achieved a low child malnutrition rate, halving it from 19 percent in 1990 to just under 7 percent in 2005. This is a good record compared with similar lower middle income countries on our HungerFREE Scorecard – and places China in second place.

Some have pointed to a firm focus on smallholders and the equitable distribution of land as the key to unlocking China's agricultural potential.

During the early 1980's, the government distributed land to small-scale farmers on a broadly egalitarian basis. At the same time, it introduced a strong package of government support to smallholders, through agricultural inputs, infrastructure support, public procurement policies and grain reserves, among other measures. ¹⁴⁹ It also ramped up spending on public sector agricultural research.

China can now potentially feed its 1.3 billion people – which is an amazing feat in a country with so little arable land. Overall, the country reduced the percentage of its population classified as hungry by a third in a single decade during the 1990s. However, heavy reliance on chemical inputs is causing environmental damage that could threaten future yields. Recent steps by government to test and promote more sustainable approaches are encouraging, but need to be scaled up quickly.

China is also taking strides forward on social protection – but could still do more. The minimum living standard (dibao) initiative has been successful in urban areas, but much work remains to extend the benefits to rural areas. Social protection (including unemployment insurance, health insurance, and pension coverage) should be extended to migrants and other workers employed in China's rapidly growing informal economy. 152

Country: **Democratic Republic of Congo**

Leader: President Joseph Kabila

Overall Score: 9/100 Overall Grade: E (A-E) Overall Rank: 29 / 29

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	Е	High prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Negligable social protection
AFRI	CA	Democratic Repubic of Congo

Remarks:

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) scores very low on our league table on almost all counts and is at the bottom of our HungerFREE Scorecard. With over 76 percent of its population chronically hungry, the DRC has the worst hunger statistics in the world.¹⁵³

In many respects this is not surprising. Since 1996, the DRC has been cursed by conflict which has claimed the lives of around five million people and devastated the country. Despite the official cessation of conflict, many people continue to live in crisis conditions in the east of the country, where more than 1.6 million people were forced to flee their homes recently. It is hard to see how the DRC can resolve chronic food insecurity until real peace is established.

Investment in agriculture is low, at below 5 percent.¹⁵⁶ With the cost of basic foods continuing to climb and the global economic crisis hitting the country, life is growing increasingly difficult.¹⁵⁷ There is no social protection provided by the government; despite this being desperately needed.

The great tragedy in the DRC is that the country has an abundance of natural resources and mineral reserves that could be better channeled for development. There are seven million hectares of potentially productive land, but only one million hectares is currently being used for permanent crops. It is scandalous that in a country with such natural wealth, more than six out of ten people do not get the food they require and acute malnutrition hovers at 16 percent¹⁵⁸ of the population.

Country: Ethiopia

Leader: Prime Minister Meles Zenawi

Overall Score: **36/100**Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **18/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	D	High prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	D	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	А	High budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
AFRICA		Ethiopia

Remarks:

Famine is once again stalking Ethiopia with 7.5 million Ethiopians currently food insecure. This is a shameful tragedy given the recent efforts by the Ethiopian government to inject investment in agriculture and collaborate with donors to provide social protection.

The government, in line with the Maputo agreement, has been investing 10% of its expenditure in agriculture over the past few years. This was beginning to pay off - in 2006, there was a 10 percent growth in agriculture, with surpluses being exported.

However, Ethiopia's dependency on rain-fed agriculture is a problem for such a drought-prone country. And the current drought, which has been recurring for years, is having a devastating impact. Additional investment is required for irrigation and water management, as part of the increased spending on agriculture. But the drought is not the only cause of the famine. Although agricultural production has increased overall, it has declined per citizen as the population grows rapidly. He government's current land policy, while well intentioned, may be partly to blame. It has led, in particular, to farmers fearing they will lose their land. This discourages careful land management and increases unsustainable practices. He government has begun certifying land holders – the impact of this is yet to be seen.

Ethiopia has also tried to tackle hunger problems with the launch in 2005 of the Productive Safety Net program, which provides seven million Ethiopians - nearly a tenth of the population - with food or cash. There were signs that it was starting to work – albeit that it needed to be hugely scaled up to really tackle hunger - when the double blow of drought and soaring food prices hit the affordability of the scheme.

Country: Gambia

Leader: President Yahya Jammeh

Overall Score: **44/100**Overall Grade: **C (A-E)**Overall Rank: **8/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Medium budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
		A F R I C A Gambia

Remarks:

The Gambia's dependence on imports of its main staple - rice - meant that it was hit hard last year by the food price hikes. ¹⁶⁷ The country's president responded by calling on Gambians to 'reach food self sufficiency'. ¹⁶⁸ Promisingly, The Gambia's overall agricultural productivity has grown significantly in recent years – surpassing the Maputo target to increase productivity by at least 6 percent. If agricultural development is targeted towards reaching national food security this could have a powerful impact on The Gambia's stubbornly stagnant hunger figures, which have remained static for 10 years. ¹⁶⁹ The Gambia scores relatively well on investing in agriculture, but its government is capable of ensuring its rating moves above 8th place on the HungerFREE Scorecard. ¹⁷⁰

The Gambia's legislation on land contributes to the country's low score. The Gambia needs to address women's land rights issues if it is to reach its stated aim of boosting rice production. Women are the traditional rice growers in the Gambia. However, to grow more rice they need increased land ownership and control. Land tends to be controlled by men, who are responsible for allocating or lending it to women. There is therefore little incentive for women to invest more in the land. In addition, women tend to have little support for inputs, such as credit, water, seeds and tools, compared to men.

Country: Ghana

Leader: President John Atta Mills

Overall Score: **53/100**Overall Grade: **C (A-E)**Overall Rank: **3/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	В	Low prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Medium budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
	A	Ghana

Remarks:

Ghana has made great strides forward in tackling hunger – standing out as a shining star in Africa. Ghana is the only Sub-Saharan country to have met the Millennium Development Goal of halving hunger by 2015, dramatically decreasing the number of hungry people from 5.4 million in 1990 to 1.9 million in 2005.¹⁷¹ It is hugely encouraging to see a less-developed country ranking so high (number 3) on our HungerFREE Scorecard.

Placing food security high on the political agenda and at the heart of its development strategies has been part of the Ghanaian government's solution.¹⁷² It has focused on giving incentives to smallholder farmers, which has helped. Creating relative food self-sufficiency has also contributed. This has undoubtedly supported progress on hunger reduction and led to a large contribution from the agriculture sector - 34 percent – to overall GDP. The Ghana School Feeding Programme has helped reduce malnutrition among children in the country, but it still has a way to go to reach the stated objective of 100 percent coverage in 2010.¹⁷³

Ghana was relatively cushioned from the worst impacts of the food price hikes in 2008, as it produces much of its national food needs; however, the United Nations has expressed concern about the impact of the increase in the amount of rice the country imports.¹⁷⁴ The Ghanaian government responded by pledging to continue increasing investment in agriculture - announcing a package of support to farmers to boost maize production by 42 percent and rice by 23 percent.¹⁷⁵ This should also bring them in line with the 10 percent target of the Maputo Declaration and help Ghana reach its development goal of attaining middle-income country status by 2015, with agriculture as a springboard.¹⁷⁶

Country: Guatemala

Leader: President Álvaro Colom

Overall Score: **48/100**Overall Grade: **C (A-E)**Overall Rank: **6/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Α	Rigt to food legislation enacted
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	D	Medium social protection
		Guatemala LATIN AMERICA

Remarks:

Until recently, Guatemala had one of the lowest levels of social spending in Latin America. The recent introduction of 'Mi Familia Progresa' (a cash transfer scheme for poor families) demonstrates a new commitment to reducing extreme poverty and hunger. Guatemala has also introduced a national school feeding program, currently reaching about 70 percent of schools, which aims for universal coverage.¹⁷⁷

This is important in Guatemala, as the country has a long history of social exclusion and extreme inequality. Guatemala has the fourth-highest levels of chronic child malnutrition in the world and severe poverty, particularly among the indigenous population.¹⁷⁸ Historical inequalities of land ownership means that the rural poor are struggling to access productive resources, while a small elite continues to control the arable land¹⁷⁹ for exports such as coffee and sugar.

Sadly, while the government has been taking these faltering steps, Guatemala has been battered by drought, food price increases and the economic crisis. This has deepened pre-existing malnutrition and created a famine in Eastern Guatemala. 180 Expansion of pre-existing social protection programmes could help halt and reverse this.

The food crisis has thrown a spotlight on ingrained problems in Guatemala's export-orientated agricultural model with ownership concentrated in the hands of a few. The expansion of agro-fuels threatens to make this worse. A comprehensive rural development strategy, land reform and the promotion of investment in small-scale agriculture are essential in the longer term. A rural development policy has just been approved and could help address these problems; now the challenge is to ensure sufficient budget is allocated to bring this to life in 2010. The commendable efforts of the Guatemalan government will hopefully begin to soon bear fruit.

Country: Guinea Bissau

Leader: President Malam Bacai Sanhá

Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **23 / 29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
		AFRICA Guinea Bissau

Remarks:

The consequence of years of political volatility, numerous coups and all-out military conflict between 1998 and 1999 is that 32 percent of Guinea Bissau's population is hungry. The conflict severely damaged the country's infrastructure, 183 and it is estimated it is responsible for a 17 percent decrease in agricultural production. 184 Cereal production decreased due to asset destruction, and a lack of seeds and fertilisers; and rice production decreased due to field deterioration or destruction. 185 The country imports about half the rice it consumes. Rice is a national staple - making Guinnea Bissau particularly vulnerable to price hikes during 2008. 186

Agricultural spending is very low – less than five percent¹⁸⁷ – while military spending accounts for 25 percent of its national budget.¹⁸⁸ The government could clearly do much more to prioritise food security. These factors combined give Guinea Bissau a low score on the HungerFREE Scorecard.

Country: **Haiti**

Leader: President René Préval

Overall Score: **23/100**Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **27/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	D	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	D	No right to food legislation in progress
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Negligable social protection
Social Protection E Negligable social protection Haiti LATIN AMERICA		

Remarks:

Despite a very small reduction in Haiti's hunger levels in recent years, more than half of the country's population goes hungry every day. 189 In 2008 deadly food riots, which killed at least 5 people, illustrated the desperate situation that Haitians faced with rising food prices. Haiti relies heavily on imported food and was hit by a mixture of rising global prices and a bad hurricane season. 190 But this also unmasked years of underinvestment by the government in effective polices to feed their people and an over reliance on imported food. Largely as a result of US trade deals and IFI policies, Haiti now imports about 75 percent of its food supply. 191 It is essential that Haiti reduces its external food dependency and starts to build food security.

Whilst hunger is pervasive in both urban and rural centres, approximately 70 percent of Haiti's population depend on the land for survival. The state and the international community have neglected agricultural development in Haiti - investment in rural areas and sustainable agriculture is urgently needed. 193

Haiti also needs to implement cash transfer and social protection measures, like those implemented by Brazil and Mexico, to reduce its horrific malnutrition rates. The human right to food is enshrined in Haiti's constitution, requiring the state to take concrete and immediate steps to resolve the problem, but this does not translate into legal commitments. Efforts have been made by the by the Coordination Nationale de la Sécurité Alimentaire (CSNA): a cross-ministerial effort to coordinate assistance programs; to monitor food security; to issue regular reports on the situation and to draft a national food security strategy. However, Haiti needs to do much more to address their terrible hunger levels and pull themselves up from third from bottom on our Scorecard.

Country: India

Leader: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh

Overall Score: 33/100 Overall Grade: D (A-E) Overall Rank: 22/29

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	Е	Unacceptable hunger as Middle Income Country
Legal Framework	D	Right to food legislation in progress
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Medium budget to agriculture
Social Protection	С	Medium social protection
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Remarks:

Half of the districts in India are suffering from drought after the failure of the 2009 monsoon.¹⁹⁴ The increase in food prices has only made matters worse.¹⁹⁵ Forty seven percent of children under the age of six already suffer from malnourishment.¹⁹⁶

Now in its second term Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's government, with its unprecedented mandate, has a unique opportunity to cement a legacy. ¹⁹⁷ The enactment and effective implementation of suitable legislation on the right to food can potentially make a difference to the lives of millions of people who go to bed hungry every night. ¹⁹⁸

The 'farm loan waiver' enabled a boost in investment to agriculture in 2008. 199 But it was a one-off intervention 200 and longer term efforts need to be instituted, especially to support smallholder farmers and landless labourers. 201 More also needs to be done to protect the rights of people and natural resources. Attempts to exploit natural resources, such as minerals, forests and rivers, on an industrial scale has led to horrific displacements and has pushed people into poverty - a whopping 1.6 million people were displaced by 'development' projects in four states alone. 202

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act promises to shelter millions from the onslaught of the drought if implemented effectively. But there have been delays in the payment of wages. When people are already on the brink of starvation this is simply unacceptable.²⁰³

Hunger exists not because there is not enough food in India, but because people cannot access it.²⁰⁴ The Indian government faces a tremendous challenge to protect the entitlements of the impoverished. Effective implementation of a range of interventions, from school meals to old age pensions, holds the key to reducing hunger. Children, in particular, who form two-fifths²⁰⁵ of the population are the most vulnerable to malnutrition.

Country: **Kenya**

Leader: President Mwai Kibaki

Overall Score: **42/100**Overall Grade: **C (A-E)**Overall Rank: **11/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	E	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
AFRICA Kenya		

Remarks:

Crop failures, a doubling of food prices over the past two years and political and civil unrest have left Kenya facing a food crisis of devastating proportions, with one in ten Kenyans in urgent need of outside help according to the World Food Programme.²⁰⁶

With dire climate change predictions threatening future food insecurity, Kenya is in an emergency.

Although there are signs that the Kenyan government is beginning to respond - it is simply not doing enough. More decisive action is urgently required. The proposed 'National Food and Nutrition Policy' suggests an overarching framework for tackling hunger, but this is still in draft form and requires approval by the cabinet.

Until recently, the government committed a paltry 4 percent of its national budget to agriculture. In 2008 the government pledged to double this spend to 8 percent.²⁰⁷ However, at present, this spend includes portions of a number of other ministry budgets (for instance, the entire budget of the Ministry of Water and Irrigation) - making it difficult to determine the real increase in spending on agriculture.²⁰⁸ Promisingly, new plans have been unveiled to fund irrigation projects - a much needed step in drought-prone Kenya.

Kenya's recently drafted National Land Policy could also herald muchneeded reforms for women's rights to land. But again, the land policy has yet to be passed by Parliament before it can be fully implemented.²⁰⁹

Kenya also needs to do much more to protect its population from famine through introducing social protection schemes.

Country: Lesotho

Leader: Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili

Overall Score: **41/100** Overall Grade: **C (A-E)** Overall Rank: **13/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Unacceptable hunger as Middle Income Country
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	D	Low social protection
	AF	Lesotho

Remarks:

Lesotho is the only country in the Southern Africa region with an increasing rate of hunger in 2009. While good rains have blessed the rest of the region, they came too little and too late for Lesotho's harvest. And the 10 percent drop in maize production – off the back of a series of bad harvests – is having tragic consequences, pushing an additional 100,000 people into hunger and driving up the number of people without access to adequate food to nearly half a million.²¹⁰ With a population of just 1.8 million, this amounts to a national emergency. Meanwhile,42 percent of the country's children are suffering from chronic malnutrition.

While erratic weather has affected Lesotho's harvests, the overall decline is symptomatic of the government's lack of support and investment in agriculture. Currently, less than 5 percent of national budget is spent on agriculture – half the recommended 10 percent in the Maputo agreement.²¹¹ This results in Lesotho performing badly in our investment in agriculture scorecard indicator. And it is taking its toll. From 1980 to 2004 the ability of cereal production to meet national needs dropped from 80 percent to 30 percent.²¹² The government has to invest more in agriculture. To solve the problems of severe soil erosion and erratic rain patterns, Lesotho must also ensure its investment supports smallholders with irrigation and organic fertilisers to revitalise depleted soil.

Lesotho performs much better in its social protection schemes. Following the introduction of a universal pension scheme, the number of older people who report that they never feel hunger has increased from 19 percent to 48 percent.²¹³ In April 2009, the government of Lesotho also introduced child grants to orphans and vulnerable children in three districts²¹⁴ - this is also a welcome step in the right direction.

Country: Liberia

Leader: President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf

Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **23 / 29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
		AFRICA

Remarks:

Liberia is recovering from a civil war spanning 14 years, during which nearly one million Liberians fled the country and another million were killed. Unemployment in Liberia is a staggering 85 percent²¹⁵ and hunger affects about 40 percent of the population.²¹⁶ The destruction of the agriculture sector during the civil war constitutes one of the country's biggest challenges - its recovery is one of its greatest opportunities.²¹⁷

Encouragingly, the government has pledged to raise agricultural production over the next four years, with the aim of achieving 70 percent self-sufficiency in food.²¹⁸ And this is very achievable, as Liberia is blessed with rich soil and 90 percent arable land. However, the government will need to raise its agricultural budget to increase production – at present spending is way below the Maputo agreement 10 percent, at around 5 percent.²¹⁹

Although Liberia scores badly in our indicator on women's access to land, the government has recently signalled its intention to make land reform a priority. In August 2009, President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf set up a Land Commission to help resettle refugees²²⁰ – a much-needed step to avoid future land conflict – which will also investigate ways of removing existing barriers to women's land ownership.²²¹

Country: **Malawi**

Leader: President Bingu wa Mutharika

Overall Score: **51/100**Overall Grade: **C (A-E)**Overall Rank: **5/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	С	Right to food legislation in progress
Sustainable Agriculture	Α	High budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
AF	RICA	Malawi

Remarks:

Malawi scores a well deserved 'A' for investment in agriculture and comes in at 5th position in our HungerFREE scorecard – punching way above its weight, despite being one of poorest nations on earth. Through increased government support to smallholder farmers, Malawi produced bumper crops in 2006 and 2007, doubling production in one year alone.²²² In the preceeding years, crippling hunger and famine had stalked the country. The government is currently spending beyond the 10 percent of budget allocation stipulated in the Maputo agreement.²²³

A package of subsidised seeds and fertilisers introduced by the Malawian government has been heralded by many as an example for the rest of the continent to follow for an 'African Green Revolution'. But this scheme has soaked up about 15 percent of Malawi's national budget and accounted for about 80 percent of agriculture spending,²²⁴ raising questions of affordability in the face of growing fertiliser prices. There is, therefore, a need to build on current successes and invest in other areas, while finding cheaper alternatives. Malawi can do more. And the government looks set to do just that; recently scaling up a nationwide campaign to use cheaper, more sustainable organic composts as an alternative to synthetic fertilisers. The government must also be commended in its efforts for promoting irrigation - which is hugely significant in the rain-fed agricultural system. They are also supporting farmers through reinstating grain reserves, which cushion against the hungry season and helps buy surplus produce from farmers. These measures, coupled with state support and political will have all played their part in reducing hunger in the country.

Malawi also performs well in other indicators, for example it has national right to food legislation. However, social protection programmes are vital for reaching the hungriest, most vulnerable sections of society and the country lacks these.

Country: Mozambique

Leader: President Armando Guebuza

Overall Score: **42/100** Overall Grade: **C (A-E)** Overall Rank: **11/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	D	Righ to food legislation in progress
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Medium budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
	AFRIC	Mozambique

Remarks:

As global food prices spiralled in 2008, Mozambique was hit hard. However, when they began decreasing, prices continued to rise in Mozambique throughout 2009 as a result of two years of drought and floods.²²⁵ This has left close to half a million people hungry during 2008 and through to the start of 2009.²²⁶

Mozambique was particularly susceptible to rising prices as it imports large quantities of food, a consequence of years of underinvestment in agriculture. With agriculture as the main economic activity, the government has to invest more in sustainable agriculture. Agricultural spending is just 6 percent of Mozambique's national budget, with little targeted at the real needs of smallholders. 228

The Mozambican government scores much better on land rights, with some of the most progressive land laws in Africa. However, much more needs to be done to enforce these laws and ensure they are understood by rural communities and policy makers, in order to avoid unfair deals and conflict between tenants and landowners. This is particularly pressing given government-backed biofuels projects, which threaten land grabs from smallholder farmers.

Although the government explicitly mentions the right to food in its 5-year programme (PARPA II 2006-2009), it could go much further in implementing this – speeding up the passing of the right to food legislation which is being drafted, would be a major step in the right direction.

Country: Nepal

Leader: Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal

Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **19 / 29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	D	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
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Remarks:

Changing weather patterns in the Himalayan republic²²⁹ are leaving farmers with reduced yields, an inability to properly feed themselves and debt.²³⁰ Climate change and the subsequent glacial retreat is taking its toll with more frequent droughts expected, making it harder to irrigate crops.

At this crucial juncture, investment in agriculture needs to be boosted. The interim constitution needs back-up legislation to protect the right to food and livelihoods.

Inequalities of caste and gender need to be reversed. Women's ownership of land, necessary for family food security, currently stands at a dismal 10.8 percent.²³¹ The recent announcement of an 'Employment Guarantee Program' to address the needs of the poor is a progressive step - its effective implementation is crucial. The old-age allowance program, although universal in principle, needs to expand its reach in practice.

Nepal needs to sustain its momentum to reduce the proportion of the hungry of its relatively small population. That will be the real test for the world's youngest republic.

Country: Nigeria

Leader: President Umaru Yar'Adua

Overall Score: 44/100 Overall Grade: C (A-E) Overall Rank: 8/29

Indicator	Grade	Comment
indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Unnaceptable hunger as Middle Income Country
Legal Framework	D	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Medium budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
	Aı	Nigeria

Remarks:

Nigeria fares relatively well in our hunger index, mainly due to a dramatic reduction in the number of hungry people to 10 percent of the population. It also scores well on investment in agriculture. However, its increases to investment in agriculture are quite recent and they could go much further.

In the 1970's Nigeria was a major food exporter, but has recently become one of the world's biggest importers of food staples, particularly rice and wheat. As prices soared in 2008 the country panicked and the government shifted gear. Funds earmarked for importing food were reassigned to national agriculture programmes to increase self-sufficiency. Nigeria's 2009 budget increase sets them on track to meet the Maputo 10 percent target.²³² However, there are concerns that its commercial agriculture credit scheme (CACS) doesn't support the poorest in the population.

While the Nigerian government must be commended for its response, the legacy of years of under-investment has left pockets of extreme food insecurity with about 27 percent of children under the age of 5 suffering from malnutrition. However, national household surveys put this figure much higher at 38 percent.²³³ This is unacceptable in a country with such rich oil resources. In a country with such widespread inequality, eradicating hunger will entail targeting the poorest through social welfare measures.

Country: Pakistan

Leader: Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani

Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **26 / 29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	D	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	D	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection



Remarks:

While the Pakistani constitution explicitly mentions the right to food, this is not yet backed up by effective legislation. Rising food prices, especially of sugar,²³⁴ stagnant incomes and growing unemployment have worsened the food security situation. The proportion of hungry in the country has swelled and child malnutrition remains very high at 31 percent. Even the Punjab, the breadbasket of Pakistan, has struggled to protect its population against high food prices and low household incomes.²³⁵ Pakistan could do much more to feed its nation – and for this reason it scores fourth from bottom in our HungerFREE Scorecard.

Government investment in the agriculture sector is negligible and needs significantly more support. Women's ownership and control of land is also heavily constrained by practices in Pakistan. While the draft Agriculture Policy aims to improve farm production and increase arable acreage, there are still great challenges for modernising agriculture and supporting smallholders. Despite half the population being engaged in agriculture, and despite fertile plains and an extensive irrigation network, Pakistan still imports food. The government has a low record of investment in agriculture and needs to invest much more.

Safety net programmes like the Benazir Income Support Programme are important initiatives but a comprehensive strategy for social protection is also necessary.

Country: Rwanda

Leader: President Paul Kagame

Overall Score: **38/100**Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **17/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	D	Right to food legislation in progress
Sustainable Agriculture	С	Medium budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
AF	RICA	Rwanda

Remarks:

Rwanda has taken remarkable strides forward since the 1994 genocide. But its legacy has left around 40 percent of households food insecure, with nearly 50 percent of children malnourished.²³⁶

But in terms of effort and policies being devised, this former war-ravaged country deserves recognition. Rwanda could rise up our ranks next year from its current 17th position once it starts implementing its new policies. The poverty reduction and development strategy (EDPRS) for 2008-2012 gives priority to the creation of improved safety nets for the poorest, as well as to agriculture. The government also plans to launch a national school feeding program.²³⁷

In 2008, Rwanda experienced GDP growth levels of around 11 percent. Much of this has been attributed to increased agricultural production, stimulated by government subsidies for agricultural inputs and irrigation systems.²³⁸ The Rwandan government has committed to further agricultural development, and is currently implementing the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP).²³⁹ Rwanda has significantly raised agricultural spending from 5 to 7 percent in recent years and this is being injected into land tenure, seed, fertilisers, infrastructure, storage, transport and finance projects.²⁴⁰

However, there is still a long road to recovery ahead for Rwanda. High population density and growth have led to deforestation and soil erosion²⁴¹ and further population growth is likely to increase pressure on land. Much needs to be done to encourage the process of land registration to secure land rights for smallholder farmers - with only 1.2 percent of land currently registered. Land tenure systems would also strengthen women's' ability to assert their land rights, given the difficulty of implementing land equality laws.²⁴²

Country: Senegal

Leader: President Abdoulaye Wade

Overall Score: 44/100 Overall Grade: C (A-E) Overall Rank: 8/29

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	В	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	С	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
		AFRICA

Remarks:

Senegal was one of the countries hardest hit by the spike in food prices in 2008, as more than 80 percent of its rice and almost all of its wheat was imported at the time. Senegalese food prices spiraled as much as 100 percent over a 4 year period. As a result, violent protests spilled onto the streets.²⁴³

Senegal's liberalised economy allowed the flooding of imported rice and wheat into the country, which undermined and reduced local production, and decreased reserves available to lean on as global prices rose.²⁴⁴ President Wade responded to the crisis by announcing ambitious plans to increase rice production five-fold to meet 100 percent of the country's food needs by 2015,²⁴⁵ introducing government seed, fertiliser and farming equipment subsidies.²⁴⁶ While this plan for national food security is laudable in principle, experts claim that the government has not set out a credible vision for how this will be achieved.²⁴⁷

Senegal scores high on investment in agriculture, with the budget steadily increasing over recent years. According to The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), they have now surpassed the 10 percent target, ²⁴⁸ although other sources put this figure as lower. ²⁴⁹

Senegal also needs to reconcile other policies to create a synergised right to food approach. For example, ambitious plans to expand biofuel production have created new pressures on so-called 'marginal' lands, upon which communities depend for food security.

Country: Sierra Leone

Leader: President Ernest Bai Koroma

Overall Score: **30/100** Overall Grade: **D (A-E)** Overall Rank: **25/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	D	High prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	С	Medium budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
		AFRICA Sierra Leone

Remarks:

A decade-long civil war in Sierra Leone, which devastated the country's economy, destroying agriculture and causing unimaginable suffering for millions of people, has left close to 50 percent of the population hungry,²⁵⁰ 10 percent of children suffering from acute malnutrition and every fourth child dying before the age of five.²⁵¹ This, in part, explains why Sierra Leone is placed 5th from the bottom of our HungerFREE Scorecard.

However, there is hope. The return of displaced rural populations to their homes, which is beginning to take place across most of the country, is helping agricultural recovery. Agricultural budgets have risen in recent years from 1.6 to 7.7 percent of the national budget.²⁵² In August this year the government launched its National Sustainable Agricultural Development Plan (NSADP), aimed at reaching the 10 percent Maputo target.²⁵³

However the government could do more to tackle the horrifically high levels of extreme malnutrition and negligible social protection programmes, which leave it scoring low on our HungerFREE Scorecard.

Progress has also been made on securing womens' land rights. Women have traditionally had little ownership or control of land in Sierra Leone. In 2007 the government introduced new legislation to ensure that women could inherit land, whether or not the owner has left a will.²⁵⁴ However, the law is still relatively unknown in rural areas and conflicts with customary practices – so implementation has been slow.

Country: South Africa

Leader: President Jacob Zuma

Overall Score: **40/100** Overall Grade: **D (A-E)** Overall Rank: **16/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	D	Unacceptable hunger as Middle Income Country
Legal Framework	С	Right to food legislation in progress
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	С	Medium social protection
		AFRICA South Africa

Remarks:

South Africa boasts possibly the strongest constitutional right to food guarantees in the world. This frames an impressive package of social security initiatives including old age pensions, child support and disability grants and free school meals.

Taken together, these polices have been widely recognised as having a positive impact on reducing extreme hunger, ²⁵⁵ and gives South Africa a high rank on legal commitments and social protection. Huge gains have been made in reducing child malnutrition and mortality since the end of apartheid, including through the introduction of child benefit schemes. However, some public health experts believe that severe malnutrition is on the rise again among South Africa's children, despite official statistics to the contrary. It is estimated that around 14 million people are vulnerable to some level of food insecurity. ²⁵⁶ Given South Africa's middle income status it could do much more to change this and the country should not be ranking 16th on the HungerFREE Scorecard.

Where the country does not score well is on agriculture. Far too little funding is committed to agriculture: and what is allocated is not being used to support smallholder famers and is channeled into unsustainable practices. Unfortunately, the South African government has done too little to rectify a racially skewed pattern of land ownership created by the apartheid regime; with a small number of commercial operations run predominately by white farmers and a large number of subsistence farms run by black farmers, with virtually zero support for the latter.²⁵⁷ The government's agriculture budgets are also unacceptably low. However, the new Jacob Zuma-led government has made positive noises: announcing increased budgets to smallholder farmers and faster and deeper land reform programs. It is hoped these programmes breathe much-needed life into South Africa's constitutional and legislative guarantees.²⁵⁸

Country: Tanzania

Leader: President Jakaya Kikwete

Overall Score: **41/100** Overall Grade: **C (A-E)** Overall Rank: **13/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	С	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Medium budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Negligable social protection
A.F	RICA	Tanzania

Remarks:

An estimated 35 percent of Tanzanians go hungry during an average year,²⁵⁹ but recently this situation has been exacerbated by an extended drought in the centre and north of the country.²⁶⁰

While the government has been steadily increasing agriculture financing and has a good sector plan, it could do much more to redress years of neglect.²⁶¹ The budget for agriculture plummeted after liberalisation to 2.8 percent in 2001, from around 16 percent in the 1980s.²⁶² Since then, it has risen steadily, to around 7 percent this year.²⁶³ While the Tanzanian government should be congratulated on this increase, they could still do more to reach the 10 percent required by the Maputo Declaration.

Much more of this budget could be targeted at smallholders, particularly through better credit and extension services – too much is currently being swallowed up by the provision of chemical fertilisers; support for organic fertilisers must also be introduced. ²⁶⁴ Critical to the future of Tanzania's agriculture will be improving water management and irrigation – vital in defending a rural economy which the World Food Programme describes as "highly susceptible to climatic shocks". ²⁶⁵

Tanzania also needs to rationalise its policies. The government-backed expansion of agro-fuels has shifted more than 600,000 hectares of fertile land suitable for food production into the cultivation of agrofuel crops. This has led to an unregulated scramble for arable land by companies, with no regulatory framework to secure land for food production which is unacceptable in the face of a looming famine.²⁶⁶

Country: **Uganda**

Leader: President Yoweri Museveni

Overall Score: **46/100**Overall Grade: **C (A-E)**Overall Rank: **7/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	В	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	С	Right to food legislation in progress
Sustainable Agriculture	D	Low budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Negligable social protection
A F R	ICA	Uganda

Remarks:

In July 2009 the Ugandan government acknowledged that food shortages in parts of the country have reached famine levels,²⁶⁷ and with hunger figures predicted to reach 1.5 million this year,²⁶⁸ the situation is grim. This is a sad reversal on the decreases in hunger that Uganda has achieved – from 23 percent to 15 percent in a decade.

National leaders blame the famine on weather calamities. While drought, climate change and soaring local prices have intensified the food crisis, there is more the government could do to tackle hunger. And given the climate predictions for Uganda, the government is going to need to do much more and fast. For example, coffee – the mainstay of the Ugandan agriculture export market – is likely to become all but impossible to grow in most areas of Uganda in the next 50 years.²⁶⁹

Uganda could also increase its agricultural spending – and spend it better and tackle corruption.²⁷⁰ Agriculture receives less than 5 percent of the total annual budget.²⁷¹ But the agriculture minister recently announced new support for traditional farming, with farmers being encouraged to grow a range of staple foods – including plantains, sweet potatoes, grains and beans - with much more sustainable methods being introduced.²⁷² This strategy, if fully pursed, may be what Uganda needs to adapt to climate change.

What is also required is the full implementation of the Food and Nutrition Bill, which sets out a legislative framework for the right to food. This is an exemplary policy which, if implemented, could assist in averting future food crises.²⁷³ Sadly, the bill is currently stuck in parliament.²⁷⁴ It is time for political differences and interests to be put aside for the sake of the millions facing hunger in Uganda.

Country: Vietnam

Leader: Prime Minister Nguyễn Tấn Dũng

Overall Score: **51/100**Overall Grade: **C (A-E)**Overall Rank: **4/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	В	Low prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Medium budget to agriculture
Social Protection	D	Low social protection



Remarks:

The government has done well to reduce the levels of poverty and hunger in Vietnam. Much of this progress was as a result of huge strides in agriculture in the 1980's and 1990's. Through equitable land redistribution to smallholders and support for their farming, they brought income and food to some three quarters of the population.²⁷⁵ Investment in irrigation is reaping rewards with an agricultural surplus, swollen by the constant downpour in recent months. As a result, exports of rice are expected to be spectacular. But this also offers an opportunity to invest in eradicating hunger at home and for increasing support to national needs.

There are concerns that the government's strategy to reduce the labour force in agriculture from 70 percent to 30 percent by 2020, and to turn agriculture towards market oriented production, could have a negative impact on the poor.²⁷⁶ Vietnam still has millions living in hunger - 14 percent of its population - despite being one of the world's largest rice exporters. The challenge is to boost investment for agriculture and protect the poor.²⁷⁷ Vietnam mustn't be allowed to go back on the hard-won battle against hunger – which is reflected in its 4th place in our HungerFREE Scorecard.

This is particularly so as environmental degradation and climate change could prove to be an extreme challenge to the nation. In Vietnam's Mekong River Delta, sea levels could rise as a result of climate change and potentially submerge half of the region's agricultural land.²⁷⁸ The government must also pay more attention to protecting the environment and the sustainability of the nation's food production.

Vietnam scores less well on social protection. It does have old age and health insurance - this is a 'non-contributory' entitlement and needs to be universalised by 2010, while other schemes should be introduced.

Country: Zambia

Leader: President Rupiah Banda

Overall Score: **34/100**Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **21/29**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Hunger	D	Medium prevalence of hunger
Legal Framework	Е	No right to food legislation
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Medium budget to agriculture
Social Protection	Е	Low social protection
Social Protection E		Zambia

Remarks:

The Zambian government is trying to address spending on agriculture. But its agriculture strategy is characterised by a lack of consistency and planning, which is reflected in budget allocations. ²⁸⁰ So, while overall spending on agriculture has risen in recent years, allocations and spending have been somewhat erratic. For instance, in 2007 13 percent of the budget was allocated to agriculture - well above the 10 percent Maputo target – but much went unspent due to lack of appropriate planning. In 2008 there were huge overspends from the allocated amount (less than 10 percent) in government support to smallholders. ²⁸¹ Some saw the budget increases as a pre-election vote wooing tactic, rather than part of a sustained plan. There is a need for greater stability in agriculture planning, linked to a long-term strategy for effective spending on sustainable methods – rather than short-term support through simple packages of inputs.

The evidence suggests that increases in the budget are helping to boost production massively this year²⁸² and reducing Zambia's hunger statistics for the first time in decades. Zambia has also been blessed with good rains this year.

Zambia scores poorly, however, on social protection. Its pilot cash transfer programme has achieved excellent results but must be scaled up to address widespread hunger and support urban populations. There is no constitutional nor legal guarantee to the right to food; this could be addressed in the current national constitutional review. Increased social protection measures and greater commitments to enshrining the right to food in law would boost Zambia's current poor score.

Section 2 HungerFREE Scorecards: Developed Countries

HungerFREE Scorecards have been limited to those countries in which ActionAid has a presence.

All maps are for representation purposes only (national boundaries should not be assumed to be accurate)



Country: Australia

Leader: Prime Minister Kevin Rudd

Overall Score: 17/100 Overall Grade: E (A-E) Overall Rank: 17/22

Indicator	Grade	Comment	
Aid to Agriculture	D	Low aid to agriculture	
Aid to Social Protection E Low aid to social protection			
Climate change	Е	Low emissions targets, negligible finance	
Sustainable Agriculture	С	Low agrofuel subsidies	
Australia			

Remarks:

Australia has a disappointingly low score on the HungerFREE Scorecard. It is let down particularly by its low levels of support to agriculture (giving only 24 percent of its fair share), which reflects its overall Overseas Development Assistance/Gross National Income ratio of 0.33 percent. Whilst Australia is planning to raise ODA levels to meet 0.5 percent of GNI by 2015-16, it will still lag behind on the internationally agreed target of 0.7 percent. However, we are encouraged that Australia backed the 2009 G8 L'Aquila Food Security Initiative, and sources suggest that it is one of the few countries to make concrete new pledges as a result of it.

Australia's policies and action on climate change also let it down as a hunger fighter. Despite the Kevin Rudd government's good start ratifying the Kyoto Protocol after it came to power in November 2007, the Australian government has only managed to commit to a binding target of 4 percent reduction of carbon emissions by 2020 against 1990 levels – much less than some other developed countries and substantially below what is needed. This seems hugely short-sighted, even from a national point of view, given that it risks losing major ecosystems such as the Great Barrier Reef and is projected to go from being the 7th largest exporter of food and agricultural products in the world to a net importer of some key crops by 2050.

Country: **Denmark**

Leader: Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen

Overall Score: **36/100**Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **5/22**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Aid to Agriculture	С	Medium aid to agriculture
Aid to Social Protection	Е	Low aid to social protection
Climate change	D	Medium emissions targets, negligible finance
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Low agrofuel subsidies



Remarks:

Though Denmark continues to be one of the top performers in honouring, and even going beyond, international aid commitments, it is still lagging in its contribution to agriculture and social protection in developing countries.

It is also worrying that Denmark is failing to meet its obligations on climate change. As chair of the forthcoming climate conference in Copenhagen, it is disappointing that Denmark is not preparing to set the necessary emission reduction targets of 40 percent of 1990 levels by 2020, and around 90 percent by 2050.

Denmark is only paying around 2.7 percent of its fair share to help developing countries adapt to climate change. Disappointingly, according to the recent proposal for its 2010 national budget, the Danish government is also not willing to allocate additional funds to combat climate change, and has instead chosen to reallocate funds from development aid budgets - a double blow for the poor in climate affected countries.

With the Copenhagen talks fast approaching, we need to see much greater ambition and leadership from Denmark if a just global deal is to be agreed upon.

Country: **France**

Leader: President Nicolas Sarkozy

Overall Score: **28/100**Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **9/22**

Grade	Comment
D	Medium aid to agriculture
Е	Low aid to social protection
D	Medium emissions targets, negligible finance
В	Low agrofuel subsidies
	D E D



Remarks:

France ranks in the middle of our HungerFREE scorecard, reflecting the fact that the country likes to be regarded as Europe's leader but has not necessarily devised concrete national action.

President Nicolas Sarkozy led the campaign for a global partnership on food and agriculture and the EU's €1 billion response to the food prices crisis in 2008. His country has doubled its ODA to agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa between 2004 and 2007. However, France is still only providing 36 percent of its ODA fair share to agriculture, and only 9 percent to social protection.

The same contradictions apply to France's policies on climate change. Sarkozy has promoted the idea of trade sanctions against climate polluters who don't sign up to international agreements, but has come to the table with an announcement of a €17 per tonne tax on CO2 (compared with Sweden's €100 per tonne), and hasn't significantly increased France's minimal contribution to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

During the negotiations on the European Union (EU) directive on renewable energy, France was an unremitting advocate of the biofuel industry, hoping to ensure an opportunity for French agribusinesses to find new markets. France has already set targets of generating 7 percent of renewable energy for transport from biofuels by 2010 and 10 percent by 2015 - a plan that includes large tax exemptions and support to investments.

Country: Greece

Leader: Prime Minister Kostas Karamanlis

Overall Score: **18/100**Overall Grade: **E (A-E)**Overall Rank: **16/22**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Aid to Agriculture	E	Low aid to agriculture
Aid to Social Protection	Е	Low aid to social protection
Climate change	D	Medium emissions targets, negligible finance
Sustainable Agriculture	В	No agrofuel subsidies



Remarks:

Greece is ranked in the bottom quarter of the HungerFREE scorecard. The Greek development policy demonstrates a lack of commitment towards the UN Millennium Development Goals and hunger eradication. Development priorities are driven by geopolitical interests and ODA levels are far behind the promised figures, with most assistance going to neighbouring countries and those in which Greece has political interest.

Greece increased its ODA from 0.16 percent to 0.20 precent of GNI in 2008. However, it has since re-adjusted its ODA target from 0.51 percent by 2010 to 0.35 percent, due to its budget deficit. With one billion people going hungry across the world, this is no time for Greece to backtrack on its ODA commitments.

Despite being a country that understands the need to support farmers and agriculture, Greece lags far behind other donors by giving only 9 percent of its fair share to agriculture and food security. Its biggest agricultural ODA projects were in Albania in 2006 and in Armenia in 2007- hardly targeting the hungriest in the world.

Greece ratified the Kyoto protocol in 2002 and signed up to the EU common position, but is definitely not a strong advocate for a just global deal on climate change.

Biofuels were introduced to the Greek market by law in 2005. According to estimations, the use of biofuels in transport in Greece is expected to increase significantly in 2010, from 1.4 percent in 2007 to 5.75 percent in 2010. This expansion would lose Greece points on our scorecard in future years.

Country: Ireland

Leader: Taoiseach Brian Cowen

Overall Score: **43/100**Overall Grade: **C (A-E)**Overall Rank: **3/22**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Aid to Agriculture	D	Medium aid to agriculture
Aid to Social Protection	С	Medium aid to social protection
Climate change	D	Medium emissions targets, negligible finance
Sustainable Agriculture	А	Low agrofuel subsidies



Remarks:

Ireland comes third on our HungerFREE Scorecard, reflecting its commitment to ending hunger and the international leadership it has shown in this area- particularly since the 2008 food price crisis. Tackling hunger is a cornerstone of the Irish Aid programme, and the government announced in 2007 the establishment of a Hunger Task Force – and appointment of a Special Envoy for Hunger.

In 2008 Ireland's net ODA was USD\$1.3 billion. In 2009, however, as a result of the global economic crisis, the Irish government reduced this by €95 million. With one billion people going hungry across the world, it is crucial that Ireland sticks to its target of reaching 0.7 percent GNI/ODA by 2012.

Of note is Ireland's commitment and ODA allocation to social protection in developing countries – topped only by Luxembourg and Finland in the Scorecard. Ireland is giving just over half of its fair share to social protection, considerably more than most countries. It is also giving 36 percent of its fair share to agriculture – and aims to help smallholders and women farmers to become food secure.

Ireland could show more leadership on climate change; alongside most other EU countries it gained a 'D' grade for climate action on our HungerFREE scorecard. Whilst Ireland has stated that it is prepared to raise its emissions targets above the EU collective target to 30 percent by 2020, it will only do so on the condition that other countries make comparable reductions. Ireland shouldn't wait for others to do what is needed to stop runaway climate change and should be giving more money to finance adaptation through the UN.

Country: **Italy**

Leader: Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi

Overall Grade: **E (A-E)**Overall Rank: **14 / 22**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Aid to Agriculture	Е	Low aid to agriculture
Aid to Social Protection	Е	Low aid to social protection
Climate change	D	Medium emissions targets, negligibile finance
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Low agrofuel subsidies



Remarks:

Italy's performance (14th place) on the HungerFREE scorecard shows the contradictions and lack of engagement of its government on international cooperation investments. In 2009 its ODA budget was cut by 56 percent (around €410 million) which has bounced Italy's ODA levels back to those of the late 1990's.

Italy's ODA to agriculture is equally low – scoring third last (only Greece and Portugal give less of their fair shares). Of that, just less than half goes to food aid. While food aid is necessary for tackling emergencies, Italy needs to start spending a bigger proportion of its ODA on tackling the root causes of hunger and on supporting smallholder farmers. Italy also gives the lowest fair share of all Development Assistance Committee countries for social protection and climate funding for developing countries.

Whilst Italy was giving a relatively low amount of biofuel subsidies per citizen in 2006, this is set to change. Its 2008 budget bill set a minimum amount of agrofuels in 2009 equal to 3 percent of total transport fuels consumed in 2008, and it is projected that by the end of this year Italy will have consumed 1,400,000 tons of biodiesel.

Country: **Netherlands**

 ${\bf Leader: \mbox{\bf Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenede}}$

Overall Score: **33/100**Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **7/22**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Aid to Agriculture	С	Medium aid to agriculture
Aid to Social Protection	E	Low aid to social protection
Climate change	D	Medium emissions targets, negligible finance
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Low agrofuel subsidies



Remarks:

Coming in at 5th place The Netherlands is one of the frontrunners of the HungerFree Scorecard because of its investments in agriculture. However, on social protection and climate change it doesn't perform as well.

On climate change The Netherlands is one of the more progressive countries in the EU. Along with the UK and Scandinavian countries, it is one of the few to propose that Europe back new ways of generating climate finance. And although its national plan on renewable energy still has to be presented, The Netherlands seems willing to invest in a future transport system running on electricity instead of heavy investments in biofuels.

The Netherlands invests an average of 7.7 percent of its ODA budget in agriculture, more than the average in the EU. And it should be saluted for getting its ODA to 0.8 percent of GNI. However, The Netherlands should direct a bigger part of its investments towards small-scale sustainable farming. Right now too much effort goes into market development from which poor farmers, especially women, don't automatically benefit.

The strong focus on international market development in recent years has instead made poor women, men and children in developing countries more vulnerable to food crises, climate change and the financial crisis. In response to this, The Netherlands should also invest more in social protection, which is necessary to build resilience and enable residents to attain decent livelihoods.

Country: **Spain**

Leader: Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero

Overall Score: **25/100** Overall Grade: **D (A-E)** Overall Rank: **11/22**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Aid to Agriculture	D	Low aid to agriculture
Aid to Social Protection	Е	Low aid to social protection
Climate change	D	Medium emissions targets, negligible finance
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Low agrofuel subsidies



Remarks:

Spain sits in the middle of this scorecard, reflecting the fact that Spain is not doing all it can to support the fight against hunger, but allowing us to be hopeful that Rodríguez Zapatero will make maximum use of the opportunities that lie ahead, particularly the Spanish Presidency of the EU from January – June 2010.

The scorecard shows that Spain is historically a low donor to agriculture and social protection. However, Spain has been making big efforts to increase its ODA in recent years and, encouragingly, at the UN High Level Meeting on Food Security in Madrid in January 2009 Zapatero committed €1 billion to food security over the next five years. Zapatero has announced that the fight against hunger and poverty will be the top priority for the six month Presidency.

Zapatero announced in March 2008 that climate change would be one of the priorities for his term in office. Spain is a long way from meeting its fair share of climate funding, but we welcome the fact that Spain has, in principle, agreed that climate funding must be additional to Overseas Development Assistance. This is critical to ensure that people in poor countries are not paying twice for the climate change caused by rich countries.

Let's hope that Zapatero will deliver - will he emerge as Europe's next champion in the fight to free the hungry billion?

Country: **Sweden**

Leader: Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt

Overall Score: **36/100**Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **5/22**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Aid to Agriculture	В	High aid to agriculture
Aid to Social Protection	Е	Low aid to social protection
Climate change	D	Medium emissions targets, negligible finance
Sustainable Agriculture	Е	High agrofuel subsidies
Aid to Social Protection Climate change	E D	Low aid to social protection Medium emissions targets, negligible finance



Remarks:

Sweden is the most generous DAC donor country proportional to its economy, giving 0.98 percent GNI/ODA in 2008. This is to be lauded, especially in a time of a recession. Sweden gives 79 percent of its fair share to agriculture, ranking second on this scorecard. However, it needs to give a lot more to support social protection measures in developing countries.

Sweden also lets itself down when it comes to climate change. It has stuck with the EU collective target for emissions reductions, and until this year was giving very little to finance climate change adaptation. In its 2009 budget, the Swedish government launched a €400m three-year climate change initiative. However, this is not additional money and is to be financed from existing ODA funds. This is deeply disappointing and sets a bad example for other countries in light of the discussion around adaptation funding. People in poor countries should not pay twice for the climate change by rich countries.

Sweden comes second to last on the HungerFREE biofuels indicator, with a per capita subsidy lower only than Germany. Worryingly, there are moves to increase the use of biofuels in Sweden and incentives and subsidies for biofuels are expected to rise to €200 million (around US\$ 290 million) in 2009.

HungerFREE Scorecard

Country: **United Kingdom**

Leader: Prime Minister Gordon Brown

Overall Grade: **D (A-E)**Overall Rank: **8 / 22**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Aid to Agriculture	D	Low aid to agriculture
Aid to Social Protection	Е	Low aid to social protection
Climate change	С	High emissions targets, negligible finance
Sustainable Agriculture	В	Low agrofuel subsidies



Remarks:

The UK has been seriously off pace in its aid for agriculture and tackling rural hunger over the last decade, and has only belatedly recognised this error. It has overlooked and underserved smallholder, subsistence and women farmers. It is increasingly putting too much faith in unaccountable bodies like the World Bank or the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), and in top-down 'silver bullet' farming solutions which rarely involve and assist the poorest.

On paper the UK is the climate leader among Europe's big countries with the most ambitious emissions target and greatest commitment to providing vulnerable countries with finance to enable them to adapt. However, their record is less impressive in practice – decisions to build more coal power stations and a third runway at Heathrow Airport severely dent its green credentials.

While the UK government backed the 10 percent 'biofuels/renewable' target in transport by 2020, in the recently-passed EU Renewable Energy Directive, it has been supportive of a review in 2014. Current indications are that the government plans to fill the 10 percent target exclusively with biofuels, and lacks plans for the use of other alternative sources such as electric vehicles.

HungerFREE Scorecard

Country: **United States** of America

Leader: President Barack Obama

Overall Score: **8/100**Overall Grade: **E (A-E)**Overall Rank: **21/22**

Indicator	Grade	Comment
Aid to Agriculture	E	Low aid to agriculture
Aid to Social Protection	E	Low aid to social protection
Climate change	E	No emissions targets, negligible finance
Sustainable Agriculture	Е	High agrofuel subsidies



Remarks:

President Barack Obama seems to be emerging as a champion for the world's hungry. He led the G8 nations in Italy in announcing a US \$20 billion food security initiative to fight hunger through investment in agriculture and committing US \$3.5bn in new money from the US.

This is hugely welcome, given the US's historical record of low ODA to agriculture - which partly explains its position near the bottom of this scorecard. With a rise in ODA in 2008, and the promise of a shift from food aid towards supporting long term agricultural programmes, we hope that the US will perform better on the scorecard in future years. However, there are concerns about how this money is likely to be channelled. It looks likely that much of it will be channelled through the World Bank and Green Revolution 'solutions'. As the evidence presented in our Scorecard shows, these are unlikely to bring sustainable solutions to the problems of Africa's poorest smallholder farmers and for a planet in dire need of alternative and less destructive models of agriculture.

The US's support for the agrofuel industry likewise lets it down and, sadly, this is not set to change. It is predicted that between 2006 and 2012, the US will have subsidised agrofuels by some US \$76-93 billion.²⁸³

Whilst the US administration is now re-engaging with the issue of climate change after an eight-year hiatus, it is simply not up to speed and does not have a binding emissions reduction target. The US owes a huge climate debt to developing countries and it must not delay in agreeing to find the finance to help developing countries adapt to climate change, and in signing up to a just global deal.

Appendix: Sources and Calculations

HungerFREE is a global ActionAid campaign pressuring governments of the North and South to deliver on their commitments to eradicate hunger. This HungerFREE report aims to analyse the performance of both rich and poor nations to make the universal human right to food a reality. While other international rankings focus on the scale and magnitude of hunger at the national level, this report is unique in that it also assesses the concrete steps that governments are taking towards its elimination.

This HungerFREE Scorecard aims to evaluate two sets of countries in their pursuit of ending hunger:

A. the progress of 29 developing countries which participate in the ActionAid HungerFREE campaign towards fulfilling their people's basic right to food

B. the progress of 22 rich nations (OECD's Development Assistance Committee members) in doing their fair share to end global hunger

A: Monitor Developing Countries

The 29 developing countries chosen for the Scorecard are those which participate in the ActionAid HungerFREE campaign. ActionAid has staff in these countries and partners on the ground who could supply us with first-hand information about the policies and programmes of their governments towards ending hunger.

Another important consideration in the choice of countries was the availability of relatively reliable comparable data across various indicators. Since Somaliland's self-declared independence remains unrecognised by any international organisation, we were unable to procure any cross-country comparable data and could not evaluate its performance for this scorecard. Doubts about the reliability of Zimbabwe's official statistics precluded its inclusion.

Hunger and child malnutrition statistics were obtained from the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the World Health Organisation (WHO) respectively. Data for other sub-indicators were sourced from national government reports, academic research and surveys. However, it must be noted that some data sources, especially those from government sources on budgets to agriculture, are vulnerable to over-reporting.

Due to paucity of data in some instances, we had to make a number of assumptions in the methodology for the calculations, grading and ranking used in this report. This section describes the data gaps, assumptions and calculations in detail to provide full transparency.

The grading scale for all the indicators is the same:

A: 81% - 100%

B: 61% - 80%

C: 41% - 60%

D: 21% - 40%

E: 0 % - 20%

Indicator: Hunger (H)

Have countries progressed towards the elimination of the scale and intensity of hunger?

Data Analysis:

General Assumptions:

- This scorecard evaluates countries not only on the initiatives that they under take towards the elimination of hunger, but also the scale and intensity of undernourishment.
- To estimate the scale of hunger for among national populations as a whole, there were two alternative data source options available. The FAO's most recent country-by-country estimates of undernourishment as a percentage of

the population (reflecting the share of the population with insufficient dietary energy intake cover a three-year period from 2003–05 - they predate the food price crisis.

- Another option was the use the more recent United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) projections for 2008 which themselves are derived from the FAO database. However, since the USDA's 2008 projections suffered from a number of data gaps when estimating the proportion of the hungry in key countries such as China and Brazil, we did not use them.
- According to the FAO, undernourishment refers to the condition of people
 whose dietary energy consumption is continuously below a minimum dietary
 energy requirement for maintaining a healthy life and carrying out light physical
 activity with an acceptable minimum body-weight for attained-height. It is
 worth noting that the FAO's hunger thresholds have recently been reduced to
 1600-2000 kilocalories per person per day, which takes millions of people out of
 hunger at a single stroke.
- At the national level, governments, academic organisations and civil society bodies also set their own minimum dietary thresholds (often differentially for urban and rural areas), but data generated from this are not comparable across countries.
- The second set of estimates used to evaluate the extent of hunger is the
 prevalence in countries of underweight children under the age of five made
 available by World Health Organisation (WHO) Child Growth Standards. These
 indicate the proportion of children suffering from weight loss and/or
 reduced growth.
- We have chosen not to use the mortality rate of children under the age of five as it offers only a partial reflection of the fatal synergy between inadequate dietary intake and unhealthy environments.
- To score countries based on the scale of hunger, we have chosen to take a simple average of two sources of data: estimates of undernourishment as a percentage of the population (FAO) and the prevalence of underweight children under the age of five (WHO).
- While this might imply an element of double-counting, we have chosen to find an average of the two sets of data for a number of reasons: (1) The FAO data is an average over the period 2003-2005; while the WHO data on children is not an average, but for the latest available year in the period 2000-2006; (2) the 2003-04 FAO data is based on macro estimates of population projections, food availability and inequality in food distribution benchmarked against varying hunger thresholds which are unique for each year and country in the world,

- while the WHO data is based on extensive national primary surveys; and (3) since children are the most vulnerable to undernourishment with potentially irreversible life-long impacts, the measure of child undernourishment in con junction with that of entire population ensures their vulnerability is not subsumed in population averages.
- Both the World Food Summit and the Millennium Development Goals targets aim to "halve hunger" by 2015. The 1996 World Food Summit called for the number of hungry people to be reduced by 50 percent by 2015, while under MDG 1, countries committed themselves to "halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger". However since we consider both these estimates to be minimalist, the focus has been to compute the progress towards the complete elimination of hunger.
- To ensure that countries with a higher income are benchmarked based on the
 greater efforts expected from them to eradicate hunger, we have classified the
 selected countries into three different sets: low-income, lower-middle income
 and upper-middle income based on the latest data available from the World
 Bank country classification for July 2009 of gross national income (GNI) per
 capita, and individually determined scores for each set of countries.
- World Bank country classification methodology analytically divides economies according to 2008 GNI per capita, calculated using the World Bank Atlas method. The groups are: low income, US\$975 or less; lower middle income, \$976-\$3,855; upper middle income, \$3,856-\$11,905; and high income, \$11,906 or more.
- The sub-indicator scale of hunger has been given a weightage of 75 percent on the Scorecard while the intensity of hunger has a weight of 25 percent. The former describes the entire population (with an added emphasis on children who are the most vulnerable) while the later analyses the intensity of hunger amongst those who are already undernourished or food-deprived.

Sub-Indicator: Scale of Hunger

- First, to score countries based on the scale of hunger we have chosen to take a simple average of two sources of data: estimates of undernourishment as a percentage of the population (FAO) and the prevalence of underweight children under the age of five (WHO).
- Then we divided the selected countries into three categories low income, lower-middle income and upper middle income based on the World Bank classification and calculated the average, minimum and maximum scale of hunger for each sets of countries.



Then, a two-pronged formula has been used to determine scores based on the standard bell curve methodology of normal distribution to evaluate each set of countries based on their deviation from their respective average.
 If the scale of hunger is more than the respective average (the more the hunger the lower the score) of each set of countries, then the formula used to assign a percentage score between 0 – 50 is:

The only exception is upper middle income countries, in which case the minimum of the lower-minimum income countries is used instead of its own maximum to ensure that the already harsh penalty is slightly ameliorated.

However in all cases, it is assumed that a country which has achieved zero
 Hunger - i.e. HungerFREE with a minimum of zero - will be awarded 100 marks.
 If the scale of hunger is less than the respective average of each set of
 countries, then the formula used to assign a percentage score between 50-100 is:

However, in all cases, it is assumed that a country which has achieved zero Hunger – i.e. HungerFREE with a minimum of zero - will be awarded 100 marks. Therefore, since the minimum in all cases is assumed to be zero, the formula can also be written as:

$$\frac{100 - (Country - 0) \times 50}{Average - 0}$$

Due to this differential evaluation of sets of countries based on their income
classification, upper-middle income countries with similar achievement, for
example South Africa, will receive substantially lower percentage scores than
China which is a lower-middle income country, as the expectations from the
former due to their wealth is substantially greater for the eradication of hunger.
Also, Vietnam as a low-income country, receives a higher percentage score
than Guatemala, a lower middle income country with similar levels of
achievement.

Sub-Indicator: Intensity of Hunger

- The intensity of food deprivation measured by the FAO indicates how much food-deprived people fall short of minimum food needs in terms of dietary energy. It is measured as the difference between the minimum dietary energy and the average dietary energy intake of the undernourished population (food-deprived). The intensity of food deprivation is low when it is less than 200 kilocalories per person per day and high when it is higher than 300 kilocalories per person per day. The greater the food deficit, the greater the susceptibility for health risks related to undernourishment.
- To classify countries based on the extent of the deprivation, the following assumption have been used based on the extent of the food deficit of the undernourished population (kcal/person/day)

Food deficit >400 = "Acute", >300 = "Intense", >200 = "High", <200 = "Moderate"

 Assuming that the maximum food deficit is 450 kcal/person/day, to compute scores for this indicator, the following formula has been used:

100 – (Food deficit of undernourished population in kcal/person/day) x 100 450

Total Scores for Hunger

To compute total scores for this indicator, the evaluation of the improvement in the scale of hunger has been accorded 75 percent of scores and that of the intensity of hunger 25 percent.

Data Sources:

- Scale of Hunger: Average data for the period 2003-5 on proportion of undernourished in total population has been obtained from the FAO's report The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2008: High food prices and food security – threats and opportunities, Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations http://www.fao.org/publications/sofi/index_en.htm
- The estimates of the prevalence of underweight children under the age of five has been obtained from WHO | WHO Statistical Information System (WHOSIS) http://www.who.int/whosis/en/
- The latest World Bank (WB) country classification in July 2009 according to 2008 GNI per capita have been obtained from

- http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DATASTATISTICS/Resources/CLASS.XLS
- Intensity of Hunger: Data for the year 2003-5 have been obtained from website of the FAO statistics division
 - fao.org/fileadmin/templates/ess/documents/food_security_statistics/Depth_H unger_en.xls

(All URL links last checked by the author 31 August 2009)

Indicator: Legal Framework (LF)

Do countries demonstrate adequate political will to ensure a constitutional and legal protection to the right to food?

Data Analysis:

- In case of constitutional provisions, we have identified constitutions which contain explicit provisions on right to food as a separate and standalone right (regardless of whether or not these are justiciable).
- Legal guarantees refers to national laws; we have not examined which countries provide legal protection through the direct applicability of international human rights treaties.

Sub-Indicator: Constitutional Guarantee

 The methodology for the classification of countries is a modified version based on the original created by Vidar (2006), 'State Recognition of the Right to Food, at the National Level', Research Paper No. 2006/61, UNU-WIDER.

High: Constitutions containing explicit provisions as a separate and stand-alone right.

Medium High: Constitutions which make an explicit mention of the right to food, but not as a separate and standalone-right

Medium Low: These constitutions protect the right to food implicitly, through broader provisions dealing with the right to an adequate standard of living, as well as through provisions on either social security or worker's rights, or both cumulatively, providing a high degree of protection of the right to food. The protection thus afforded may be in one or several sections of the constitutions. **Low:** These constitutions either protect the right to adequate standard of living, or social security and worker's rights. It also includes those which provide for direct applicability of the UN's International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights.

Very Low: These constitutions protect only the right to social security or the

- right to minimum wage or other, less important provisions, such as protection of the rights of the child, promotion of agriculture, food safety, etc.
- To compute the scores for this indicator (in percentage) the formula used is:

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"High" = 100, "Medium High" = 67, "Medium Low" = 50, "Low" = 33, "Very Low" = 17, "No data" = 0
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Sub-Indicator: Legislative Guarantee

• The classification of countries and their scores based on the existence of legal framework to the right to food is simplistic i.e. either:

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"Yes" = 100, "No" = 0 or "In Progress" = 33.
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Total Scores for Legal Framework

• To compute total scores for this indicator, constitutional guarantee is given a weight of 33.3 percent and legislative guarantee 66.7 percent. Data on the constitutional guarantee is not available for all countries and we believe that legislative guarantees provide a more credible framework for defining and monitoring entitlements. Secondly, international experience suggests that the effort of adopting a special law to protect the right to food security is greater than including the right in a constitution.

Data Sources:

- Grading of constitutional guarantees was derived from the survey and evaluation of 57 countries conducted by Vidar (2006), 'State Recognition of the Right to Food, at the National Level', Research Paper No. 2006/61, UNU-WIDER along with updated data provided (personal communication with Margret Vidar 14 September 2009). This data was vetted and updated by ActionAid country programmes where possible.
- In the case of Nepal, the evaluation is based on the provisions in the country's interim constitution.
- The information on the status of legislative guarantees was largely derived from the FAO's 2006 report, The Right to Food in Practice: Implementation at the National Level(Rome: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations), along with updates available from ActionAid country programmes, newspaper articles, research papers and government websites available in the public domain.

Indicator: Sustainable Agriculture (SA)

Do countries show an inclination to pursue and invest sufficiently in sustainable forms of agriculture with a focus on smallholder farmers, women and agro-ecological, climate-resilient sustainable approaches?

Data Analysis:

Sub-Indicator: Budget to Agriculture

- After the African Union's adoption of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in July 2001, heads of state committed themselves to a new programme to revitalise agriculture and reduce hunger – the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) included a commitment to spend 10 percent of their national budgets on agriculture by 2008. We have extended this as a benchmark to evaluate countries in Asia and Latin America too.
- To compute percentage scores for budget commitment to agriculture, the AU-NEPAD grading scale has also been used:

Budget is "High" i.e. more than 10 percent = 100 percent, Budget is "Medium" i.e. between 5 and 10 percent = 67, Budget is "Low" i.e. less than 5 percent = 33,

Sub-Indicator: Women's Access to Land

- This indicator measures women's access to land ownership based on a scale derived from Lang, J., Enquête sur la Situation des Femmes dans le Monde, Paris: Assemblée Nationale (1998) available at http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx (last checked by the author 31 August 2009). The scale evaluates women's access to land ownership between 0=full and 1=impossible.
- To ensure the conversion of this 0-1 point scale in percentage form with 100 percent representing full access, the score for this sub-indicator has been simply derived as:

= [100 - (Access to Land x 100)]

Sub-Indicator: Signatories of IAASTD

 The International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD) is a four-year process involving more than 400 scientists and experts from around the world. Extensive efforts were

- made for countries to become signatories of this assessment.
- To compute scores out of 100 for signatories of IAASTD, the simple formula used is:

"Yes" = 100, "No/No data" = 0

Total Scores for Sustainable Agriculture (SA)

• To compute total scores for this indicator the weightage has been budget to agriculture (75 percent), women's access to land (15 percent) and signatories of IAASTD (10 percent) - largely based on availability of recent data.

Data Sources:

- Budget to Agriculture: For countries in Africa the source used was Mahalambe (2009), Five out of ten? Assessing progress towards the AU's 10% budget target for agriculture, Johannesburg: ActionAid. However, for several countries across the three continents we have received updated information from Action Aid country offices based on the most recent available estimates, including those of the 2009-0 budget cycle.
- Women's Access to Land: Lang, J., Enquête sur la Situation des Femmes dans le Monde, Paris: Assemblée Nationale (1998). For updated data and cross-references we have consulted Action Aid country programmes and accessed the individual country databases available at http://www.wikigender.org/.
- Signatories of IAASTD: The International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development http://www.agassessment.org/

Indicator: Social Protection (SP)

Do countries provide a range of entitlements to enable social protection particularly of vulnerable peoples to promote, protect and fulfill their rights - especially to food?

Data Analysis:

General Assumptions:

 While ideally we would have preferred to analyse budget contributions to social protection in developing countries, due to lack of a cross-country comparable database and the cross-cutting nature of these investments in food security



across administrative ministries and departments, it proved to be too difficult to aggregate the budgets and simultaneously ensure cross-country comparability. In future years hopefully, this information gap will be filled with the availability of international datasets.

- In the developing world, where most of countries lack comprehensive social protection, it is impossible to measure all relevant aspects which contribute to food security. For the purposes of this HungerFREE Scorecard, for the sake of simplicity we selected the most universally relevant and easily measurable categories of social protection which would have a direct or indirect bearing on food security. However, it is important to note that we do not see these as stand-alone inputs or an exhaustive list of wider social minimum packages to combat the inter-generational cycle of malnutrition.
- The six sub-indicators which we developed for the scorecard as loose sub-categories of social protection are Young Child Feeding and Nutrition, Free School Meals, Minimum Employment/Living Standards Guarantee, Maternity Nutrition/Entitlements, Subsidized Food Rations/Vouchers/Community Kitchens and Old Age Social Pensions. For more details on the attributes of each of these sub-indicators refer to chapter 4 on social protection. In all cases we have assumed that the benefits are "non-contributory"; this does not include employer-employee contributory pension schemes.
- To evaluate the performance on each of these sub-indicators based on extensive research of resources in the public domain and cross-checks and in puts from ActionAid country programmes, we have used a non-proportionate 4 point grading scale:

High = coverage of 75 percent and more of the eligible population

Medium = coverage of 50 – 74 percent

Low = coverage of 15 – 49 percent

No/Negligible = coverage of 0 – 14 percent

However, the classification of individual countries is often subjective due to an acute paucity of data on the scale, reach and efficacy of these social protection initiatives.

Total Scores for Social Protection (SP)

- To compute total scores for this indicator as a percentage, each of the 6 sub-indicators have been given an equal weighting of 16.7 percent
- To compute the scores for individual sub-indicators we have assumed that

High = 90, Medium = 60, Low = 30, No/Negligible = 0. High has been pegged at 90 points as no country can realistically have entirely flawless social protection interventions.

Data Source:

• The data for most of the indicators has been researched from individual data sources available in the public domain and then cross-verified with staff on the ground in ActionAid country programmes. The data for school meals has been largely sourced from the World Food Programme publication lamberspublications .com/downloads/schoolfeedingbookforhousehungercaucus.pdf,while social pensions relied on the HelpAge International(2009) database helpage.org/Re searchandpolicy/Socialprotection/PensionWatch/Coverage/main_content/PWTable.2.pdf (last checked by the author 31 August 2009).

Total

Total Scores for Total

• To compute total scores across the indicators, we have assigned a 50 percent weighting to Hunger, 20 percent each for Sustainable Agriculture and Social Protection and 10 percent for Legal Framework. The logic is that the reduction in the scale and intensity of hunger represents the most crucial outcome indicator. The remaining process indictors necessarily have a gestation time lag and are dependent on the quality, scale and effectiveness of the initiatives to translate into reduction in the numbers of the hungry. Nevertheless, they represent important policy directions towards the goal of a HungerFREE planet and we believe that government commitment and political will must be evaluated based on concrete actions in each of these areas, with the ultimate aim of eradicating hunger.



B: Monitor Developed Countries

The choice of developed countries for this HungerFREE scorecard was based on the constraint of data availability and therefore has been restricted the list to those which belong to the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Development and Cooperation (OECD). Individual country HungerFREE Scorecards have been restricted to those developed countries in which ActionAid has a presence."

The grading scale for all the indicators remains the same:

A: 81% - 100%

B: 61% - 80%

C: 41% - 60%

D: 21% - 40%

E: 0 % - 20%

Indicator 1: Aid for Agriculture (AGRI)

Do developed countries invest their expected fair share of Overseas Development Assistance in the agriculture of developing countries?

Data Analysis:

General Assumptions:

- The indicator analyses the actual share of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) for agriculture as a percent of fair share required in 2012.
- The UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) has called for an additional US\$30 billion per year investment in agriculture and rural infrastructure, as well as top-ups to emergency food aid. The ActionAid 2009 briefing paper 'Let Them Eat Promises: How the G8 are failing the billion hungry' released before the G8 Summit in Italy in 2009 ambitiously assumes that developing countries will be able to fund about a third of the increase needed. If developing countries invest US\$10 billion more over the next three years, that requires donors to provide the shortfall of US\$20 billion. Existing bilateral and multilateral donor spending in these areas is about US\$8.4 billion per year, so the total additional donor funding needed by 2012 is about US\$28.4 billion per year. This HungerFREE scorecard calculation reiterates the same assumptions.
- The fair shares are calculated based on the standard methodology of proportionate distribution of the total required amount based on the size of the country's GDP, relative to other OECD countries. The actual ODA contribution

to agriculture is computed based on the latest available three-year averages (2005-7) the following CRC codes:

310: III.1. Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing

41030: Bio-diversity

43040: Rural development 72040: Emergency food aid

In addition, the amount of budget support 'credited' is based on a rough (and probably overgenerous) estimate that 5.5 percent of developing country government budgets are spent on the relevant sectors. Also gross disbursements channeled through multilateral agencies – in this case World Bank's International Development Association, European Commission and the International Fund for Agricultural Development has been imputed based on their contributions respectively to agriculture.

Total Scores for Agriculture (AGRI)

This is the same as the percentage value of the actual share of ODA as a
percentage of fair share of the maximum estimate of annual US\$28.4 billion
required for food security from donors. In the exceptional case of Luxembourg,
where its ODA contribution to agriculture is even greater than its required fair
share, 100 is assigned as the maximum score.

Data Sources:

- This is the same as the percentage value of the Current ODA (average of 2005-07) to Agriculture and Food Security as a percentage of the fair share required in 2012.
- OECD Query Wizard for International Development Statistics http://stats.oecd.org/qwids/ (last checked by the author 5 August 2009).

Indicator 2: Aid to Social Protection (SP)

Do developed countries invest their expected fair share of ODA in social protection in developing countries?

Data Analysis:

General Assumptions

 The indicator analyses the actual share of ODA for social protection as a percentage of fair share.



- Devereux et al (2008) estimate that a 'minimum essential package' which consists of community-based management of acute malnutrition, employment guarantee programmes, social pensions and child growth promotion would collectively cost a maximum of £48.52 billion (US\$78.64 billion) annually.
- Again, we assume that rich countries need to bear two-thirds of the financial burden. This calculation reiterates the same assumption and expects developed countries to collectively invest US\$52.4 billion each year for social protection in developing countries.
- The fair shares are calculated based on the standard methodology of proportionate distribution of the total required amount based on the size of the country's GDP, relative to other OECD countries. The actual ODA contribution to social protection is computed, based on the latest available three year averages (2005-7), the following CRC codes:

11230: Basic life skills for youth & adults

12240: Basic nutrition

16010: Social/welfare services

16020: Employment policy and administration management

16050: Multi-sector aid for basic social services

16064: Social mitigation of HIV/AIDS

52010: Food Security Programmes/Food Aid

 In addition, as with agriculture, the gross disbursements channeled through multilateral agencies – in this case European Commission, United Nations Development Programme and UNICEF has been imputed based on their contribution respectively to social protection.

Total Scores for Social Protection (SP)

This is the same as the percentage value of the actual share of ODA as a
percentage of fair share of the maximum estimate of annual US\$52.4 billion
required for social protection from donors. Again, in the exceptional case of
Luxembourg, where its ODA contribution to social protection is even greater
than its required fair share, 100 is assigned as the maximum score.

Data Sources:

 Devereux S, Vaitla B and S H Swan (2008), Seasons of Hunger: Fighting Cycles of Quiet Starvation Among the World's Rural Poor, Action Against Hunger, London: Pluto Press OECD Query Wizard for International Development Statistics http://stats.oecd.org/qwids/ (last checked by the author 5 August 2009)

Indicator 3: Sustainable Agriculture (SY)

Do developed countries show their commitment to support agro-ecological sustainable, climate-resilient agricultural processes?

Data Analysis:

Sub-Indicator: Financial support to agrofuels

- This sub-indicator is used as a proxy to determine the surreptitious subsidies provided to agrofuels by developed countries.
- For the European Union, the data is for tax exemptions only (about 80 percent of all financial support to EU agrofuel industry).
- The data used is for the year 2006 and is unlikely to represent today's levels of support. 2006 is latest year for which we have comparable data and later figures are likely to have changed as countries adjust their tax rates and as they produce higher quantities of agrofuels. In the case of the UK, for example, the real figure could be higher by a factor of three. In 2008 the UK consumed ap proximately 1.3 billion litres of agrofuels (http://www.renewablefuelsagency.org/). With a tax exemption at 20 pence per
 - (http://www.renewablefuelsagency.org/). With a tax exemption at 20 pence per litre (true as of September 2009) the total amount is roughly €350 million.
- The sub-indicator has been assigned percentage scores based on their respective differential from the maximum subsidy per person currently offered (which is Germany's subsidy of US\$23.9 per person), assuming that the maximum score that can be accorded to a country with no excise tax exemption is 80 because most of them continue to support agrofuel through other means.

80 – (Cost of excise tax exemption per person – Minimum subsidy per person) x 80 (Maximum subsidy per person - 0)

Since the minimum subsidy per person is 0, the formula can also be simplified and written as:

80 – Cost of excise tax exemption per person x 80

Maximum subsidy per person



Sub-Indicator: Signatory of IIASTD

- The International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD), a three-year process involving more than 400 scientists and experts from around the world, calls on policy-makers to acknowledge the negative environmental externalities of conventional agri culture, and to look at integrated solutions to agriculture that include social rather than expensive and heavily patented technologies. Extensive efforts were made for countries to become signatories of this assessment.
- To compute scores out of 100 for signatories of IAASTD, the simple formula used is "Yes" = 100. "No/No data" = 0

Total Score for Sustainable Agriculture

• To compute total scores for this indicator as a percentage, the sub-Indicator: Financial support for agrofuels has been given a weightage of 90 percent while scores for signatories of IIASTD are given 10 percent.

Data Source:

- GSI (2007), Agrofuels at What Cost? Government Support for Ethanol and Biodiesel in the European Union, Geneva: Global Subsidies Initiatives of the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), Table 4.12 Estimated cost of excise tax exemption in EU-25 (2006), p.46-47 and other report available at globalsubsidies.org
- IAASTD signatories: agassessment.org/

Indicator 4: Climate Change (CC)

Do developed countries commit to climate change mitigation and finance adaptation in developing countries?

Data Analysis:

Sub-Indicator: Binding targets to reduce emissions by 40 percent of 1990 levels by 2020

- The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)'s Fourth Assessment Report (http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/wg3/ar4-wg3-chapter 13.pdf page 776) released in 2007 recommended that rich countries adopt 2020 greenhouse gas emission reduction targets of 25-40 percent against 1990 levels. Many
 - scientists have since argued for tougher targets and the Alliance of Small Island States calls for a rich country 2020 target of a 45 percent cut (http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2009/awg7/eng/misc07.pdf page 21).

- ActionAid, based on the demands of developing countries, calls for 40 percent reduction binding targets of 1990 levels by 2020 to reduce emissions.
- This indicator is a proxy of the commitment of developed countries to climate change mitigation. We have assumed commitments based on public pronouncements of governments which are available in the public domain through the media, government websites, etc.
- Any country which has announced a 40 percent target has been accorded the full score, while the rest receive proportionate percentage scores based on the following formula:

Sub-Indicator: Actual finances as a percentage of fair share of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

- The benchmark for fair share is based on calculations by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) on adaptation, and by researchers at the European Commission on mitigation who conservatively suggest that developing countries will need at least US\$182 billion (€135 billion) a year by 2020 in addition to existing aid commitments, with US\$86 billion going to adaptation and US\$96 billion for mitigation. (See ActionAid (2009) Who should pay to tackle climate change in developing countries?http://www.actionaid.org/assets/pdf/Climate%20finance%20briefing%20in%20template%20May%202009%2 0FINAL.pdf
- ActionAid unequivocally endorses the need for an enhanced financial
 mechanism under the authority of and accountable to the United Nations
 Framework Convention on Climate Change's (UNFCCC) Conference of Parties.
 Therefore, ActionAid's core recommendation is that the Conference of Parties
 must establish an enhanced financial mechanism under the authority of the
 UNFCCC's Conference of Parties, with an adaptation window.
- To determine actual contributions to UNFCCC, we used the database at the http://www.climatefundsupdate.org/. We also generously assumed that the figures available were annual contributions, rather than historical totals.
- Since ActionAid does not recognise the credibility of climate change funds that are not managed by the UNFCCC (such as the World Bank Climate Investment Fund), we have not included them in our calculations and focus only on the UNFCCC.
- The fair shares benchmarks expected of each country have been calculated

based on the Oxfam responsibility-capability index (RCI) (Raworth K, 2007, Adapting to climate change, Oxfam Briefing Paper, May 2007) based on the historical responsibility for CO2 emissions (emissions since 1992) and capability (Human Development Index). We have assumed that RCI principle applies for who should pay for both mitigation and adaptation in developing countries. The RCI percentages have been translated into actual expected monies based on the US\$182 billion required annually by 2020.

• These expected fair shares are then compared with actual contributions based on the simple formula to determine the percentage scores

Finances made available to UNFCCC x 100

Annual Fair share of the estimated US \$182 bn by 2020 required)

Total Score for Climate Change

• To compute total scores for this indicator as a percentage, both sub-indicators have been given an equal weightage of 50 percent.

Data Sources:

- Finances made available for CC mitigation and adaptation through funds accountable to the UNFCCC are available at http://www.climatefundsupdate.org/listing/least-developed-countries-fund and http://www.climatefundsupdate.org/listing/special-climate-change-fund (last checked by the author 3 September 2009).
- The EU Climate & Energy package http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/climate_action.htm (last checked by the author 3 September 2009) gives collective target of 20 percent exact burden-sharing is still to be agreed been member countries.
- The United States currently does not have a binding emissions reduction target.
 However, the US Congress is currently writing climate legislation. The US
 House of Representatives has passed a climate bill which includes an emissions
 reduction target of approximately 4 percent below 1990 levels by 2020. The US
 Senate is still of writing their version of the bill.

Total Scores for CC

• To compute total percentage scores for this indicator on adaptation and mitigation, each has been given an equal weightage of 50 percent.

Total

Total Scores for Total

 To compute total scores across the indicators, the weightings have been distributed as 30 percent each for contributions to agriculture, social protection and action on climate change and 10 percent for Sustainable Agriculture (reflecting the fact that agrofuels data is out of date).

Endnotes

- ¹ UNICEF, 2009, State of the World's Children. www.unicef.org/sowc09. UNICEF State of the World's Children 2009 reported 28 percent of children as chronically hungry in 2000-2007, down from 31 percent in the previous year's report. Due to the food financial crises, this small gain has most likely been reversed.
- ² FAO, 2009, "1.02 Billion People Hungry", http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/20568/icode/
- ³ See, for example, the BBC's world food price index at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/8119076.stm which shows prices falling from their July 2008 peaks in rich-world capitals, but remaining at or above peak levels in emerging and low-income cities.
- Black RE, Morris SS, Bryce J, 2003, "Where and Why are 10 Million Children Dying Every Year?", The Lancet 361:2226-2234; Black RE, Allen LH, Bhutta ZA, et al. for the Maternal and Child Undernutrition Study Group, 2008, "Maternal and Child Undernutrition: Global and Regional Exposures and Health Consequences," The Lancet 371: 243-260; FAO, 2002, "Reducing Poverty and Hunger, the Critical Role of Financing for Food, Agriculture, and Rural Development", paper prepared for the International Conference on Financing for Development Monterrey, Mexico, 18-22 March 2002. Rome: FAO. Bellagio Study Group on Child Survival, 2003, "Knowledge into Action for Child Survival", Lancet 362: 9380 323 27
- ⁵ The Comprehensive Framework for Action was developed by the UN Secretary-General's High-level Task Force on the Global Food Security Crisis. It sets out guidelines for tackling the food crisis. We have also drawn on the FAO's 2004 Voluntary Guidelines for the progressive realisation of the right to food and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) recommendations on steps to tackle climate change.
- ⁶ World Bank, 2009, World Development Indicators, Washington DC: World Bank
- ⁷ UNICEF, 2008, Situação Mundial da Infância 2008 Caderno Brazil, Brazil: UNICEF.
- ⁸ This is based on figures from the FAO's State of Food Insecurity in the World (SOFI) report 2001 and 2008, respectively.
- ⁹ FAO, 2003, "Policy Module Ghana," Roles of Agriculture Project International Conference 20-22 October, 2003 Rome, Italy, ftp://ftp.fao.org/es/ESA/Roa/pdf/1_Policy/Policy_Ghana.pdf
- ¹⁰ World Bank, 2004, Vietnam Development Report, Washington DC: World bank
- ¹¹ Source: oecd.stat database of the OECD's Creditor Reporting System, accessed 16 May 2008, www.oecd.org
- ¹² Parry, M.L. et al. (eds), 2007, "Climate Change 2007: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability: Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change", IPCC
- ¹³ Bello, W. 2008, "Destroying African Agriculture", Foreign Policy in Focus, June 3, 2008 Feffer, J (ed). http://www.fpif.org/fpiftxt/5271
- ¹⁴ World Bank, 2007, World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development, Washington: World Bank.
- 15 CBS News, 2008, "Bill Clinton: 'We blew it' on global food", http://wap.cbsnews.com/site?t=5TnVFALVs-PKBR38kLUKxA&sid=cbsnews
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