Conflict and drought: is it a dual challenge?

A comparative case study of the challenges humanitarian relief programmes in Mozambique and Zimbabwe faced during the 2016 El Niño induced drought and conflict in Mozambique.
Abstract

The number of people around the world who are affected by humanitarian crises has almost doubled in the past decade. For instance, in 2016, Southern Africa experienced the worst drought in 35 years, due to the weather phenomenon El Niño, and all aspects of society were affected. The aim of this thesis is to identify and analyse different types of challenges humanitarian relief programmes face in their disaster management in two different contexts: a conflict and a non-conflict context. The thesis combines both disaster management and peace and conflict studies.

Interviews have been conducted in Zimbabwe (non-conflict) and Mozambique (conflict) with INGOs, UN organisations and donors that were involved in the humanitarian relief programmes in the countries during the El Niño induced drought in 2016. The programmes experienced various challenges, and additional challenges have been found in the humanitarian relief programmes in Mozambique due to the conflict. This thesis contributes to the existing theory with one piece of the puzzle: combining the theories on disaster management and peace and conflict studies and showing that neighbouring countries to those in conflict are likely to get spillover challenges from the country in conflict, primarily due to issues with refugees.

Keywords: Humanitarian relief programmes, Disaster management, Humanitarian actors, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, El Niño, Conflict, Vulnerability
Acknowledgment

There are many people who were needed for this thesis to be realised. I would first like to thank Forskraftstiftelsen; without the scholarship I was granted, I would never have been able to collect my data from the interviews in Maputo and Harare. Thank you to Olov Atterfors at the Swedish Embassy in Maputo for your support and help in finding experts to interview. Veronica Strand, I couldn’t have wished for a better supervisor. You have given me the best advice and comments, including a lot of constructive critique and encouragement, perfect for conducting a thesis with the best quality possible. I would like to thank my study partners Maja, Cornelia and Rakel for all the “pepp” and for reading and rereading the different drafts. Also, a big thank you to all the interviewees: thank you for letting me steal your time and for sharing your experiences.
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TABLE 1. THE INTERVIEWED ORGANISATIONS .................................................................. 16

List of Abbreviations

CARE  Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CSFs  Critical success factors
CSOs  Civil Society Organisations
DIFD  Department for International Development
FAO   Food and Agriculture
FRELIMO Frente de Libertação de Moçambique/The Mozambique Liberation Front
INGO  International Non-Governmental Organisation
NGO   Non-governmental Organisation
RENAMO Resistência Nacional Moçambicana/The Mozambican National Resistance
Sida   Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
TDH   Terres de Hommes
UN    United Nations
UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNUMOZ United Nations Operation in Mozambique
ZANU  Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU-PF Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZAPU  Zimbabwe African National Union
1. Introduction

The number of people around the world who are affected by humanitarian crises has almost doubled in the past decade (UN, 2017). For instance, in 2016, Southern Africa experienced the worst drought in 35 years, and all aspects of society were affected (UNOCHA, 2016). As a consequence, humanitarian relief programmes have become of utmost importance. Such programmes play an important role in providing food, medicine, water and shelter to affected people. Humanitarian relief programmes are designed in many different ways. They operate in various contexts and settings, and they also face different types of challenges. This thesis revolves around humanitarian relief programmes¹. The empirical focus is Mozambique and Zimbabwe. These two countries share an important common characteristic: they are both often struck by different types of disasters. However, they also differ; Mozambique is experiencing an ongoing violent conflict², and Zimbabwe is not. How this affects humanitarian relief programmes will be at the centre of attention in this study.

Disaster management and humanitarian relief programmes are closely interlinked. Disaster management³ is receiving more and more attention due to the many unexpected natural disasters in recent years that have caused enormous losses (Zhou, 2010, 243). Disaster management is one of the most important tools that humanitarian relief programmes work with. Disaster management is the system in place to address the needs of vulnerable people affected by a disaster or crisis. According to many scholars, however, there is no such thing as a natural disaster; the emphasis instead lies on the vulnerability (as I will elaborate on in a later stage in this thesis) (Quarantelli, 1992, Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999, Wisner et al. 2004, Birkman 2006).

Moreover, looking at peace and conflict situations, The Global Peace Index shows that the world became slightly less peaceful from 2015 to 2016, and in 2016, 226 violent conflicts

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¹ The terms humanitarian relief programmes, food security programmes, relief organisations etc. are used in overlapping ways in the literature; however, the term humanitarian relief programmes will be used throughout the thesis.

² Violence between the government of Mozambique and the opposition party RENAMO has intensified since FRELIMO won a disputed election in 2014 (Reuters, 2016). The conflict made parts of Mozambique insecure during 2016; 68 people were killed, and approximately 6000 civilians fled to neighbouring Zimbabwe and Malawi (HIIK, 2016).

³ The terms disaster management, emergency management, crisis management etcetera are used in overlapping ways in the literature; however, the term disaster management will be used throughout the thesis.
were observed. One of these conflicts was the conflict in Mozambique (HIIK, 2017). Conflict is a leading cause of hunger, and the projections suggest that half of the global poor live in states characterized by conflict and violence. An uncontested and globally recognized relationship is the negative impact that conflict has on food security and nutrition. Conflict affects the food security in the countries affected in various ways: destroying crops, disrupting markets, causing displacement, creating fear and uncertainty about the future, and damaging human capital. It furthermore creates access problems, making it difficult for government and humanitarian organisations to reach those in need. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, with 17 sustainable development goals adopted by the United Nations, recognises that peace is vital for development and that conflict impacts sustainable development negatively (FAO and WFP, 2016).

Accordingly, conflicts, violence, disasters, disaster management and vulnerability are closely related, but it is not exactly known in what ways. In order to capture this complexity, this thesis uses both peace and conflict research and disaster management research. Much research has been conducted on humanitarian relief actors, disaster management and conflicts. Traditionally, peace and conflict researchers study peace and conflict, and disaster management researchers study disaster management. Disasters often coincide with conflicts, so these two fields would benefit from working more together (Walsh, 2016). Hence, this thesis provides a new analytical perspective by combining these two research fields and attempting to bridge the gap between peace and conflict research and disaster management research. Moreover, this thesis will contribute to a better empirical understanding of what challenges humanitarian relief programmes experience and how a conflict affects humanitarian relief programmes dealing with food security.

The thesis uses a case study approach, focusing on Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The findings are based on interviews with experts from International Non-governmental Organisation (INGOs)\(^4\), UN organisations and donors conducted during field visits in Mozambique and Zimbabwe in January to March 2017.

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\(^4\) Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are very central actors in humanitarian relief programmes. They are not-for-profit organisations that are independent from state and international governmental organisations. International non-governmental organisations (INGOs) are the same as NGOs, but they have outposts around the world and deal with issues in many countries.
This text is organised as follows. In the next section, the aim and research questions are presented and then in chapter three the theoretical framework the thesis is based on is presented. The key components in the theoretical framework are summarized in figure 1 on page 11. In chapter four the method used is discussed and thereafter in chapter five the empirical material, both background of the situations in Mozambique and the results from the interviews is presented. As regards disposition, the empirical section is organised in accordance with the key components explained in figure 1. The final chapters, six and seven discusses the findings and in the end, a conclusion of the findings is provided. In the conclusion, I look ahead and argue for further research that is needed in the future.

2. Aim
The aim of this thesis is to identify and analyse different types of challenges humanitarian relief programmes face in their disaster management in two different contexts: in a conflict and a non-conflict context.

2.1 Research questions

- In the cases of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, what challenges do the actors carrying out humanitarian relief programmes face, and what are the main differences and similarities?
- In what ways are humanitarian relief actors’ challenges affected by conflict in the country?
- Drawing on peace and conflict studies and disaster management studies, how can these challenges be understood?

The aim and research questions will be answered through a comparative case study that focuses on actors that have been involved in the humanitarian relief programmes mitigating the effects of the 2016 El Niño induced drought in Mozambique (conflict context) and Zimbabwe (non-conflict context) and how they experienced the situation.

3. Theory
As the theoretical chapter builds on two specific research fields, peace and conflict studies and international disaster management, both fields will be presented below. Specific attention will be paid to how these two research fields describe and explain humanitarian actors/programmes’ challenges both in countries in a non-conflict context and in countries in
a conflict context. The two fields and challenges will in the end be combined in a figure. The figure will be used to analyse the empirical material.

3.1 Disaster Management
Quarantelli writes in his book *What Is a Disaster?* that the theoretical approaches to disasters can be classified into three main paradigms: disaster as a duplication of war, disaster as an expression of vulnerability and disaster as an entrance into a state of uncertainty (2005, 11). Amongst scientists, there is an agreement that there is no such thing as a “natural disaster”; natural disasters are the interface between an extreme physical phenomenon and a vulnerable community (Quarantelli, 1992, Smith and Hoffman, 1999, Wisner et al., 2004, Birkman, 2006). The combination of these two will result in a “natural disaster” (Walch, 2014, 41). A general definition of a disaster is the one given by the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction: “a serious disruption of the functioning of society, posing a significant, widespread threat to human life, health, property or the environment, whether caused by accident, nature or human activity, and whether developing suddenly or as a result of complex, long-term processes” (UN/ISDR, 2004, 3).

There are different kinds of disasters: slow onset or sudden onset and so-called natural and man-made disasters. Droughts are often slow-onset and “natural disasters”, and conflicts are often sudden-onset and man-made disasters. A refugee crisis, the influx of refugees from a conflict area, is seen as a slow-onset man-made disaster. The causes of disasters are, however, not always clear cut, and a disaster can be a combination of slow onset and sudden onset and natural and manmade. However, pinpointing the different kinds of disasters can make it easier to look at the challenges that the humanitarian relief programmes face (Kovács and Spens, 2009, 515-516).

Famine is perhaps the most damaging of all disasters, and there have been more references to famines in history than any other disaster. With famines, the states are involved closely with the crisis, and the political impact of how famines have been handled has been big, due to the large number of people impacted. Famines are common and widespread in Africa. Ben Wisner et al. questioned the simplistic perception that famines are natural and believed that there is a need to look at political, social and economic reasons why famines occur, as disasters are linked to human actions. Famines in Africa in the last 30 years have occurred due to a combination of natural triggers: drought mostly as well as civil strife and war.
(Wisner et al., 2004, 127-229). There are a great number of studies that have shown that in disasters the socially vulnerable are more likely to be affected by the disaster and less likely to recover (Flanagan et al., 2011). Vulnerability is frequently described in the disaster management literature, and there are several definitions of what vulnerability is that refer to how much damage natural hazards cause to individuals/communities/countries (L. Cutter, 2016).

Response to a disaster from international aid agencies depends on a call for international assistance, a call that the government makes when it is not able to cope with a disaster. The government in the country has to declare a state of emergency before the humanitarian organisations can respond to the disaster (Kovács and Spens, 2009, 516).

There are many theories on why famine and natural disasters occur. However, not as much has been written on the challenges humanitarian actors face in famine situations. As stressed above, there are different kind of disasters, and below, some of the challenges humanitarian relief programmes can face will be presented.

3.2 Disaster management in the humanitarian relief programmes
When talking about the operational effectiveness of disaster management as a whole, the concept of critical success factors (CSFs) is often adopted. This concept was introduced by Rockart and was first used in studies of project management. It is now widely applied in contexts such as organisational management, operational management, supply chain management etc. CSFs refer to the few key areas of activity that are necessary for a company/organisation to reach its goal (Zhou et al., 2011, 243-244). Since the focus of this study is not to look at the effectiveness of disaster management but to look at the challenges that the relief operations face, the CSFs will not be thoroughly discussed. It is, however, important to note that many of the articles that this part of the theory is based on use CSFs as their main theory and implement the theory in the disaster management area.

Humanitarian actors often work in difficult and complex locations. For example, they may be operating in a politically volatile climate; there are often high levels of uncertainty in terms of demand, supplies and assessments; and there is the pressure of time. They often have to work with many stakeholders, international relief organisations (often non-governmental
organisations (NGOs), both foreign and national), large numbers of uncoordinated and disparate donors, governments, the military and the beneficiaries. A problem with the many stakeholders is that up to several hundred humanitarian actors can be at the same place, and they may not coordinate with each other; may have different political agendas, interests, ideologies and religious beliefs; and may fight for the donors’ and media attention. Normally no single actor has sufficient resources to solely respond to a major disaster. A problem in coordination with local NGOs can be the language barrier; if a meeting is held in English, it excludes NGOs without English-speaking staff. Another problem in coordination is the fact that the NGOs compete for funding, so they may not want to share information because they might believe that they have an advantage over the other NGOs if they keep the information to themselves. There are many problems in coordination, and it is a recurring issue. However, coordination is gaining importance and attention due to the increasing scarcity of global resources, accountability concerns and advances in global information technologies. A problem with lack of coordination is that it has been shown to increase inventory costs (Van Wassenhove, 2006, 477-478, Balick et al., 2010, 22-23). Logistics and coordination in relief programmes have been the bottlenecks in emergency aid (Zhou et al., 2011, 245).

Another problem that the organisations that are collaborating in a relief situation have to deal with is the fact that they may have different operational boundaries. They might focus on different beneficiaries, different kinds of disaster relief phases, different items they deliver, or different partners that they can collaborate with. This may make it hard to collaborate (Kovács and Spens, 2009, 511).

Governments in the affected country are typically responsible for the conduct of disaster relief operations. Unfortunately, the governments may lack the necessary experience and knowledge to be able to manage the relief operations effectively. This may especially happen if the effects of the disasters are large. Another challenge that relief operations often face is problems with transportation. These challenges can arise from damaged infrastructure, limited transportation resources and the amount of supplies that need to be transported. Transportation and distribution are critical in disaster relief (Balick et al., 2010, 22-24). Transportation challenges are very different in different situations that disaster relief programmes face. The available resources and the location of the disaster vary. In areas where
long-term aid programmes are already present, disaster relief programmes can benefit by using their organised transport programmes (Pettit and Beresford, 2009, 457).

Donors are very important for humanitarian actors since humanitarian organisations rely on them to exist. NGOs therefore often deliver response if and where funding from donors becomes available. Donors may pressure NGOs to spend available money in a short period of time and may place restrictions on the types of relief activities that the funding is to be used for (Balick et al., 2010, 23). Being able to match demand and supply is a particular problem that post-disaster relief actors face. This is due to a couple of reasons: one being the one discussed above, the uncertainties—location, timing and intensity—and the other being the lack of supporting resources—financial, human, technological and informational (Balick et al., 2010, 24). Another problem of uncertainty is that it makes it hard to plan for the future. Doing demand assessment for the future is critical for a programme to succeed. Planning is crucial for a relief operation. Humanitarian actors might not be able to get the supplies to the area where they are needed if they do not have good plans. Having depots of supplies near strategic locations has been seen as a way to mitigate this risk (Pettit and Beresford, 2009, 455).

The physical or geographic environment were the disaster strikes can also be a challenge. Safety is one of the main issues that humanitarian actors deal with. This is because of the harsh reality of disasters (Balick et al., 2010, 24). For example, they do not know important aspects on the disaster and cannot answer: when, where, what and how much. And the answers to these questions can change during the relief operation (Van Wassenhove, 2006, 477-480).

### 3.3 Peace and conflict studies

In peace and conflict studies, researchers can work with a wide range of perspectives and focuses in the field. Research can be conducted regarding conflict resolution, peace building, humanitarian assistance and other mechanisms used to prevent and control violence (Cooper, 2014).

When it comes to the concept of peace, it is, as many theoretical terms, difficult to define, and there are different kinds of peace. “Positive” peace is seen as the presence of such things as harmony, justice, equity and so on. “Negative” peace, on the other hand, is seen as the
absence of war, and other forms of large-scale violent human conflicts. Webster defines peace as “a state of mutual concord between governments: absence of hostiles or war” (Barash and Webel, 2014, 4-5). The definition of war and conflicts is difficult. Many quantitative researchers have tried to compile data on wars throughout history to help identify the issue and test hypotheses surrounding war. However, the problem has been that researchers do not always agree on which armed struggles deserve to be included in such a data set and which should not be included (Barash and Webel, 2014, 35).

There is little written on the impact of conflict on natural disaster response. The majority of researchers have instead looked at how natural disasters can increase the risk of conflicts or contribute to peace (Walch, 2016, 41). However, researchers have begun to identify linkages between disasters and conflicts. Collin Walch is a good example of a researcher who has done this. He argues that natural disasters and conflicts are closely linked and influence each other (Walch, 2016). Some argue that aid in conflict areas is positive and that it can help reduce conflict and build peace as well as perhaps help foster collaboration between otherwise opposed groups in society. Others argue that aid can inadvertently fuel conflict and contribute to poverty and violence (Crost et al., 2014, 1834). Many researchers argue that the debate over the relationship is still rather open and that there is no consensus as to whether or not natural disasters increase the risk of conflict (Walch, 2016, 13).

The UN works to maintain international peace and security in its work because it believes that when a country is at peace, the organisation can focus on solving global issues instead of resolving conflicts. Civil society organisations (CSO) and UN organisations are seen as having a key role both in peace and conflict processes and in disaster contexts. They are often the first responders to emergencies and disasters. Disaster management is complex, and CSO and UN organisations each have a distinct role to play. INGO’s have a strong role in development work and often at the same time work on recovery from a disaster, and they also work on preparedness and prevention for future disasters (UN, 2017).

3.4 Peace and conflict studies in the humanitarian relief programmes
Challenges that relief programmes face are different depending on the type of disaster they handle. “Complex emergencies” show signs of both man-made disasters, through armed conflict, and natural disasters, through famine, for example (Kovács and Spens, 2009, 509).
When it comes to how conflict affects natural disaster relief, Wisner et al. argue that a conflict decreases a state’s capacity to respond to and prevent natural disasters. It can also trigger displacements of a large number of people (Wisner et al., 2004, 144-145).

Responding to a natural disaster or letting others respond to a natural disaster can be a strategy for fighting parties in the country to improve their credibility and legitimacy in the eye of the state and population. This can be used both by the state and by the other party in the conflict. A party that is fighting against the government might benefit from obstructing the relief programmes that are undertaken by the government as a way to strike the government and the people supporting it. In this way, the party fighting against the government can profit from the discontent amongst the population and gain support. On the other hand, responding to the natural disaster can be a strategy for the party to improve credibility and legitimacy in the eye of the state. This can be seen as a strategy, even by doing it in collaboration with the government, to create support and generate legitimacy and show the population that they are capable of responding to an emergency. There are cases in which a state has used this as a way to further the goal of the state and weaken the other side (Walch, 2014, 41-42).

Scholars also point out the disruptive effects that armed conflict has on production and distribution of food. Armed conflict tends to both limit the space where the crops can grow and limit the workforce available to harvest. Armed conflicts also have a very disruptive effect on food distribution. In a hostile disaster relief environment, cars and trucks may have to travel together as a convoy. Conflict also makes it harder to get the food where it is most needed because of shootings on aid convoys etc. Conflict also creates refugees, and in refugee camps it can be hard to provide them with enough food. Conflicts furthermore often destroy infrastructure, which may intensify natural hazards or compromise evacuation (Wisner et al., 2004, 144-145, Walch, 2014, 41, Balick et al., 2010, 25).

Safety is a major challenge that relief programmes in a conflict area have to deal with. Safety and security-related challenges can include abductions and killings of humanitarian staff in complex emergency situations (Kovács and Spens, 2009, 510).
3.5 Combining the research fields

Below, a figure that will be used to analyse and discuss the material is presented. The figure is informed by the two research fields described above. The goal of the figure is to present the challenges humanitarian actors face in a non-conflict context and the challenges that humanitarian actors face in a conflict context.

**Figure 1. Challenges humanitarian relief organisations face 1**

**Challenges in all humanitarian relief programmes:**
- **Environment**
  - Pressure of time
  - Climate change
  - Physical environment
  - Uncertainty
  - Hard to match supply and demand
  - Complex locations logistically
- **Politics and governance**
  - Politically volatile climate
  - Political strife and manipulation
- **Institutional capacity**
  - Often many stakeholders with different political agendas, ideologies etc.
  - Stakeholders with different operational boundaries
  - Often bad coordination
  - Infrastructure and transportation problems
  - Challenges with donors

**Additional challenges humanitarian relief programmes face due to conflict:**
- **Environment**
  - Disruptive effects on food distribution
  - Displaced people
  - Limited places for crops to grow
- **Politics and governance**
  - Big insecurity and safety issues
  - Decreased state capacity
  - Obstruction of programmes by opposition
- **Institutional capacity**
  - Limited workforce
  - Transportation risks
  - Destroyed infrastructure

**Figure 1.** Source: Made by author. *This figure shows the theoretical framework, based on prior research on challenges humanitarian relief actors face in a non-conflict context and challenges they face in a conflict context. The yellow box shows that humanitarian relief programmes in a non-conflict country face challenges from the left blue box. The red box in the middle shows that countries in a conflict experience both the challenges that humanitarian relief programmes face in a non-conflict context (left blue box) and the challenges they face in a conflict context (right blue box).*
The figure combines the two fields, and looking at the figure above, one can see that the left box is the challenges that all humanitarian relief programmes can face. The right shows the additional challenges that they face if they are in a country that is in a conflict. This means that programmes that work in a country with conflict will face both the regular challenges and the additional challenges due to conflict. Combining the two fields is therefore crucial to be able to understand how the challenges play out. The figure will be used to research the effects empirically through interviews with actors who have been involved in humanitarian relief programmes. The next chapter will explain how the study has been carried out and how the interviews have been analysed.

4. Method
I have chosen to research Mozambique and Zimbabwe and do the interviews there because they are quite similar in many ways and share much history and culture, and they are neighbouring countries. Furthermore, they both had extensive humanitarian relief programmes focusing on food security during 2016, because of the El Niño induced drought. There is also an interesting difference, Mozambique faced a conflict during 2016, and Zimbabwe did not. The analytical contribution of the thesis will be analysing the interviews, using content analysis, the different contexts, conflict and non-conflict context.

The thesis builds on qualitative comparative case studies, through theoretically informed interviews. The point of departure of the interview guides is from the figure that combines insights from the two theories above. The interviews were conducted with experts in Maputo and Harare about humanitarian relief programmes in Mozambique and Zimbabwe and their challenges. This was done to fulfil the purpose of the thesis and answer the research questions. Representatives working for INGOs, UN organisations and donors have been interviewed to get their view, a helicopter perspective of the situation in their respective countries.

Below, the method will be discussed, first presenting the ethical issues in interviews that the well-known qualitative researchers Kvale and Brinkmann discuss and how they were brought to attention in this study. Thereafter, the selection of participants and the interviews will be presented, and in the end, the chosen analytical tool, content analysis, will be presented as well as an example of how it was used.
4.1 Ethical issues in research

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, 87–92) discuss issues that are important when using interviews as a research method: informed consent, confidentiality, the role of the researcher and consequences. When it comes to informed consent, it is a very important aspect for the thesis so that the gained material can be used in a credible way in the research. Before the interviews were conducted, the interviewees were informed about the thesis and what the collected data would be used for. They were informed that they could choose to stop and not be part of the research whenever they wished to or choose not to answer certain questions. I made sure that they were fully informed and that they were not pushed into doing the interview against their will. Before the interview started, I asked them if it was OK to start the interview. Some of the interviewees asked to have the thesis sent to them for their approval of the parts that they had contributed to, before it was submitted, and this was, of course, done.

When it comes to confidentiality, the interviewees were informed that they would be anonymous in the thesis and that I would be the only person that will have access to the data. They were asked if it was OK with them that the names of their organisations would be referred to in the thesis. Everyone answered yes on this question. Some did say that they did not want parts of the answers to refer to them, and therefore, in the material presented in this thesis, there is no reference to which organisations’ members said certain things.

The role of the researcher is important to always have in mind. I, as a researcher, have to act professionally and show great integrity to ensure that the data holds a high standard. Decisions regarding ethical aspects have to be made along the way, and my competence as a researcher is critical to maintain ethical standards. The two main objectives are to take responsibility for human values and to produce high-quality science (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, 90–91). This was done by making sure that the interviewees felt comfortable and by trying to get a feel for the room and, in the beginning, before the interview, have some small talk. For me, it is furthermore important to produce the best research possible, and this is what I tried to do.

Consequences means that one has to measure the consequences of the thesis, both negative and positive (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, 90–91). It is important that there is a balance between various interests (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011, 9). Two exploratory interviews were conducted in Sweden, with personnel from Sida, the Swedish government’s developmental
agency, to understand the context and the consequences of the interviews and to receive suggestions for the material gathering in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. This was done to strengthen the design (Ritchie et al., 2014, 75). A negative consequence of the interviews was that I took up time of people who could be working on other important work, and most of the interviews were conducted during their working hours, so they had to push other things to the side. I made sure that they were informed that the interview would not take longer than one hour and then made sure that they did not take longer than an hour. The thesis was also sent to all of the participants, so that they might have use of it in their work. The fact that all the interviewees agreed to participate in this research points towards them thinking that the consequences for them of participating were more positive than negative.

4.2 Selection of participants
The two exploratory interviews were conducted in Sweden, with personnel from Sida, and were conducted with one person who had knowledge about Mozambique and one person who had knowledge about Zimbabwe. This was done to gain some background information about the countries and the situation in regard to aid programmes in general in the countries. It was also done in order to be able to conduct the interviews in the best way possible with the interviewees in Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

To find persons to interview in both Mozambique and Zimbabwe, contacts through the context of the Swedish embassy in the respective countries were used to find some initial people to interview. Then the snowball effect was used, and people referred me to new people to interview. The snowball effect is when one interviews one person who one knows about who is relevant to the study. During that interview, one asks the interviewee for names and contact details for others to interview who are relevant to the study. The snowball can thereafter keep rolling, and one gets enough relevant people to interview. Using the snowball effect is good when the researcher wants to research specific issues around one event, just as this thesis. To avoid the risk of the snowball effect that one might get people with very similar points of view, I tried to get a spread in the different organisations that deal with food assistance, including UN organisations, INGOs and donors (Ahrne and Svensson, 2011, 43).

The case studies could have been conducted with different aspects in mind, such as not only interviewing experts. The focus has been on interviewing experts since the aim of this thesis
is not to go and look at the specific communities but to get a helicopter view of the countries and receive overall information about the humanitarian relief programmes, to be able to generalize a bit more and compare the two countries. A case study could also have been conducted comparing two communities, for example, and then the representatives from the organisations who have been interviewed would probably not have been suitable, but as mentioned, this was not the aim.

4.3 The Interviews
Prior to the exploratory interviews in Stockholm, an interview guide focusing on background information about the countries and tips for the coming interviews was developed. The exploratory interviews were not recorded, but notes were taken. This was to make the interviews as informal as possible, so the interviewee felt comfortable and understood that this was not the main material to be used for the thesis. These interviews were not conducted with experts on the specific humanitarian relief programmes that the thesis focuses on; they focused on the countries and Sidås work in general and about what to think about when conducting the actual material gathering, interviews in Maputo and Harare. The exploratory interviews were conducted in Swedish, the interviewees’ mother language and by phone.

The interviews in Maputo and Harare were done with representatives that worked with humanitarian relief programmes during 2016 in either Mozambique or in Zimbabwe. Prior to the interviews in these countries, a theoretically informed interview guide was developed with the point of departure in the figure, combining the challenges humanitarian relief programmes face in a non-conflict context and in a conflict context. Aspects that arose during the exploratory interviews were also taken into account. Both organisations that have implemented the programmes and donors to the programmes were interviewed. In Mozambique, interviews were conducted with people who worked for Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE); Save the Children; the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nation (FAO); World Vision International; the Lutheran World Federation and the Swedish Embassy in Maputo. In total, seven persons were interviewed in Maputo, and all interviews were one-on-one interviews except the interview with Save the Children, which had two participants. In Zimbabwe, the interviews were conducted with people who worked for the World Food Programme (WFP); the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); Terres de Hommes (TDH) and the Department for
International Development (DFID). In total five persons were interviewed in Harare, and all interviews, except the interview with TDH, were one-on-one interviews. In total ten interviews total were conducted, and after these interviews, the information gained felt saturated.

Table 1. The Interviewed Organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE)</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>INGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save the Children</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>INGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>UN organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Vision International</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>INGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran World Federation</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>INGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish Embassy in Maputo</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Donor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Food Programme (WFP)</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>UN organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>UN organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terres de Hommes (TDH)</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>INGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department for International Development (DFID)</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Donor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. This table shows the names of the interviewed organisations, what country they were interviewed in and what type of organisation they are. The table aims to make this clearer.

Semi-structured interviews and open-ended questions are optimal for qualitative content analysis (Drisck and Machi, 2015, 101). Content analysis is an analysis method suited to answering research questions of the thesis and was therefore chosen for this thesis. When conducting interviews that will be analysed using qualitative content analysis, it is important to maintain focus on the relevant content while conducting the interviews; this can be a big challenge. As the interviewer, I did not want to control the interviews too much; therefore, a semi-structured method was used, but I made sure the interviews did not drift too far from the relevant content so they could be positively analysed afterwards. The mentioned interview model was used to understand the context and so that the interviewees felt they could talk about things I may not have thought about.
The interview guides (see appendices) were used to have something to start from and to use if the conversation moved too far from the main questions. (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, 266–271). I went to the subjects’ offices or we meet at a place of their choice. The interviews took place mostly made at their offices to make it as easy as possible for them to participate. One interview was done via Skype because the interviewee was not in Harare during my time there, but others highly recommended I speak with this person. The interviewees were first contacted by email and received some background about the interview, as well as a letter of recommendation; we then decided on a time and place that suited them best.

The interviews were transcribed as soon as possible after the interview. This was done so the important information was not forgotten and to minimise the risk of losing important things or cause misinterpretations. So each transcription was as accurate as possible, the interviews were conducted in places with as little background noise as possible, and the Dictaphone was placed near the interviewed. Notes were taken during the interview to aid in remembering important aspects and to compare with the transcription afterwards.

4.4 Content analysis
Drisko and Maschi define content analysis as “a family of research techniques for making systematic, credible, or valid and replicable inference from texts and other forms of communication” (2015, 20). When doing content analysis, the researcher who summarizes the data should be transparent in methods, should be valid, and should be replicable. Using data from newly collected interviews is common in qualitative content analysis. Interview content analysis may be used to explore new topics, compare groups, and develop and test theories (Drisck and Machi, 2015, 87). Therefore, it is suitable for this research, since it will both compare and develop a theory, for challenges humanitarian relief programmes face in a non-conflict context and a conflict context. Qualitative content analysis is a systematic method for searching and describing meanings within texts. The focus of qualitative content analysis often lies in identifying categories or themes that both summarises the content of the text and highlights the key content (Drisck and Machi, 2015, 88).

To use qualitative content analysis, it is crucial to become familiar with the data set. This helps build nuance and context awareness (Drisck, Machi, 2015, 102). Because all of the recordings were clear, they were transcribed and read through, and this was my way of becoming familiar with the content. After the transcription was made of the full interview, the
transcription was colour coded in the different themes to categorise what the interviewee talked about and in what area. Doing this made it a lot easier to see similarities and differences in the interviews and to write the results part of the thesis. The content analysis focused on the challenges that the interviewees talked about, and 5 colours were used concerning challenges due to environment\(^5\), challenges due to political and governance issues\(^6\), challenges due to conflict\(^7\) and challenges due to institutional issues\(^8\). The different challenges were identified from previous research on the challenges humanitarian relief programmes face, and they are presented in figure 1 on page 11. The last colour that was not a challenge the humanitarian relief programmes met, per se, but was seen as important for the background of the programmes, was for when the interviewees talked about targeted and vulnerable groups\(^9\). Some parts of the text were not coloured because they were not part of any codes that were set up.

Using the different colours based on the different themes that the interviewees talked about, the interviews in Mozambique could easily be compared with each other, and the key content of the interviews was easier to pinpoint. The interviews from Mozambique were summarized before the interviews in Zimbabwe were conducted. This was done to facilitate the understanding of the themes. The same was done thereafter with the interviews in Zimbabwe, and the themes were compared and summarized. Thereafter, the themes’ differences in Zimbabwe and Mozambique were analysed, and that is part of what you see in the discussion. After some background information about each country is presented clarify the whole picture, the material gathered in the two countries will be discussed.

\(^5\) Example of colour lime green, environment: The biggest risk in my opinion in Mozambique. If you look at the MET office 2050 forecast on global warming, is the climate change aspect for Mozambique.

\(^6\) Example of colour dark green, political and governance: Governance on the bigger end, as my colleague always likes to say, poor governance doesn’t always mean poor government.

\(^7\) Example of colour red, conflict: So Save the childrens office in Morombala was next to the administrative office that was attacked by RENAMO in September.

\(^8\) Example of colour yellow, institutional: The location, the distances, it is far, you cannot reach, there are, up until now there are some villages that we have not been able to cover, it’s really hard to reach these villages, we don’t have an office, we are also set by our security standards, in the since you can’t just go and make a tent and sleep anywhere.

\(^9\) Example of colour pink, vulnerable groups: Us as humanitarian organisation, we have different criteria’s. With this we decided to work on a set of criteria to identify eligible.
5. Empirical findings
This section presents the two case studies. The chapter first starts with the historical context of the countries, and then to give background to the situation today, the current situation with the drought and conflicts are presented in the chapter regarding disaster and disaster management processes in the countries. After this, the gathered interview information is analysed, and the challenges are presented in the same structure as in figure 1 on page 11.

5.1 The Mozambique Case
In this section, as mentioned above, information about Mozambique relevant to the thesis will be presented, fist the history and thereafter a special focus on the disasters and disaster management processes in Mozambique. In the last section, 5.1.3 the gathered empirical findings from Mozambique are presented.

5.1.1 Mozambique’s history
Mozambique is a former Portuguese colony and was used by the Portuguese for trade and slaves during the 18th and 19th centuries. All economic development and investment in infrastructure was directly put in the hands of Portuguese companies and usually undertaken at the expense of the locals. In 1950s, African leadership emerged that channelled considerable discontent against the colonial power. In 1962, the socialist Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), was established from exiled political groups. The group decided on armed challenge towards the Portuguese colonizers after serious internal debate. FRELIMO’s forces were trained and armed by African and Soviet-bloc supporters. In September 1964, the war of independence started by attacking targets in northern Mozambique. Portugal responded with enormous military effort. In April 1974, the military in Portugal staged a coup, which was welcomed by those Portuguese unhappy with the New State regime, its African wars and its ideology. FRELIMO took advantage of this and insisted on a ceasefire. This confirmed their right to assume power in an independent Mozambique. In June 1975, Mozambique became an independent, single-party state led by FRELIMO (Britannica, 2016, Manning and Malbrough, 2010, Barnes, 1998, 8).

FRELIMO closed the border to former Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). This was done to implement sanctions against the country and to allow guerrilla forces to develop bases in Mozambique. FRELIMO also supported South Africa’s African National Congress. FRELIMOs’ social and economic policies had mixed success during the first decade of rule.
One of the policies FRELIMO afterwards recognized as a failure was the agricultural policy of moving farmers into communal villages. The Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO), an armed opposition force that was trained, supplied and supported by Rhodesia, South Africa, former Portuguese settlers and Mozambicans opposed to FRELIMO, shortly after the independence began with economic sabotage and a campaign of terror against the rural population. FRELIMO’s reforms and nationalization projects, with regional and international factors, helped fuel the civil conflict. The government invested in education, health care and so on, and these investments were initially highly successful; however, within a decade of independence, the attacks from RENAMO undermined the gains of the investments. Five million people were displaced, including 1.7 million refugees in the neighbouring countries (Barnes, 1998, 8, Britannica, 2016).

In October 1992, the leaders of FRELIMO and RENAMO finally signed the General Peace Accord, which put an end to 16 years of civil war in Mozambique. In this accord, in exchange for RENAMO’s promise to end the war, FRELIMO agreed to change the constitution and to open the political process of competing parties. Before the first election, RENAMO changed its image and became a legitimate political party. The elections after the peace agreement were considered free and fair by international observers, and FRELIMO gathered the majority of the votes (Britannica, 2016, Manning and Malbrough, 2010). By the end of 1994, all of the peacekeeping missions in Mozambique, the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), peace keepers, military and political intervention and humanitarians were withdrawn (Barnes, 1998, 8).

During early 21st century, Mozambique suffered several natural disasters, drought, earthquakes and floods. The country saw an economic boom due to foreign investments, though the country was badly affected by the natural disasters. FRELIMO continued to win the elections, and a new party (Mozambique Democratic Movement) was formed by Daviz Simango that broke out from RENAMO. The economic growth the country had in the 21st century and particularly after 2010 did not benefit most of the Mozambicans; more than half of the population remained in poverty. This and fears of political marginalization heightened tension between RENAMO and FRELIMO. Sporadic fighting between the police and/or government forces and RENAMO culminated in October 2013 when RENAMO abrogated the 1992 peace agreement. A new peace agreement between RENAMO and the government
was signed in late August 2014. After this, in October, presidential and legislative elections were held. These were hotly contested. FRELIMO won but did not perform as strongly as in previous elections (Britannica, 2016).

5.1.2 Disasters and disaster management processes in Mozambique
Mozambique is the third most-at-risk country to natural disasters in the world, such as cyclones, floods and droughts. During 2016, much of southern and central Mozambique was hit by severe drought, devastating crops and livestock. Mozambique is one of the world’s poorest countries, and 80% of the population live on low-productivity and rain-fed agriculture. The country has one of the fastest growing economies in the region. However, the economy is centralized, and the economic differences between the countryside and the cities are growing. Mozambique was in a strained economic situation during 2016 due to armed conflict and a low exchange rate (Atterfors et al., 2016).

On the 12 April 2016, the Mozambique’s government decreed an Institutional Red Alert (highest state of emergency readiness) in drought-affected provinces due to the food insecurity situation deterioration; this was done later than most of the other countries in the region (COSACA, 2016). Security risks in Mozambique were once again increasing due to the political tension and the conflict taking place in some of the areas most affected by the drought. History repeats itself: During the civil war of 1977–1992, around one million died because of violence and famine, and both parties in Mozambique (RENAMO and FRELIMO) conducted horrible attacks against civilians. The conflict in Mozambique was once again between FRELIMO and RENAMO. They have clashed sporadically since RENAMO challenged the results of the 2014 election. The violence escalated in 2016, and RENAMO demanded autonomy of the central and northern provinces of Manica, Sofala, Tete, Zambezia, Nampula and Niassa, as well as the inclusion of its militia in the army and police (HIIK, 2017). FRELIMO said that RENAMO had to disarm before any agreements could be reached (Reuters, 2016). Due to the fighting between the two sides usually taking place in remote areas, it is hard to assess the extent of the conflict (Brock, 2017, Palm, 2016). An estimation is that at least 68 people have been killed, and at least 103 have been injured. During the first half of 2016, the government reintroduced measures targeting RENAMO, and refugees in Malawi reported that soldiers had tortured and sexually abused alleged RENAMO supporters. In July 2016, talks between RENAMO and FRELIMO started, mediated by the EU, regional
partners and the Catholic church; there was not much process, and the international mediators left the country during the first week of December 2016 (HIIK, 2017).

Several organisations are still responding to the current drought, since it is ongoing. In September 2016, 1.5 million people were estimated food insecure in seven provinces in Mozambique. The staple food shortage is extremely high and is projected to continue being so until the harvest in March 2017. Many organisations are working with the government through, for example, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security. The National Centre of Emergency Operations of the National Institute of Disaster Management (Mozambique’s disaster relief agency) is providing food assistance with money from several donors. The financial situation and political–military tensions in Mozambique have huge impact on the government’s capacity to deal with the drought (COSACA, 2016, UNICEF, 2014, Humanitarian Country Team, 2016).

As one can see in the figure below, eight organisations, with some being consortiums of several organisations, were working with food security, and they were working in seven districts during 2016. The seven districts containing the most drought-affected provinces were given the institutional red alert by the government. The northern districts (Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Nampula) were not affected in the same way as the other districts (Humanitarian Country Team, 2016).
Figure 2. Map of Mozambique

Figure 2. Source: Humanitarian Country Team, 2016, 46. The figure shows the organisations working with different activities related to the food insecurity situation during 2016 and the numbers of organisations in the different districts.
5.1.3 Empirical material for Mozambique
This case study builds on interviews with CARE and Save the Children, which are part of COSACA\textsuperscript{10}; the Swedish Embassy in Maputo; World Vision; FAO and Lutheran World Federation. The interviews were conducted in January and February 2017 in Maputo.

The food security programmes
The interviewed organisations (Save the Children International and CARE) are part of COSACA. They usually work with development programmes\textsuperscript{11}. Last year, they were forced to resort to humanitarian relief programmes because they realized it was required in Mozambique, and there were not enough organisations conducting humanitarian relief programmes. So now they both do developmental programmes for food security and humanitarian relief, focusing on meeting food insecurity needs. They highlight that food assistance is a last resort when it comes to food security and that it is a lifesaving intervention. The Swedish Embassy in Maputo supports the developmental part of COSACA’s programme. World Vision as COSACA works with developmental programmes, but they were forced to resort to humanitarian food assistance last year; the difference is that World Vision both works with food assistance using donor money, like COSACA, and works through WFP as a logistic implementing organisation. The Lutheran World Federation worked in collaboration with WFP, and they were the logistic implementing organisation. The organisation also worked tightly with the Mozambique’s government.

The UN works a bit differently from the INGOs. The UN organisation FAO deals with the agricultural side of humanitarian relief programmes with distribution of inputs, such as seeds, fertilizers and, in some areas, pesticides. However, WFP, another UN organisation, works with food assistance. WFP goes in first and gives the people in the most need food, and then FAO goes in and helps them with the agricultural side so they can feed themselves in the future.

Many of the organisations focus on women and girls in their interventions because they are seen as a vulnerable group. The organisations work with small holder farmers and identify the

\textsuperscript{10} COSACA is a consortium of four organisations: Save the Children, Care, Oxfam and Concern.
\textsuperscript{11} Development programmes are long term, delivered in developing countries, respond to systematic problems and are focused on economic, social and political development. Humanitarian aid on the other hand are short term, delivered in disaster zones, respond to an incident or event and are focused on saving lives (Humanitarian coalition, n.d.).
vulnerable groups in the communities through focus group discussions in the communities. The programmes target families, not individuals. The organisations have set some criteria on the terms of who can be classified as vulnerable so they know who to benefit first. This has been done in Mozambique’s food security cluster, of which all interviewed organisations are part (this does not include the Swedish Embassy in Maputo). COSACA played a leading role in making the cluster adopt the criteria. The programme beneficiaries that get food assistance depends on how the community defines vulnerable. All people in Mozambique do not need food assistance, so the identification is important. The cluster-set criterias were approved by the government at a high level. The organisations also use the government and the communities to identify the beneficiaries in those communities.

Now that the background information of the programmes in Mozambique have been presented, the next phase of the thesis will deal with the different types of challenges—divided into the same themes as in figure 1 on page 11—that the interviewees talked about.

**Environmental challenges**
The first challenges presented are those that relate to the theme of environmental challenges. The empirical material clearly shows that the organisations have met major environmental challenges. According to INGO, the biggest challenge for food security and the programmes in Mozambique is climate change. The interviewees’ experience in working in southern and eastern Africa is that, in the last years, there have been more frequent and more intense natural disasters. In Mozambique, flooding is a major challenge. Something that is pointed out is that climate change is not due to Mozambique; countries in the west have done a lot of damage. Climate-smart adaptation and climate change adaptation is therefore crucial for Mozambique’s future. The best they can do with small holder farmers is to make them adapt to the climate, which means they cannot continue to grow what they have been growing for the last 100 years.

That Mozambique has had this drought and that the drought has lasted for 2 years is something several of the respondents see as a huge challenge, and many had big problems finding enough high-quality seeds. There are some quantities but not enough, and they were very expensive. Before, they could buy seeds from the other countries, but now when they have all been affected, there are not enough seeds for everybody, and the other countries need their seeds for their populations.
“The future depends on the rain.”

(INGO, Interview Maputo, January 2017)

This is what an interviewee from a major organisation in Mozambique told me when I asked about the future and challenges and possibilities. A stressing problem people are seeing now is that it is raining too much in the communities they have worked in. They distributed seeds to the communities, and the beneficiaries planted the seeds, but now the seeds have been washed away. So they are back to step one. The interviewee hopes the rain will stop or that it will rain less soon, so that what they plant, food will grow.

According to several of the interviewed organisations, the environmental challenges are different in different areas, and some areas have greater flooding risk. Water is a big issue. There is either not enough water or everything floods. They said the following about this challenge:

“The same areas we invest in agriculture, in 24 hours there can be floods, if you don’t plan properly, if you don’t plant strategically, you can lose everything.”

(INGO, Interview Maputo, February 2017)

When it comes to challenges in the future, several of the interviewees think the key challenge Mozambique will face is how quickly the country can ensure that its agriculture production is climate smart and how quickly Mozambique can adapt to the rapidly changing climate. When talking about environmental issues, one of the interviewees pointed to Mozambique’s needs when it comes to having enough water. The country needs to solve the water problem.

“If you don’t even have water to drink, how can you have water for food? It is a really big challenge.”

(INGO, Interview Maputo, February 2017)

A side note from the challenges that one of the interviewee mentioned was that there are not only challenges when it comes to the environment. Tourism is one an opportunity, and there is a huge potential for tourism in Mozambique.
Political and governance challenges

Challenges surrounding political issues and governance will be presented in this part. One INGO interviewee said that the government is afraid that food assistance programmes will create a dependency on food assistance. The organisation has already started to see this tension.

“People are saying, ‘Why should I plan when I get food assistance? If I get better off, I will not get food assistance.’”

(INGO, Interview Maputo, January 2017)

The interviewee continues talking about the governance methods and that it is a real issue when it comes to food security and accountable access. For example, when companies want to build factories, how is the community compensated, or are only the community leaders compensated? The ability to participate in these processes and to have representation is important. The interviewee points out below:

“As my colleague always likes to say, ‘Poor governance doesn’t always mean poor government.’”

(INGO, Interview Maputo, January 2017)

As mentioned in the environmental challenges, there is an urgent need for water in many places in Mozambique because of the drought. There is a dam in Gaza province that is being repaired. One INGO interviewee thinks the lack of connection between the government and the community when it comes to water is a huge challenge. The government chooses in what they want to invest, and some INGOs argued that they should invest more in agriculture, water and food security.

An interviewee from a major organisation tells me they try to avoid problems with the government by having the government and the NGOs work together. The interviewee said that their service providers, which can be NGOs or private companies, work with the government to try to avoid conflicts or avoid having people taking advantage of the programmes and the assistance. The organisation gets two reports: one from the service provider and one from the government. They can then compare them and get a better picture of reality.
One of the INGO’s had problems when it came to tax exemption. They anticipated not having to pay taxes, did not budget for taxes and their donor made it clear they would not be able to use donor money to pay import tax on the equipment. In the end, the company managed to get their equipment released from customs without paying taxes, but they lost several days. Getting the tax exemption documents from the proper authorities and having those documents recognized by customs and the finance authorities was a challenging process. They had to delay the order until the tax issue was clear so they would not have to pay the demurrage needed for every day the goods sat in customs.

Some of the organisations have worked in both FRELIMO and RENAMO areas. One challenge is that humanitarian relief programmes can be seen as taking sides. This is something that everybody has been conscious about, because it could lead to tension and security issues. Several organisations say they are not allowed to take sides. One of the INGOs told me the government cannot exactly tell them not to work with the opposition, but said

“You are permitted to work with people from other parties, but whenever they (FRELIMO) see you talking with people from other parties, they start saying you are also member of that party, that you are like a spy of that party.”

(INGO, Interview Maputo, February 2017)

In the past, many of the INGOs have seen they sometimes get advice on where to have their programmes or who should be the beneficiaries based on affiliation, and it is important to be aware of this in terms of the interventions. The parties will use the programmes to try to benefit themselves and to get as much as possible. One INGO points out this is not only the case in Mozambique but this is something one must always be aware of when developing humanitarian relief programmes. The organisations also re-evaluate beneficiaries to see whether they still need support. Sometimes, the beneficiary lists they are given by the government do not match their vulnerability criteria. One of the organisations had an issue where the government was saying they needed to distribute to more beneficiaries than what the strategic response plan had identified. The organisation disagreed. The entire area that the programme should have benefited was without distribution for about one month. Then, the government returned and said they could distribute according to their plan. Sometimes it is not the system but the people in the system that cause problems; that is one of the
interviewee’s impression. People who work for the same organisation see things differently. Another organisation had problems where they found 5 beneficiaries in one family, and with their kind of programmes, they only allow one beneficiary per household; they work with families, not individuals. This INGO had a complaint system, and they received calls from people who told them about the irregularities.

When I talked to one major organisation in Mozambique about the government going out with such a late red alert and international appeal, the interviewee mentioned it was because the figures of the drought from the strategic response pan took them by surprise. They saw quick action by the government when the figures came out. Many of the interviewees still think they would have had more funds if the red alert would have been set into action a little bit earlier.

When it comes to the future, some of the interviewees think the government should invest more in the agricultural areas to better mitigate natural disasters. One interviewee thought the government should store seeds so that when there are difficult times, the government can provide seeds to the communities. They also tell me that they have programmes in the communities to multiply seeds so those seeds will be locally stored there as well.

Institutional challenges
The various institutional challenges presented in this part range from the institutional challenges that can be seen in the country, such as coordination problems, to the institutional challenges that the country’s humanitarian relief actors experienced due to the geopolitical situation there.

“When we look back we also realised that we had risks and challenges we didn’t perceive, that we then faced”

(INGO, Interview Maputo, January 2017)

One problem that an INGO pointed out was a problem with a donor; the donor told the INGO that the INGOs programme would be funded, but the INGO had to work really hard to get the programme approved, and it probably took the INGO another seven weeks before it got the okay from the donor.
One thing that the empirical material clearly shows is that the geopolitical situation has made it harder for programmes to receive funding; the money goes to other crises around the world, such as those in Syria and Ethiopia. Another problem some organisations have had has been finding service providers with good standards for electronic vouchers, credit cards, a beneficiary registration system and companies to drill holes to find water.

One of the organisations said that a problem can be that different organisations provide different amounts of calories in their modalities for food security programmes. This means that conflicts in the districts could occur if the organisation were to work in the same district. The interviewee was not aware of a conflict that had occurred; mostly, the INGOs divide districts, but the interviewee highlighted the risk that it could happen.

Several of the interviewees talked about the importance of not disturbing the markets and of using the existing markets when possible. Another problem that many pointed out is that they need to transform from traditional to mechanic agriculture to be able to survive, or find other ways of surviving, such as by using livestock. In some of the areas where the population now lives on agriculture, there is no water, and the soil is not good for growing food.

The material shows that all of the interviewees thought that the people’s needs were bigger than the funds they managed to receive; because of this, they could not reach all of the people they wanted to reach. What one interviewee said, however, was, yes, there are not enough funds to get to everybody in need, but if one looks at the level that one has been able to reach in Mozambique, it is relatively high compared to those of other regions. And this is something that is easily forgotten. The interviewee furthermore said the farmers are doing a very good job based on their current conditions and that Mozambique’s disaster relief agency has what appears to be good potential. The hope is that in the future, they will be able to contribute even more.

One interviewee from an INGO said this about the humanitarian relief programmes:

“These kinds of projects kill development.”

(INGO, Interview Maputo, February 2017)
The interviewee said this is because normally they work with developmental programmes, but with humanitarian relief programmes, they have to work in another way. The INGOs might not be able to help the same people as the other developmental programmes can, and these people therefore become jealous and lose trust in the organisations. This makes it harder for them to thereafter continue the developmental programmes that are supposed to build a better future for the population.

**Challenges due to the conflict**
The last theme of challenges presented involves the challenges due to the conflict. My empirical material clearly shows that all interviewees agreed that the conflict has caused major challenges. This shows that the dual challenges, both the ones that humanitarian relief actors have met in all countries and the additional challenges they have met in a country, have an ongoing conflict.

“This conflict is really making our country move backwards”

*(INGO, Interview Maputo, February 2017)*

Generally speaking, agricultural production is higher in the northern part of the country than in the southern part. The drought plagued the South in 2016, so the production has remained low, even lower than usual. The agricultural production is higher in the North because the conditions are better for agriculture there. Due to the conflict in the centre provinces, what the organisations have seen is that the traditional trade between the North and South has been interrupted—both the transportation of products, such as food, and the transportation of people. This has an impact on food security. The ground transportation is seen as one of the main issues when it comes to challenges due to the conflict. One NGO had a situation where they were bringing food to an area and had to pass through RENAMO areas.

“The trucks with food were stopped by RENAMO and they asked: Where are you going? They answered we are going here and here. RENAMO they said: ah, you are the people that are giving food to those people, so you can go”

*(INGO, Interview Maputo, January 2017)*

The RENAMO military personnel probably knew who they were because they had received this information from the community leaders. Therefore, it is always good for the
organisations to talk with the community leaders. Another problem an INGO had due to the conflict was that they had one staff member in one district who was stuck. The staff member could continue doing the job in the area but could not move from the area. If a medical emergency had occurred, addressing it would have been a great challenge. One of the organisations said that their staff were not allowed in the areas where there was conflict, and in these areas, they had to use the local structure to distribute the modalities.

One of the interviewed INGOs has programmes in Inhambane, and it scrawls to some of the conflict areas. When it comes to food distribution, they have some areas with military conflict, so people cannot travel to particular locations. Two of the interviewees from different organisations answered that they had never had to stop completely in the districts they were in, but they have had to postpone some activities due to specific situations. For example, in the district of Chemba, one of the two organisations could not start distribution until late December 2016. By this time, there was a ceasefire in Mozambique. In a district, this same organisation’s office is next to the government administrative office that was attacked in September 2016. This still did not affect their ability to supply 8500 people with food assistance. The organisation had one of their staff sleeping in the office, as they have a guest room there, when the attack happened at 4.00 in the morning.

“This person overheard the RENAMO guys talking and one of them said, oh should we go next door there? The other responded: No that’s not government.”

(INGO, Interview Maputo, January 2017)

RENAMEO is targeting the government and not others. Two of the organisations said they do not work in the most-affected areas in the centre, where people had to travel with convoys and faced really inaccessible areas. They believed there were probably more delays in those programmes and that these would have probably been more affected by the conflict. Another organisation had an incident when the driver of a truck that was transporting water was killed. This was a government worker and not a worker from the organisation. Their organisation also had to move people from where they were based due to the security challenges they faced as a result of the conflict. They then moved back to where they were based after a while, when it became more secure. This, of course, delayed the programmes, but they could continue when it was more secure.
When it comes to dealing with the challenges of the conflict, the organisations have meetings with the government and with other partners, where they talk, listen and seek advice regarding whether they can or cannot continue in certain areas.

People in the communities told one of the organisations that there had been greater levels of migration, both conflict-induced migration and drought-induced mitigation.

When it comes to the future, one interviewee said that they believed that Mozambique will be much safer politically, partially because economic interests are at stake. Investors are not going to invest in various sectors if the country does not have a stable political and security situation.

5.2 The Zimbabwe case
In this section, information about Zimbabwe relevant to the thesis will be presented, first the history and thereafter a special focus on the disasters and disaster management processes in Zimbabwe. In the last section, 5.2.3 the gathered empirical findings from Zimbabwe are presented.

5.2.1 Zimbabwe’s history
King Lobengula saw the end of his country’s independence (a part of modern Zimbabwe territory) in 1888, when he was forced to sign a treaty that was used to conquer his land and the surrounding land. The British South African Company was founded in 1890 and conquered land in the region. They met resistance from the population in the areas, but the resistance was subdued. The gold mines, tobacco plantations and railway constructions attracted 25 000 White colonizers to the land that was now called Rhodesia. In 1923, the country was given to the commonwealth and became the self-ruling colony South Rhodesia. Rhodesia was a state built and run by White settlers. The number of White people quickly reached more than 150 000. In 1953, the colony was merged with North Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi) (NE, 2016, CIA, 2017).

In 1962, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZAPU) was formed and organised for the Black people’s rights. A year later, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was
formed as a breakout from ZAPU. ZANU and ZAPU fought the war of independence against the White minority government (Tibblin, 2012, 6).

The liberation movement that Robert Mugabe and the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party led won the first election after independence in 1980. Since then, the country has been under the leadership of Mugabe and ZANU-PF, and the country has worked as a one-party state. The first constitution Zimbabwe had as an independent country had a special quota that guaranteed the Whites 20 of the 100 parliamentary mandates and that also banned the confiscation of land without compensation. When the constitution was revised in 1987, the quota system and the prime minister post was abolished, and the role the prime minister had was replaced with the presidential post, which Mugabe took. When the opposition party won the parliamentary elections in 2008, a violent situation occurred, and the prime minister post was re-established during a transition period and was given to the opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change. A new constitution was approved after a general election in 2013. This constitution once again gave the president the status of head of government and commander in chief and set the term of office to five years, and it was changed so that the president can be re-elected only once. This rule cannot be used retrospectively, so Mugabe can run for office in the next election as well (NE, 2016, Tibblin, 2012 6).

Zimbabwe has suffered from economic decline due to land redistribution, which was chaotic and fraught with corruption and economic mismanagement (Mazzeo, 2011). The dominating question in Zimbabwe’s domestic politics during the 2000s has been the land redistribution question—that is, the redistribution of the large land areas from White farmers to landless Black smallholder farmers. The redistribution of the land resulted in the fall of commercial agriculture, which, in turn, led to huge food shortages throughout the country. Another problem has been the cash crisis; until 2009, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe printed money to fund the budget deficit, causing hyperinflation. They then started to use dollars to stabilize the economy (NE, 2016, CIA, 2017)

In 2013, Mugabe was re-elected and built a majority government. The party has increased its hold on power, and the opposition and civil society have been weakened (Sida, Department of Africa, 2016). By the end of last year, the government had spent more money than they had raised, and this resulted in the circulation of too few dollars. Banks limited withdrawals to 50
dollars a day. The central bank then decided to issue a new currency, bond notes. The bond notes are rapidly losing value (The Economist, 2017).

5.2.2 Disasters and disaster management processes in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has gone from being Southern Africa’s largest food exporter to being dependent on food imports and international aid (Mazzeo, 2011). Zimbabwe today is in a serious economic crisis. Unemployment is rampant, and poverty remains high. According to the latest UN estimate, 62.6% of Zimbabwe’s population lives in poverty (Sida, Department of Africa, 2016).

A poor harvest hit Zimbabwe in 2014-2015. The Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee’s 2016 Rural Livelihoods Assessment showed that approximately 3.3 million people were in need of food assistance between October and December 2016. On the third of February 2016, the Government of Zimbabwe declared a state of national emergency.

Figure 3 Evolution of needs. Key sectors as of August 2016

Evolution of needs. Key sectors as of August 2016

Figure 3. Source: Humanitarian Response Plan, 2016, p 6. The figure shows the food security situation in Zimbabwe, with the darker blue being the most severely hit areas.

In Zimbabwe, the government led the response to the drought emergency. The government established a Cabinet Committee on Emergency Response to the El Niño–induced drought.
The cabinet’s mandate is to coordinate responses to meet the immediate and medium-term needs brought on by the drought. The response is being coordinated by sector platforms led by government platforms, which are led by government ministries and that are supported by the UN and NGOs (SADC, 2016). Fifty-eight different organisations were working with projects responding to the drought in Zimbabwe in 2016 (Humanitarian Response Plan, 2016).

5.2.3 Empirical material for Zimbabwe
Below, information gathered from interviews in Harare with interviewees from WFP, UNHCR, DFID and Terres des Hommes is presented. The interviews were conducted in February 2017. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, first, a background on the food security programmes will be given, and thereafter the challenges presented in Figure 1 on page 11 will be analysed from the gathered information. The challenges are divided into the same themes as in Figure 1. To highlight important aspects of the interviews, several citations will be presented.

The food security programmes
WFP has many different kinds of programmes focusing on food security. For example, they do lead season assistance, which is an unconditional food or cash transfer to the most vulnerable people that the food shortages in Zimbabwe have affected, and school meal schemes. They also support the refugees at the Tongogara refugee camp. UNHCR works with the Tongogara refugee camp, which is situated at about a one-day trip away from the border to Mozambique. When it comes to the decision to use the modalities of cash versus food, it depends on market assessments, and it is also based on what the donors want. WFP also works with malnutrition and programmes with the aim of making the communities less vulnerable during the next season—for example, with irrigation schemes. They also work with FAO and the government with smallholder farmers to promote small grains, as they are more drought resistant. With all of WFP’s programmes, they work in partnership with cooperation partners, local or international NGOs, the private sector and/or the government. They work with more than 20 partners.

DFID normally supports developmental and resilience programmes. They set up a humanitarian relief programme in Zimbabwe in 2015 when they saw the bad harvest and the challenging situation. They started a programme that Care International and World Vision, a
mobile cash transfer programme, implemented. This programme was implemented through small amounts of money transferred to the heads of the households of the vulnerable families identified. Furthermore, they have ongoing developmental and resilience programmes.

In the refugee camp, TDH have different kinds of programmes, schools, medical facilities, food vouchers and farmer programmes. TDH is one of WFP’s partners. They work at the Tongogara refugee camp with food distribution. The refugees who register at the camp will first benefit from food distribution, and then, after settling down at the camp, they will receive cash to buy their own food. TDH also had other programmes focusing on food security in 2016. These programmes have school feeding and cash transfers. The school feeding scheme targeted the children whom the government’s school feeding programmes did not. The government provided food to those in the early grades, and the TRH programme complemented this programme to make sure that all children in the school received food.

WFP’s key counterpart has been the food and nutrition council, and they have worked together in the targeting communities. First, they look at assessments and data on the situation. Then, they sit down with all of the stakeholders, including the selected communities, for a week and draw up a seasonal calendar. The seasonal calendar includes what will happen during the year—for example, what programmes will take place and which partners will be involved. Then, the last thing they do is plan using the self-targeting approach; this means they basically sit down with the communities and come to a conclusion about who are the most vulnerable in the communities, and those are the ones who make it to the list.

As this section has described, many actors are involved in the different programmes. However, they do face a number of challenges. These challenges will be elaborated on in the following section.

**Environmental challenges**

The empirical material points towards several challenges stemming from the environment. One of the organisations told me that the environment is a big problem. The areas in which they are working are very prone to droughts, and they are also affected by flooding. Mostly it is the droughts that are the problem. In December 2016, they saw an outbreak of cholera in
one of the areas where they had a programme; this was due to heavy rain and a bad infrastructure.

Certain activities in one of the organisation’s livelihood and food security programme had to be stopped during the drought, as there was not enough water to continue with them. The climate has definitely affected their programmes. One problem that they have experienced is that due to a lack of rain, the people have not had enough greens to eat, and this has had negative nutritional results. Another problem is that the rain is erratic and that the droughts are becoming a little more frequent. It can also be much patchier and spotty geographically, so they have to expect a bad year much more frequently. This has affected the ability to completely a good vulnerability assessment, and this is an issue in terms of the credibility of the data coming out of the government. This will also be an issue in the recovery phase, as some communities will have too much rain and some too little.

Another bad thing for the harvest that the organisation has highlighted is the fall armyworm they have found in Zimbabwe. At the moment, they are waiting to see what damage they cause to the crops. The fall armyworm has not been found in Zimbabwe before. They have tried to spray chemicals on the affected crops, but the heavy rain has made this ineffective.

An interesting fact is that the drought has not affected the refugee camp of Tongogara, as they have an irrigation scheme, and this has made a huge difference.

“You can clearly see the whole way to Tongogara that the maize on the sides are very short, it was really sad, because they really did not harvest anything. The minute you got to Tongogara the maize where striving, because of the irrigation scheme that we have.”

(UN-organisation, Interview Harare, February 2017)

Because of this, and due to the presence of an adequate number of humanitarian relief programmes, the camp has never really felt any effects of the drought; it has been well protected.

The material also shows some positive aspects—the seed situation in one, for example. A major organisation in Zimbabwe said that having enough good seeds was not a challenge in 2016; they did manage to have access to seeds for the small grain project that they supported
in 2016, and they worked with another organisation. The challenges were the question of a time limit and the quality of the seeds. Several of the interviewees whose programmes supported also had enough seeds. They did hear through discussions that high-value seeds, such as cowpea and ground nuts, were hard to find enough of.

Political and governance challenges
Challenges surrounding political issues and governance will be presented in this part. One of the organisations pointed out that it is important to look at what the government is doing and then to complement their efforts. This has been a challenge for them; it was not easy for them to coordinate with the government and their drought relief intervention. It took them a bit of time, but after some work, they then knew who was doing what and where, including providing the government assistance. Other organisations agreed with this. The risk of partial aid has been very high on the radar. Something that was problematic to an organisation was the regular allegations of the government’s using food aid as a political tool. The allegations said that in some areas, the government would provide more than 100% assistance based on their needs. In Zimbabwe, about 50% of the humanitarian assistance comes from the government. On the one hand, this is positive; on the other hand, it is difficult to get a really clear picture of what exactly people are receiving and to ensure that it really goes to the ones in the most need. One of the organisations pointed out that WFP provided good leadership in terms of discussing the recent allegations with the government. They furthermore had multistate holder meetings with the minister of social welfare and passed some relatively strong messages. There was a panel discussion on what can be done to improve the transparency and to ensure that the aid is distributed impartially, not just the international community aid but also the government aid.

“We should all be holding ourselves to the higher standards. There aren’t enough resources to fully meet all the needs. And in that situation, we cannot have part of the aid being essentially wasted and used for political means.”

(Donor, Interview Harare, February 2017)

Two of the major organisations told me that they have accountability mechanics, feedback channels through a telephone hotline that is anonymous and suggestion boxes. People are calling a lot, with both feedback and complaints. The organisations then follow up on these
issues and try to resolve them. These mechanisms have proved to be very valuable for accountability.

A political problem that is highlighted in one of the interviews is that to get food assistance, the head of the household needs a national ID. There are hard claims that sometimes withholding a national ID can also be a way for the regime to encourage people to support them or to punish people. Thus, not having a national ID obviously limits your rights. Organisations have therefore put in a system of proxies for dealing with this issue. The proxy will sign a document with the beneficiaries, and the contract is then registered with the distributing organisation.

One organisation talked about their relationship to the government, that they have a good relationship with the government and that they have experienced no major political challenges. Another organisation talks about the huge challenge of politicisation.

“There is also a huge risk of politicisation, this is a risk that will probably be further increased as the country moves towards the elections 2018.”

(UN-organisation, Interview Harare, February 2017)

This is the future, but it will affect the country a lot, an interviewee said. The interviewee from one of the largest humanitarian agencies in Zimbabwe told me they have taken a proactive approach. They have talked to the government at the national level and have organised workshops with everyone from the chiefs to the local authority to the national authorities. They have also set up a monitory system where they can monitor basically every transfer and distribution closely.

Another organisation also talked about the upcoming election and the politicisation aspects of food aid or cash transfers. With the food aid, a problem was that the benefitted gave some of the food to the communities so that it was then redistributed to people who were not on the beneficiary list. When they then switched over to cash, this was harder for them to do due to the modality of mobile cash. The villages are an entry point to government issues, so this can create challenges, the interviewee said. They also pointed out that some areas are more politically sensitive than others are. They fear that they might see increased political violence
approaching the 2018 election. This may result in their having to stop their work in some areas, something they have seen happen before:

“The local authorities might give you a directive that for now we don’t want to see any NGO’s operating in the area, because they might be feeling that maybe they (the NGO) want to influence the communities. And then after the elections they accept us to go in again.”

(INGO, Interview Harare, February 2017)

A basic example of politicisation when it comes to distributing food in a remote area is that even if everything is organised, some politicians can just show up and try to interfere with who is getting what. Then, they would make a record of what happened and after that talk with the government about the issue. Thereafter, the issue will be addressed, and there will be an investigation on the ground of what happened. Usually this will be solved at the next distribution, and they can have national, provincial or district authorities to come down and look at it.

A huge problem for the programmes in Zimbabwe, as the empirical material shows, is the liquidity crisis in the country that they have had to deal with. One of the organisations has dealt with it through the resident coordinator office. They made a deal with the reserve bank and the ministry of finance that the humanitarian response would be exempt from the withdrawal limits (which would have otherwise been a massive problem). The withdrawal limits used to be a problem in the beginning, but they solved this through this mechanism. This challenge started in early 2016 when the banks reduced the daily withdrawal limits and when the government as a countermeasure started to print bond notes. The withdrawal limits, which have been between 50 and 100 dollars per day, have created problems, with large lines to the ATMs.

Another organisation also talked about the liquidity crisis as a stressful challenge. The private market usually works very well, but now, food importers are starting to face problems because the Zimbabwean government put in place exchange controls, so they cannot pay suppliers overseas. The organisation therefore launched a market facilitation program, where they changed the way in which the money flows. The organisation pays suppliers, and the companies that have bought imported goods can pay the organisation in the country. A third
organisation said a problem for them was there not being enough food products, as they both import and use products from the country. Some of the suppliers who import food are expecting huge delays in the processing of their payments to be able to import goods. The third organisation had heard that there had been problems with buying fertilizers, as the fertilizer-companies wanted to be paid in cash. They are afraid that that this can become a huge problem if the bond note continues to be on the market and if the policies remain the same. They have already seen problems and that the value of the bond notes is deteriorating.

“This means that the value of the funding in eroded somehow. When you are going to the shop it is worth something else.”

(INGO, Interview Harare, February 2017)

When one of the interviewees talked about the future, they talked about the huge potential that Zimbabwe has agriculture wise but that the government has been a huge limiting factor in the recovery of the agricultural sector.

“There are many other policy issues in the policy environment that are limiting the agricultural production, so essentially the outlook is that Zimbabwe will continue to be a net food importer for the next years even in the best conditions.”

(Donor, Interview Harare, February 2017)

Institutional challenges

The many institutional challenges presented in this part range from the institutional challenges that can be seen in the country, such as coordination problems, to the institutional challenges that the country’s humanitarian relief actors have experienced due to the geopolitical situation.

One of the interviewees talked about the challenge their organisation is facing with the donors—that the donors in Zimbabwe have very clear political agendas and that some of the donors are clashing. They then face the challenge of not positioning themselves accordingly.

“We (the organisation) find ourselves in sort of this field of friction between donors.”

(UN-organisation, Interview Harare, February 2017)
When it comes to the challenges with the markets, one of the organisation’s partners does the monitoring of food availability, food prices and cash availability every second week. These reports are then widely distributed.

“We felt that food aid distributions had in the past had a negative impact on the markets and we wanted to be very careful to not undermine the local markets.”
(Donor, Interview Harare, February 2017)

One interviewee told me about the problem with the fact that they cannot reach certain villages, as the infrastructure is not good enough and also because they are allowed to travel only between 6.00 and 18.00. The infrastructure then is even harder for trucks delivering food. Another organisation also pointed out this fact and that if there is flooding, they cannot reach the areas.

A challenge that does come up, related to donors, is the lack of funding. One of the organisations saw this as their biggest challenge, and their caseload has increased massively due to the Mozambican refugees. They are the last on the list, after all of the other larger operations around the world.

The sustainability of the programmes is mentioned as a challenge because the programmes are not long-term programmes and do not help with building development towards the future; they only target the acute situation. They believed that for the future, more solid interventions that can actually help with building development towards the future in individual households at the community level are needed, not humanitarian relief programmes.

Challenges due to the conflict in Mozambique
An empirically interesting issue that arose from the interviews was the additional challenges that surfaced during the interviews with the organisations due to the conflict in the neighbouring country of Mozambique. Zimbabwe is not affected by a conflict; however, several of the interviewees told me that they had experienced additional challenges due to the conflict in Mozambique. Figure 4 on page 46 will further show this aspect. Two of the organisations informed me about how Zimbabwe has been affected by the conflict in Mozambique, and both said that the food security programmes have definitely been affected in particular. WFP is responsible for the food security at the camp of Tongogara because
when the camp passes 5000, which it has, then WFP assumes responsibility for the food. The Mozambicans started coming in larger numbers in June 2016. In August and September 2016, the organisations saw a big influx of Mozambicans. UNHCR assessed that at one point, there were up to 100 a day. WFP then started to provide food assistance to them, and it started to increase rapidly. Another organisation agreed and pointed out that the big influx of Mozambicans has strained the infrastructure and resources available. At the start, many came over to the Zimbabwean side to sleep and for safety during the night and then went back to their farms and stocks during the day.

For the government, the refugees are a security problem, especially if they are in the security buffer zone at the border. The government then asked for assistance from one of the organisations to tell them that they either needed to go further inland or that they could come with them to the refugee camp. They transported 700 Mozambicans to the camp in December 2016. The number of people fleeing to Zimbabwe was far less after the ceasefire; however, at the organisation’s last registration in January 2017, there were still 2000 Mozambicans at the border.

Many of the Mozambicans who have fled to Zimbabwe end up living at a family’s house. This, of course, results in families’ having to share the food they have with them. At the beginning, the Mozambicans brought cattle and food with them, but at the end, when they had less time, when the fighting intensified, they came without this. This then affects the food security programmes, with more people in the families benefitting from the programmes. One interviewee said that the communities and villages embraced them and took them on but that it did put a strain on them. The district authorities told the organisation they were there, but there was no harassment or incidents where they tried to chase them out of there.

The interviewee from one of the organisations said that their staff had never faced security risks due to the conflict but that they had heard some claims that militants have been coming over to the Zimbabwe side.

One of the organisations stated that the conflict in Mozambique had not affected their programmes because they were not working in the neighbouring districts. They did do a joint
visit to the border with their humanitarian adviser from Mozambique, as they did not feel they were getting a clear picture from the capital.

“The fact that they were traveling such small distances and that the numbers were not going up over the months I think we are a little bit more relaxed about that now.”

(Donor, Interview Harare, February 2017)

A side-track from the challenges that came up as something positive for the future of one of the organisations was the fact that the Mozambicans most likely will return to Mozambique when the situation is better.

“I think they will return, because we have had Mozambicans here in the past. They are people who have a tendency, I can’t say they love their country, everybody loves their country, but they are the people who are very fast in returning.”

(UN-organisation, Interview Harare, February 2017)

They have seen this happen in the past—in 1980, for example, there were massive amounts of Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe, and they all left and went back.

6. Discussion
The purpose of this thesis was to identify and analyse different types of challenges humanitarian relief programmes face in their disaster management in two different contexts, in a conflict context and a non-conflict context. As we see in the figure below, the big difference between the challenges in a conflict context compared to a non-conflict context is that, the humanitarian relief programmes will face both the regular challenges and the additional challenges they face because they are working in a conflict area. The challenges differ in intensity in the countries and present themselves in different ways. This will be discussed in the section differences and similarities. Thereafter, the challenges due to the conflict will be discussed, and last, the challenges will be discussed and understood using theories presented on disaster management and peace and conflict studies.
Figure 4. Challenges humanitarian relief programmes face 2

**Challenges in all humanitarian relief programmes:**
- Environment
  - Pressure of time
  - Climate change
  - Physical environment
  - Uncertainty
  - Hard to match supply and demand
  - Complex locations logistically
- Political and governance
  - Political violate climate
  - Political strife and manipulation
- Institutional capacity
  - Often many stakeholders with different political agendas, ideologies, etc.
  - Stakeholders with different operational boundaries
  - Often bad coordination
  - Infrastructure and transportation problems
  - Challenges with donors

**Effects on programmes in a non-conflict context**

**Additional challenges humanitarian relief programmes face due to conflict:**
- Environment
  - Disruptive effects on food distribution
  - Displaced people
  - Limited place for crops to grow
- Political and governance
  - Big insecurity and safety issues
  - Decreased state capacity
  - Obstruction of programmes from opposition
- Institutional capacity
  - Limited workforce
  - Transportation risks
  - Destroyed infrastructure

**Effects on programmes in a country that neighbours a conflict context**

Figure 4. Source: Made by Author. *This figure shows the theoretical framework, based on prior research on the challenges that humanitarian relief actors face in a non-conflict context and challenges they face in a conflict context. The yellow box shows that humanitarian relief programmes in a non-conflict country face challenges from the left blue box. The red box in the middle shows that countries in a conflict experience both the challenges that humanitarian relief programmes face in a non-conflict context (left blue box) and the challenges they face in a conflict context (right blue box). The green box in the middle shows that countries that neighbour a country in conflict will face the challenges from the left blue box and can have a spillover effect of the challenges from the neighbouring country that is in a conflict. The arrow from the left blue box to the green box shows this.*

6.1 Comparing the two cases, differences and similarities

Now it is time to recall the first research question of this thesis. This part answers and discusses the research question: “In the cases of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, what challenges do the actors carrying out humanitarian relief programmes face, and what are the
main differences and similarities?” The section below is divided into similarities and differences. We can see that all of the challenges in humanitarian relief programmes that the figure above identifies can be found in the countries.

6.1.1 Similarities.
As the disaster management research has begun to highlight, environmental challenges are a key concern. My material clearly shows that problems with the environment, drought and flooding can be seen in both countries and how this affects the programmes. They are all seeing a bigger degree of uncertainty as droughts and bad years are becoming more frequent. This thesis has shown that this is true for both Mozambique and Zimbabwe and that they have similar concerns surrounding the environmental challenges.

When it comes to politicisation, we can see many similarities in the two countries. They both have problems with beneficiaries—for example, bad lists. Organisations in both countries had to delay programmes because the political parties tried to use the humanitarian aid as a political tool. In Mozambique, the interviewees talked about the importance of not taking sides and that it was easy to be misunderstood and seen as taking sides. Only by talking with a special person could they be called a spy for RENAMO, for example. Both countries talked about the importance of having a complaint mechanism by telephone, where everybody can raise complaints about the aid.

Another aspect of the uncertainty that has to do with matching demand and supply is that all of the interviewees talked about the fact that they do not have enough money. The available money, which they are competing to get, is going to other regions. The interviewees in both countries talked about the geopolitical situation and how their region is not the region at which the eyes of the world are looking. They also talked about the need to put more resources into climate adapting and into being able to handle drought and flooding so that they do not have to resort to humanitarian relief programmes.

The organisation in both countries face challenges with the donors, wanting to do things their way and use the kind of modality they think is the best, for example.
6.1.2 Differences
There are differences in the challenges the humanitarian relief programmes face but not as many as the number of similarities: that is the conclusion drawn from the empirical material. The differences will be discussed below.

When it comes to the environmental challenges, no major differences have been noted other than the seeds discussed further down.

From a comparative perspective, it becomes clear that Zimbabwe has had bigger problems with the economy. A huge problem in Zimbabwe that the interviewees talked a lot about is the liquidity problem. This is a problem for them in many ways. They get less money, so the demand/supply problem becomes bigger. The uncertainty is huge, as they do not know how much the new bond notes will be worth, how much food will cost or if food supplies will be able to be imported into the country.

The humanitarian relief programmes have faced different challenges in the demand/supply and uncertainty aspects. When we now compare these two countries, Mozambique had a huge problem with the seeds; the demand for seeds of good quality was very high, but the supply of seeds was very low. In Mozambique, interviewees said that they would like to see the government store seeds to have in a crisis; this is something the presented theory on disaster management also talks about—having depots with supplies in strategic locations. Zimbabwe did not have this supply problem; they had enough seeds and could satisfy the demand. Zimbabwe’s history, as you read in section 6.3, has had a well-functioning agricultural production, something that Mozambique has not had, so when it comes to companies that can supply seeds, there is already a functioning market for this, which has not in the same way existed in Mozambique. Mozambique has not gone from being a net exporting country to being a net importing country when it comes to agriculture, like Zimbabwe has.

When it comes to the coordination amongst the INGOs in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, this seems to be somewhat of a bigger problem in Mozambique than in Zimbabwe. They both have coordination mechanisms and have agreed on certain criteria for beneficiaries, for example. However, in Zimbabwe, they have agreed on the same number of dollars for humanitarian food aid. In Mozambique, they have not done this, and they talked about the
challenge that the different organisations provide different amounts of calories in their modalities.

In Zimbabwe, according to the gained material, it furthermore seems that the organisations need to work more with the government because around 50% of the humanitarian assistance comes from the government. Another challenge politically that the organisations in Zimbabwe talked about is the upcoming election that will most likely mean a lot of new challenges. They might even have to stop their programmes in some areas due to the hostile political situation. This points towards the fact that the depending on upcoming political events challenges the humanitarian relief programmes meet can differ.

6.2 Humanitarian relief programmes in conflict-affected countries
This part will draw attention to one of the thesis centre of attention and answers the research study’s second question: “In what ways are humanitarian relief actors’ challenges affected by conflict in the country?” The challenges to the right in the figure above, additional challenges, have all been found in the humanitarian relief programmes in Mozambique. We can also see that there has been a spillover effect from Mozambique to Zimbabwe due to the conflict in Mozambique—an interesting result from this thesis. This is illustrated with the green box in the figure 4.

What has clearly been seen is that the challenges in Mozambique have been doubled, both the regular challenges and the challenges due to the conflict. We can see more challenges in the programmes in Mozambique and some of the challenges are bigger. The security issue has been a big challenge in Mozambique. It has resulted in delays in programmes and challenges with not knowing the situation. Another huge problem is the transportation of food, the fact that traditional trade between the North and South of Mozambique has been interrupted and the fact that government personnel have been killed while delivering food aid. Something interesting that can be seen is that RENAMO seems to target only the government personnel, not NGOs. Therefore, it seems as though it has been harder for NGOs that work with government personnel on the ground. We can see problems with migration in Mozambique as well, that the programmes needed to deal with. The migration in Mozambique has been both climate-induced and conflict-induced migration.
One of my key findings from my study, which I found to be quite surprising, is that Zimbabwe has met challenges due to the conflict in Mozambique, spillover effects. The challenges that Zimbabwe has met due to the conflict in Mozambique have not been huge, but they did exist. The challenges have involved the refugees, there has been a large influx of Mozambicans into Zimbabwe. This had constrained the infrastructure and the resources available at the border.

6.3 Understanding the challenges using peace and conflict studies and disaster management studies

This part with Figure 4 on page 46 answers the last research question: “Drawing on peace and conflict studies and disaster management studies, how can these challenges be understood?”

We can now return to the theoretical chapter of this thesis. Is impossible to look at the gathered empirical material and not ask oneself the question that many important researchers, such as Quarantelli, Oliver-Smith and Hoffman Wisner et al. and Birkman, before me have asked themselves: “Are there any natural disasters?” We can see that many of the challenges with the programmes are due to natural events: the environment, drought and/or flooding. However, this is only one of many challenges. Both Mozambique and Zimbabwe experience challenges due to the government, politics and institutional challenges, and these challenges are all manmade and definitely contribute to the incapability to mitigate the drought effectively. The researches also argue that the intensity of the disasters depends on the vulnerability of the affected communities and people. The word “vulnerability,” a key concept in the research, is easily connected to the gathered material, as the communities that are most affected by the disaster are the most vulnerable. These are the communities and people whom the humanitarian relief programmes target. Looking at the gathered material, I draw the conclusion that the disasters in Mozambique and Zimbabwe are, in fact, not natural but manmade. The events turn into disasters because of the vulnerable communities. I am inclined to agree with the researches that there is no such thing as a natural disaster.

We can never prevent disasters from happening; however, on a positive note, because the disasters are manmade, we can do something. We can mitigate the consequences through working with structures and preparedness. We just need to learn how to, and this through more studies combining peace and conflict studies and disaster management studies. We need to be sure to mitigate and make vulnerable communities less vulnerable.
As conflict is a manmade disaster, it is important to look at both peace and conflict studies and disaster management studies when looking at a disaster in a conflict zone. The disaster management can learn a lot from the peace and conflict studies, and vice versa. Disaster management can learn from looking at how peace and conflict studies solve manmade problems, for example and can also learn from understanding why the challenges they face occur. For example, a party that is fighting against the government might benefit from obstructing the relief programmes that are undertaken by the government or seen as being undertaken by government. In my empirical material, this can be seen as having occurred in Mozambique. If one takes into account both the usual challenges humanitarian relief programmes face and the challenges they face in a conflict-affected country, one can more appropriately tailor the humanitarian relief programmes. By combining the two studies, the bigger picture is clearer, and we will be able to handle the disasters better.

7. Conclusion
The conclusion that this thesis draws is that the challenges that the humanitarian relief programmes face are often big, both for the programmes per se and for the people working with the programmes. I believe that it is important to investigate these challenges to be aware of the problems and also to be able to deal with them. To make the humanitarian relief programmes better, we need to know where to start working with them, and we need to use both peace and conflict studies and disaster management studies to do so. Unfortunately, as mentioned in the introduction, conflicts and disasters are not becoming fewer in number, and disaster relief programmes will be needed in the future, probably even more than they are today. It is clear that there is therefore a need to conduct more research on disasters and conflicts. Not only are papers by the humanitarian actors needed but also more research on this thesis subject is needed so that they can become more effective and help more people.

We can now conclude and answer the question in the title “Conflict and drought, is it a dual challenge,” the answerer is yes. This thesis clearly shows that countries with ongoing conflict experience both the regular challenges as well as challenges due to the conflict. I have contributed to the theory with one piece of the puzzle, combining the theories on disaster management and peace and conflict studies and showing that countries that are neighbouring a conflict context are likely to get some spillover of the challenges from the country in conflict. This topic requires further research and more pieces of the puzzle are needed.
8. References


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9. Appendices

9.1 Interview guide Mozambique

Initial information about the research
The aim of this study is to investigate the programmes focusing on preventing/mitigating the drought’s effect in Zimbabwe and Mozambique in 2016 and to look at the differences in the two countries. A special focus of the research will be the challenges surrounding the programmes, taking into consideration the political and conflict aspects and seeing how they affect the programmes.

All of the participants in the interviews can be anonymous, and I am the only person who will have access to the collected data. No third person will have access to the un-coded data. The participant chooses what questions to answer and can at any stage of the interview decide to stop the interview. With the participants consent, the interview will be recorded.

Food security programmes 2016
- What kinds of programmes focusing on food security has your organisation had in 2016?
- What is the main focus of these programmes?
- Were in Mozambique do you have these programmes?
- How do you identify the beneficiaries and vulnerable groups?

Challenges in the programmes
- What kinds of challenges do the programmes deal with? What are the most challenging?
- Are the challenges different in different places? Why?
- The conflict, has it affected the programmes? If yes, in what way?
- Mozambique went out very late with an appeal, why? Has this affected the program? If yes, in what way?
- Are there any political challenges? If yes, what and how are they dealt with?
- How do you deal with the challenges? Can all challenges be mitigated/ dealt with?
The Future
- What do you think will be the challenges in the future for food security in Mozambique?
- What are the possibilities in the future for food security in Mozambique?

Background info
- Organisation, what position?
- Can I use your name, or do you want to be anonymous?

9.2 Interview guide Zimbabwe

Initial information about the research
The aim of this study is to investigate the programmes focusing on preventing/mitigating the drought’s effect in Zimbabwe and Mozambique in 2016, looking at the differences in the two countries. A special focus in the research will be the challenges surrounding the programmes, taking into consideration the political and conflict aspects and seeing how they affect the programmes.

All of the participants in the interviews can be anonymous, and I am the only person who will have access to the collected data. No third person will have access to the un-coded data. The participant chooses what questions to answer and can at any stage of the interview decide to stop the interview. With the participant’s consent, the interview will be recorded.

Food security programmes 2016
- What kinds of programmes focusing on food security has your organisation had in 2016?
- What is the main focus of these programmes?
- Were in Zimbabwe do you have these programmes?
- How do you identify the beneficiaries and vulnerable groups?

Challenges in the programmes
- What kinds of challenges do the programmes deal with? What are the most challenging?
- Are the challenges different in **different places**? Why?
- The **conflict in Mozambique**, has it affected the programmes? If yes, in what way?
- Are there any **political challenges**? If yes, what, and how are they dealt with?
- How do you deal with the challenges? Can all challenges be mitigated/dealt with?

**The Future**
- What do you think will be the challenges in the future for food security in Zimbabwe?
- What are the possibilities in the future for food security in Zimbabwe?

**Background info**
- Organisation, what position?
- Can I use your name, or do you want to be anonymous?