



## The World Food Programme's Role as a Norm Entrepreneur in the Formation of Sustainability Norms in Ethiopia (2020-2024)

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### ABSTRACT

The food crisis in Ethiopia in 2020–2024 emphasized the need for an approach that is not only emergency-oriented but also sustainable. This study analyzes the role of the World Food Programme (WFP) in shaping sustainability norms using a constructivist approach and the norm life cycle theory of Finnemore & Sikkink (1998), which includes the stages of norm emergence, dissemination, and institutionalization. Using qualitative case study methods and secondary data from WFP and partner institutions, the results show that WFP acted as a norm entrepreneur that introduced sustainability norms, encouraged their adoption by the Ethiopian government and international actors, and ultimately integrated them into national policies such as the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP). Thus, WFP transformed from a mere provider of humanitarian assistance to a global norm-forming agent in Ethiopia's food security governance

## **INTRODUCTION**

Food security is a condition in which every individual has physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their living needs (Pereira & Hodge, 2015). This issue is not only related to individual well-being, but also part of human rights as stated in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 2015). Globally, food security is a priority in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), especially the second goal, Zero Hunger, which targets the eradication of hunger and the development of sustainable food systems by 2030. However, global reality shows that food security still faces significant challenges (Wahbeh et al., 2022). Millions of people in developing countries struggle to obtain adequate food (Nakalembe et al., 2021). Ethiopia is one of the countries with high vulnerability due to a combination of structural factors, including extreme poverty, prolonged conflict as well as the impact of climate change (Maredia et al., 2022 ;Stansfield, 2017;Anderson et al., 2023). A 2020 global report noted that 155 million people in 50 countries experienced acute food insecurity, and Ethiopia is one of those badly affected (GRFC, 2023;Abay et al., 2023).. With a population of over 118 million, the country continues to face a multidimensional crisis that exacerbates food insecurity (World Bank, 2023).

Between 2020 and 2024, the number of Ethiopians affected by the food crisis continued to increase, from 8.5 million in 2020 to nearly 20 million in 2022, although in 2023–2024 the number remained around 15–17 million (Telila & Sima, 2024). The armed conflict between the Ethiopian government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) forces since late 2020 has resulted in logistical disruptions, damage to agricultural land, mass displacement, and obstacles to aid access (OCHA, 2024b). Some 4.5 million people are internally displaced, and 5.5 million people in Tigray need food assistance, including 350,000 who face acute hunger (Mesfin et al., 2024). On the other hand, climate disasters such as floods, droughts due to La Niña, and food inflation reaching 19.9% in 2024 will further exacerbate the crisis (Yesuph et al., 2025;Masha et al., 2023);WFP, 2024).

The Ethiopian government's limitations in addressing this situation reinforce the role of international organizations, particularly the World Food Programme (WFP, 2022b). As an organization with a global mandate, WFP plays a dual role: providing emergency food assistance while strengthening national food security through a sustainable approach (WFP, 2024d). These efforts have been implemented in stages since the start of the Ethiopia Country Strategic Plan (CSP) 2020–2024. Since 2020, WFP has introduced innovations such as Cash-Based Transfers (CBT), strengthening the capacity of local farmers, and digitizing aid. In 2021, a biometric verification system was implemented to ensure targeted distribution. Meanwhile, 2022 was marked by the development of renewable energy for irrigation and land conservation, while in 2023–2024 WFP implemented programs such as Nutrition-Sensitive Safety Nets (NGSF), Fresh Food Vouchers (FFV), and the digital CATS system (WFP, 2024a).

Thus, WFP functions not only as a provider of technical assistance, but also as a normative actor or norm entrepreneur. Through the norm life cycle framework (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). WFP introduced the sustainability norm, encouraged its dissemination through collaboration with the Ethiopian government and partner institutions, and institutionalized it in national policies such as the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) (WFP, 2024a). This research is crucial for understanding how WFP acts as a norm entrepreneur in promoting sustainability norms, a previously under-researched topic in international relations literature. Focusing on the 2020–2024 period, this study highlights WFP's contribution in guiding the transition from an emergency aid paradigm to a sustainable food system in Ethiopia.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

In the study of international relations, international organizations (IOs) are understood not merely as instruments of states, but also as independent actors capable of influencing the direction of global governance. International organizations have the capacity to formulate policies, shape discourse, and act autonomously (Barnett & Finnemore, 2004). Meanwhile, Archer (2001) classifies their roles into three dimensions: as an instrument, as an arena, and as an actor. With normative legitimacy and institutional authority, IO can design programs, set agendas, and build cross-border collaborations (Wendt, 1999). In the context of this research, the World Food Programme (WFP) is seen as a global actor that goes beyond the technical mandate of humanitarian assistance, with a strategic role in building a sustainable food security system in Ethiopia.

Constructivism is used to explain the normative dimensions of the role. According to Wendt (1999) international structures are shaped not only by material power, but also by social interactions, ideas, and norms. International norms are the result of social constructions promoted through interactions between actors. Finnemore & Sikkink (1998) emphasizes the role of norm entrepreneurs, actors who create and promote new norms through a norm life cycle consisting of three stages: emergence, when the norm is introduced; cascade, when the norm begins to be adopted by other actors; and internalization, when the norm is institutionalized in institutions and policies. This framework provides a foundation for understanding WFP's role in promoting sustainability norms in Ethiopia's food system.

Several previous studies have examined the role of WFP in various contexts. Arif (2021) examined the response to Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines and found that the WFP was effective in supporting logistics, food distribution, and emergency communications. Akpogheli et al. (2024) evaluated the role of WFP in Nigeria in addressing malnutrition in conflict areas, with results showing a significant reduction in wasting and stunting rates. The study by Riggan et al. (2021) regarding the cuts in WFP assistance to Rwandan refugees due to the COVID-19 pandemic highlighting the negative impact on health and survival. Margulis (2021) emphasizes the normative role of international organizations such as the WFP, FAO, and OHCHR in shaping global norms related to food and

distributive justice. Yulia Rimapradesi et al., (2023) examines the food crisis in Haiti and shows that WFP plays a dual role as an instrument, arena, and actor, contributing to emergency food distribution while also strengthening local farmers.

However, research examining the normative role of WFP in the Ethiopian context is still very limited. This is despite the fact that Ethiopia is one of the countries with the highest levels of food insecurity and is the location for the implementation of WFP's long-term strategy. From a theoretical perspective, this study presents a novelty by combining constructivism theory and the concept of norm entrepreneurship to view WFP not merely as a technical implementer but as a normative agent. Empirically, this study offers a contribution by examining the period 2020–2024, when WFP sought to promote the institutionalization of sustainability values through sustainability-based programs such as the NGSF, CBT, and FFV, ultimately leading to the transformation of Ethiopia's food policy towards a sustainable system.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach to gain an in-depth understanding of the World Food Programme (WFP)'s role in improving food security in Ethiopia during the 2020–2024 period. This approach allows researchers to explore the strategies, dynamics, and norms developed in food security practices contextually. The theoretical foundation used is constructivism, specifically the concept of norm entrepreneurship, to analyze WFP not only as a technical implementer but also as an international actor playing a role in shaping and disseminating food sustainability norms.

This study utilizes secondary data obtained through literature review. Primary sources include official WFP documents, such as the Country Strategic Plan (CSP), Annual Country Reports, and publications and evaluations of food security programs. Additionally, data were sourced from reports from other international organizations, such as FAO, UNOCHA, and UNHCR, as well as reputable international academic journals addressing food security, climate change, conflict, and refugee issues in Ethiopia. Data collection was conducted through a systematic review of various relevant documents, reports, and scientific literature. The selection of information sources was based on validity, relevance to the research focus, and data up-to-dateness, ensuring a strong foundation for the analysis. Data analysis was conducted descriptively and qualitatively using a thematic approach. The collected data were grouped into key themes and then analyzed using a constructivist framework, specifically the norm life cycle model by Finnemore & Sikkink (1998). This model highlights three important stages: norm emergence, norm cascade, and norm internalization. Through this framework, research can examine how WFP introduces, disseminates, and promotes the institutionalization of sustainability norms in Ethiopia's food security system.

## RESULT

Since 2020, Ethiopia has faced a serious food crisis due to a combination of La Niña drought, internal conflict, and economic pressures. By 2024, approximately 15.8 million people are estimated to be in food crisis (IPC phase 3 or above) and in urgent need of emergency assistance (WFP, 2024a). Prolonged drought caused a 40–50 percent decline in wheat, maize, and sorghum production in key regions, particularly Afar, Amhara, Oromia, and Somali (WFP, 2022b). Meanwhile, floods in 2024 affected more than one million people, with 300,000 of them displaced (OCHA, 2024a). Economic factors exacerbate the situation, with food inflation reaching 19.9 percent by mid-2024, reducing the purchasing power of the poor (WFP, 2024a). The impact is visible in nutritional conditions, where the prevalence of stunting in children under five has reached 37 percent, and in the Afar and Somali regions, the global acute malnutrition (GAM) rate exceeds 20 percent (WHO, 2023).

In responding to the crisis, WFP received support from a range of major donors, including the United States, Germany, Sweden, Norway, the United Kingdom, and ECHO. In 2023, WFP's funding needs for Ethiopia reached US\$2.6 billion, but only 42 percent were met, with the United States being the largest contributor, allocating over US\$1.6 billion (WFP, 2022a). WFP effectiveness is also supported by collaboration with the Ethiopian government through the EDRMC and the Ministry of Agriculture, as well as cooperation with UNICEF, FAO, and UNHCR. More than 60 percent of local NGOs are also field implementing partners to ensure aid distribution (WFP, 2024b). At the implementation level, WFP runs emergency assistance programs such as General Food Assistance (GFA), Emergency Cash Transfer (ECT), and support for internally displaced persons (IDPs). By 2024, GFA reached more than 9.5 million beneficiaries, while ECT reached approximately 495,000 people (WFP, 2024a). Nutrition-based programs such as Nutrition-Sensitive General Food Support (NGSF) have successfully reduced malnutrition rates in 86 percent of beneficiaries (WFP, 2024c).

In addition to short-term interventions, WFP also implements food sustainability programs. Cash-Based Transfers (CBT) promote local economic recovery, while Fresh Food Vouchers (FFV) expand access to nutritious food and empower smallholder farmers (WFP, 2024a). Meanwhile, WFP is introducing renewable energy for irrigation and food logistics, and implementing digitalization through biometric systems and the Commodity Accounting and Tracking System (CATS). By 2024, more than 10 million people will have registered in WFP's digital systems (WFP, 2024c).

## DISCUSSION

An analysis of the cycle of norm formation for sustainable food security in Ethiopia demonstrates the crucial role of the World Food Programme (WFP) as a norm entrepreneur. Based on a constructivist framework, norms do not emerge naturally but are instead formed through social interactions and advocacy by global actors (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). In this regard, WFP is using its capacity

as an autonomous international organization to introduce the value of sustainability into Ethiopia's food system, going beyond its technical function as an aid provider.

The norm emergence phase has been evident since 2020, when the WFP introduced a sustainability-based approach. Programs such as Cash-Based Transfers (CBT), Fresh Food Vouchers (FFV), and the digitalization of aid distribution through biometric systems and CATS reflect efforts to promote efficiency, flexibility, and local empowerment. Renewable energy initiatives, such as the use of solar panels for irrigation and logistics, also symbolize a paradigm shift from emergency aid to building resilient food systems (WFP, 2024a). The norm cascade stage occurs when sustainability norms begin to spread to other actors. WFP is working with FAO, UNICEF, UNDP, Ethiopian line ministries, and local NGOs to expand program adoption. The implementation of Home-Grown School Feeding (HGSF) in Amhara and Oromia is a concrete example, where more than 400,000 students receive nutritious meals from locally grown produce supplied by thousands of smallholder farmers. In addition to improving food security, this model strengthens domestic supply chains and expands community participation in the national food system (WFP, 2024d). In the norm internalization stage, sustainability values began to be integrated into Ethiopia's national policies. The integration of market-based aid mechanisms into the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) demonstrates the government's recognition of this norm. The allocation of up to USD 85 million in the national budget to expand the locally based school feeding program targeted to reach 7 million children by 2024 – testifies to the institutionalization of sustainability principles. The implementation of solar-powered irrigation in the Dolo Ado and Amhara regions also confirms that sustainability values have become entrenched in the national development strategy (WFP, 2024a).

However, internalization still faces challenges. In the Somali, Afar, and Tigray regions, limited infrastructure, unstable security, and dependence on external funding mean that sustainability norms are not yet fully distributed. The internalization process tends to be partial and asymmetrical, stronger in areas with developing markets and relatively stable political conditions. This suggests that institutionalizing norms requires time, resources, and stronger institutional support. These findings emphasize that WFP's role extends beyond food distribution to shaping global norms. Through a cycle of emergence, cascade, and internalization, WFP has successfully constructed a new meaning for food security that is more inclusive and sustainable. Thus, WFP's success in Ethiopia demonstrates that international organizations have the normative capacity to influence the direction of national public policy while strengthening more adaptive and long-term global food governance.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This study demonstrates that the World Food Programme (WFP) plays a crucial role as a norm entrepreneur in shaping a new paradigm for food security in Ethiopia during the 2020–2024 period. Using a constructivist and norm life cycle framework, it is apparent that WFP not only provides emergency assistance but also introduces sustainability norms as a long-term approach. These norms

were initially introduced through various innovative programs (norm emergence), then spread through adoption by the government, international organizations, and NGOs (norm cascade), and finally began to be integrated into Ethiopian national policies such as the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) (norm internalization). Based on these findings, it is recommended that the Ethiopian government strengthen the institutionalization of sustainability norms in food and social policies through local capacity building and investment in food infrastructure. WFP and other international organizations are advised to expand collaboration with local and regional actors, particularly in marginalized and conflict-affected areas, and conduct ongoing evaluations of the normative impacts that have been implemented. For academics, further research is needed to examine the interaction between global norms and local adaptation, as well as expand analysis of the role of other international organizations in shaping sustainable development values.

#### **ADVANCED RESEARCH**

This study is limited by its analytical scope, which focuses solely on the role of the WFP in promoting sustainability norms in Ethiopia. Therefore, further research could address several aspects. First, deepening the analysis of the interaction between global norms and local adaptation, particularly in the context of conflict-prone areas with minimal food infrastructure. Second, further exploring the role of other international organizations—besides the WFP—in shaping sustainable food security values and policies. Third, assessing the long-term impact of implementing sustainability norms through comparative studies across countries or regions could provide a more comprehensive picture of the effectiveness of norm formation in global food governance.

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