

THE IMPACT OF CIVIL WAR ON THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN YEMEN (2014-2020) ¹

Naema Ali Abdullah AL-Akbari *

* Master's Program Student, Istanbul Aydin University, Social Science Institute, Political Science and International Relations (in English), Mrsnaima.ali@gmail.com.

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ABSTRACT

Yemen, the poorest country in the Arabian Peninsula, has gone through a variety of civil wars that have seriously affected life throughout its history, as it is one of the poorest countries politically, economically and socially. But the last civil war with the deadliest results is the one still going on between the Houthis and the Yemeni government, which is supported by different actors. Today, Yemen is seen as the country with the most serious humanitarian disaster in the world. In this context, this research examines the impact of war on humanitarian status by assessing the diverse dimensions of the suffering experienced by the Yemeni people as a result of the war. It also analyzes how the response to this crisis has been addressed, while focusing on the challenges on the ground in humanitarian programs and the provision of basic needs. The research also shows that the international community has an important role to play in mitigating the effects of the crisis. This research is divided into five separate headings to achieve its targeted results. The first part is usually the introductory part, providing an overview of the content of the work. The second part constitutes the conceptual part of the study, while the third and fourth parts try to present the main aims of the research mentioned above. The fifth section is the conclusion, in which the research findings and the summary of the study are briefly presented.

Keywords: Civil War, Humanitarian Crisis, Humanitarian Response, Houthis, Yemen

1. INTRODUCTION

The Yemen Civil War, which has been going on for six years, is seen by the UN Declaration as the world's worst human crisis. According to the report published by the United Nations, Yemen's population of 24 million needs help. Thousands of Yemenis died as a result of the war, and millions of people were forced to leave the country. In addition, two-thirds of the population think they have food problems and are on the verge of starvation. A third of the population lives in extreme hunger, and most areas in the country are at risk of famine. The effects of the war are not limited to this. Many children suffer from stunted growth due to malnutrition. Citizens who do not have access to safe

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drinking water and adequate health services are deprived of humane living conditions. As living conditions in the country worsened, one million people from Yemen were infected with the largest cholera epidemic in 2017 (UNOCHA, 2019).

2.THE HUMANITRAIN CRISIS IN YEMEN

2.1.Food Insecurity

Despite humanitarian food aid to Yemen, 53% of the population suffers from serious food shortages. Food shortages in Yemen are in integrated stages of stage III and above. In addition, more than sixty-three thousand people have reached the 5th phase (famine) of the IPC (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification). This stage shows the seriousness of the population group that cannot meet even their basic food needs (FAO, 2019).

Statistics show that the war in Yemen has made it impossible for millions of people living in Yemen to have access to food. It is seen that the food security of the Yemeni people, who have difficulties in earning the necessary amount of money to access the adequate and quality food in the country, cannot be ensured (Werrell and Femia, 2016). Information from various sources shows that the civil war in Yemen has prevented most of the population from accessing food, and this has caused sickness and death. People suffer and starve because acts of civil war prevent the citizen's access to food, which is one of the most basic and human rights (Brehony, 2015).

From the beginning of 2020 (especially in February-April) access to food has worsened. In the survey, which included 133 counties and 7.9 million people, two million citizens were at Stage 3 and above, according to the IPC's 5-stage assessment. This stage shows how serious food insecurity is. Besides, research shows that if humanitarian food aid to Yemen continues at the same level, the population experiencing high levels of acute food insecurity (IPC Stage 3 and above) will increase to 3.2 million people in the period of July-December 2020.

While research by FAO shows that more than half a million people passed below IPC Stage 3 in the July-December 2020 period, thus an improvement over the 2018/19 period, most of the existing improvement was due to a 47% increase in humanitarian aid. Thus, this progress has the potential to decline abruptly when humanitarian aid rates are reduced or another crisis situation occurs (FAO, 2020).

2.2. Diseases and Epidemics

The war in Yemen not only causes food shortages and hunger, but also causes a serious increase in the number of diseases. The main reason for this situation is the deterioration of the health system due to the war that has been going on for six years. Almost half of the health centers in Yemen are closed, and the reception capacity of the open health centers is very low compared to the population. In addition, published reports show that the health conditions of the Yemeni people are deteriorating in the midst of the ongoing war. The health conditions indicated in the reports, the malnutrition of children due to the impossibility of access to food; indicates a low immunization rate and an increase in communicable diseases. Difficulty in accessing health services adversely affects maternal and child health. Recent estimates of the situation state that a mother and six newborns die every two hours (ICRC,2020).

In addition, a million people were infected with the cholera epidemic, and thousands of people died as a result of the disease. Today, cholera is a treatable disease. Despite this, the cholera epidemic in Yemen in 2017 due to the problems in accessing health services caused thousands of people to die (ICRC, 2020). When the 2020 data are



examined, it is seen that 32,800 possible cholera cases and five deaths due to cholera have occurred.

In addition, approximately 14 weeks after the first case of COVID-19 was reported in Wuhan, China on December 1, 2019, a single confirmed case of COVID-19 was reported in Yemen. With this event that took place on April 10, 2020, Yemen is one of the countries in the world to publish the latest case. However, the people living in the areas controlled by the Houthi movement and the people living in the regions controlled by the internationally recognized government (GoY) reacted quickly and differently to the entry of the pandemic into the country. Likewise, the reactions of political officials to the pandemic have also varied. It is seen that appropriate measures are being taken to control the spread of the pandemic in the world. Despite this, Yemen is seen as a problematic country in dealing with the pandemic due to its political instability and economic isolation and vulnerability. In addition, the problems experienced in the health system and the effectiveness of the political authorities in the fight against the pandemic are also questioned (Abdu & Saleh, 2020).

Humanitarian aid organizations operating in Yemen are having difficulties due to the political turmoil in Yemen. Accordingly, the wide variety of actors taking measures for public health across the country and the cultural and political inequalities in how the pandemic is perceived by the public also create problems (ACAPS, 2020).

World Health Organization data show that from January 3, 2020 to the present, there have been 1336 deaths and 6812 cases of COVID-19 in Yemen (WHO, 2020). Pandemic precautionary measures have led to serious program problems. As public meetings and all awareness-raising activities have been stopped in Yemen, there has been a serious decrease in the access of families and children in need to services.

2.3.Economic Collapse

The civil war in Yemen brought serious economic crises with the intensification of conflicts in 2015. Today, Yemen is in economic collapse and humanitarian crisis (Raga et al., 2021). When the data are analyzed, Yemen's gross domestic product (GDP) decreased by approximately 30% in 2015. The contraction continued in 2016 and 2017, with GDP falling by 9.4% and 5.1%, respectively (IMF, 2021a). While the production in the country started to grow by 0.8% and 2.1% in 2018 and 2019, respectively, with the entry of the COVID-19 pandemic into Yemen, there was a 8.5% decrease in the economy and a 2% contraction is expected in 2021. (IMF, 2021a; IMF, 2021b).

When the income situation is analyzed, there is a decrease from a constant purchasing power parity (PPP) of \$3,846 in 2010 to an estimated \$1,973 in 2019. These figures show that revenue has fallen by more than half (IMF, 2021a). Income has hit the lowest levels in its history. While the proportion of the population below the national poverty line was 48.6% in 2014, it increased to 80% in 2020 (MPIC, 2021). The data show that most of the people live below the poverty line.

2.4.Displacement

Due to the ongoing war actions in Yemen, thousands of citizens' homes have been destroyed and displaced. Displacement is not a new phenomenon for Yemen, however, the number of people fleeing the war has increased dramatically in 2015 due to foreign coalition intervention in the war, and displacement rates have not decreased since 2015.

The UN Development Program (UNDP) states that at the beginning of the war, more than 15% of the Yemeni people were displaced (Anthony, 2015). However, there is also a situation of displacement within the country. UN aid partners state that 2.3 million



people are internally displaced, almost half of them from Aden, Taiz, Hajj and Al Dhal. In addition, it is estimated that 121,000 people left the country directly.

Data released by OCHA, including internally displaced persons and vulnerable homeowners, show that almost 2.7 million people need support to secure shelter and basic household supplies (IDMC, 2020). The ongoing war in Yemen results in the mass displacement of the Yemeni population. This situation puts local food production into crisis, increases the need for food aid and increases the dependence on imported food (Nunlist, 2015). The collapse of the economy and the increase in inflation in Yemen caused a serious decrease in import rates.

According to the data of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Displacement Monitoring Matrix (DTM) for the end of 2018, while the Governorates of Marib, Taiz, Hajj and Hudeida, which host more than half of the displaced population, Hodeida is the place where IDPs go most. The main reason why Hodeia is the most visited place is the presence of charities there and the ease of transportation. Hodeia is located closer than other areas where they will not be displaced due to travel difficulties. However, the escalation of conflicts in Hudeida in June 2018 has led half a million people, mostly women and children, to migrate northwards to places where they can live safely, especially to Sana'a. Although the Stockholm agreement, the UN-supported agreement to end the conflict in Hudeida, was accepted by the Yemeni Government and the Houthis, more than 8,000 families were internally displaced and resettled across the north in Sana'a, Amanat al-Asimah and Taiz (Ghobari, 2018).

2.5. Infrastructure Collapse

As a result of the civil war in Yemen, the civil infrastructure and the necessary infrastructure for food production and distribution have been dismantled (Ann & Aisha, 2020). According to various international reports published, airstrikes in the war in Yemen damaged food markets and road infrastructure, which made the solution of the problem of food production and distribution more difficult (Anthony, 2015).

Moyer et al. (2019) states that the civil war in Yemen has caused damage to most infrastructures involved in the shipment of medical supplies. This situation, on the other hand, has made it more and more difficult to deliver medicines and food distribution to those in need, as the necessary infrastructure is not available (Liden, 2019). In addition, the lack of a shipping infrastructure makes it very difficult for humanitarian aid organizations to fulfill their goals (Anthony, 2015).

The negative effects of the war in Yemen are not limited to this. In addition, the ongoing war has also caused the very basic services needed by the population to not be realized. The daily life of the young population has deteriorated considerably with basic services and public administration (Zarocostas, 2019). With the impact of the war, Yemen is more than twenty years behind in development and more than half a million people have lost their jobs. In addition, agricultural and fishing areas, where 70% of the population work, were also severely damaged (Ann & Aisha, 2020).

All these negative developments mentioned above have negatively affected the realization of basic services needed by the population (Mitreski, 2015). While public services were the working area of over one million people before the war, the contribution of public services to the economy was interrupted by the collapse of Yemen's financial system after the war (Anthony, 2015). As a result, the people of Yemen have become seriously impoverished.

Health services constitute one of the most basic services of a country. Considering the state of health services in Yemen, it is seen that health services have been significantly



interrupted as a result of the war. It seems that health services in Yemen are progressing unpredictably with the effects of the war, and due to the unpredictability of the course of the war, instability occurs in the supply of medical supplies in the areas most affected by the war (Liden, 2019). In addition to the services discussed in detail above, other essential services such as civil administration services are also seen as endangered, and therefore the country has been badly affected in terms of both economy and living conditions (Ann & Aisha, 2020).

Groups living in remote parts of the country experience economic and social difficulties in their routine lives. Due to the lack of infrastructure and resources in the country, access to basic services such as education, health and water is prevented in these regions. People living in remote areas in Yemen are in danger from conflict and armed people. In these regions, there is no equipment, infrastructure and workforce to meet basic needs such as health services, education, water. People living in these regions live under serious social and economic difficulties due to their distance from the public.

2.6.Human rights violations

One of the important areas where the effects of war are seen is the violation of human rights. Most of the people of Yemen work without basic human rights due to the war conditions in the country (Werrell and Femia, 2016). The civil war in Yemen has caused organizations in Yemen to act in accordance with their own interests and to a serious violation of human rights. Violation of human rights is a very serious problem. Violation of the right to live in safety, which is one of the most basic human rights, results in the lack of a safe living space for most of the people (Mokdad et al., 2018). There are many different human rights violations resulting from the ongoing civil war in the country. These human rights violations include ethnic discrimination, gender inequality, human trafficking, hunger, torture, and deprivation of citizenship rights. (Werrell and Femia, 2016). The human rights violations mentioned are very serious in nature and this has caused serious problems in Yemen (Liden, 2019).

The human rights problems seen with the effects of the war can be listed as follows: unlawful deaths by the warring parties, torture, inhumane treatment or inhuman punishments applied by the warring parties, prison conditions that put the continuity of life at risk, arbitrary arrests, lack of independence of the judiciary, violation of the right to privacy, children's rights. illegal conscription. In addition, the inability of the Yemeni right to elect rulers freely and in a way that will protect justice, corruption among politicians, failure to investigate and punish cases of violence against women, criminalization of consensual homosexual relations and child labor also show how bad the situation of human rights in Yemen is. (Werrell & Femia, 2016).

All actors involved in the war in Yemen have seriously violated the internationally accepted humanitarian law. Houthi troops, controlling most parts of the country, indiscriminately bombarded people's living quarters and attacked Saudi Arabia without warning. The Saudi-led coalition, which is a party to the war in Yemen and supports the internationally recognized government, continued to bombard civilian areas. This has resulted in the death and injury of thousands of people. For nearly 6 years, the coalition has made indiscriminate attacks with disproportionate force against civilians, including civilian areas such as homes, schools, hospitals, mosques, markets, etc.

Forty-two airstrikes have been identified by Amnesty International as war crimes and in serious violation of international humanitarian law. As a result of these air attacks carried out by the coalition, 518 civilians were killed and 433 civilians were injured. It was determined that six civilians were killed and three of the dead were children in the



airstrike carried out by the coalition on a residence on 28 June. In the attack on a detention center in Dhamar, a city controlled by the Houthis, 130 prisoners were killed and 40 wounded. In addition, a family member of the victims of the airstrike on a house in Warzan told Amnesty International in August 2019, "We buried them the same day because their limbs were severed. There were no bodies left to examine. This person's meat was mixed with that person. They were wrapped in blankets and taken away." (Amnesty, 2020).

2.7. Women and children

Women and children are the group most affected by the civil war in Yemen. The main reason for this situation is the low status of women and children. For this reason, women and children constitute the risk group most affected by the war. Many mothers in Yemen cannot feed their children because of the war. Due to limited access to food, children get sick and die from malnutrition. The fact that the humanitarian aid sent to Yemen does not sufficiently reach women and children aggravates the situation. Despite the fact that children and women are the group that needs humanitarian aid most, their inability to access humanitarian aid is an important situation and steps must be taken to change this (Nunlist, 2015). Studies show that, along with the elderly, mentally retarded and perceived marginalized individuals in Yemen, women and children are the most vulnerable group in war. These groups include people to whom humanitarian aid cannot reach adequately (Mokdad et al., 2018). The reasons for this situation are quite diverse, but the main point to be made is that these groups have problems in accessing information that will enable them to benefit from humanitarian aid (Mitreski, 2015).

When historical data are examined, it is seen that Yemen ranks at the bottom of the Global Gender Gap index. With the outbreak of violence as of 2014, the already existing bad situation in Yemen has worsened. Disproportionately affected by guns, bombings and mine explosions, women are one of the groups that have felt the bitter consequences of war the most.

In addition, the side effects of war such as the deterioration of the independence of the judiciary, displacement and economic insecurity have increased the risk of women against violence, abuse and exploitation. In addition to the decrease in access to basic needs such as water, health services and hygiene, there have been serious consequences that affect women in different ways with the outbreak of epidemics (UNOCHA, 2018).

2.8. Humanitarian Response for

The United Nations stated that \$3.85 billion was collected at a donation conference held in 2020 in order to change the famine in Yemen. In addition, he stated that children, one of the groups that suffered the most from the war, lived "a certain kind of hell". In addition, due to the worldwide pandemic of the corona virus, aid funds decreased in 2020, which seriously affected Yemen. UN and NGO partners were able to receive half as much donations during the pandemic as they had received before the pandemic. Considering that two-thirds of Yemeni citizens need humanitarian assistance to survive, the shutdown of numerous humanitarian programs due to the coronavirus has exacerbated the situation for citizens in Yemen (ICRC, 2020). It is seen that 60% of the money required by the intervention plan for Yemen is not met (OCHA, 2020). The lack of funding in the Yemen Humanitarian Response Plan indicates that support for resolving the humanitarian crisis has waned.

The main financial resource of humanitarian organizations is donors (Werrell & Fernia, 2016). The basic need for resolving the humanitarian crisis in Yemen is the continuous assistance of humanitarian organizations (Zarocostas, 2019). However,



limited access to donors makes overcoming the humanitarian crisis impossible (Mitreski, 2015).

Donor accountability is another problematic aspect of the situation. The fact that donors, the main resource of humanitarian organizations, follow a very strict bureaucratic process reflects inefficiency during conflict (Moyer, Bohl, Hanna, Mapes, & Rafa, 2019). In addition, donors' political positions may have consequences that reduce the potential of charities to provide aid (Phillips, 2017).

The data show that the UN's actions against the crisis do not work to fill the gaps in the supply of food and medical supplies for the Yemeni people. The donation programs implemented have not reached the expected level of success (Zarocostas, 2019). The main reason for this situation is that donation programs remain below the targeted amount and are insufficient to reduce the destruction caused by the war in Yemen.

Apart from this, different NGOs such as UNICEF and the World Health Organization have also initiated actions to send food and medical aid to the needy group in Yemen (Mokdad et al., 2018). According to Mokdad et al., the actions of NGOs are somewhat effective in reducing the problems of those affected by the war. However, the main thing that is clearly seen is that the actions of these NGOs are not yet sufficient and more action must be taken to achieve the goals of access to food and medical supplies (Werrell and Femia, 2016).

In addition, the aid provided for the humanitarian crisis in Yemen is described as insufficient by many researchers (Anthony, 2015). The main reason for this situation is various situations that make humanitarian aid in the country difficult (Mitreski, 2015). As a result of the researches, it has been seen that it is very difficult to implement humanitarian duties in the conflict zone, where violations of humanitarian law are common, and it is even more difficult to develop relations with these communities (Phillips, 2017). Most people participating in the research think that the assistance provided to them is not enough to meet their basic needs (Liden, 2019). Besides, the research shows that only half of the humanitarian aid sent to Yemen is delivered to the group most affected by the war (Mitreski, 2015). However, considering the war conditions, this ratio is believed to represent an important success (Ann & Aisha, 2020). Nevertheless, experts say that more efforts should be made to target the most vulnerable groups and send aid to more regions so that more people who have to live in Yemen can access the assistance provided (Zarocostas, 2019). The main thing required for this is to regulate the flow of information, to determine the standards of intervention and needs, to be impartial and to ensure that these aids reach the capacity to reach the most vulnerable groups (Werrell and Femia, 2016).

Basically, what is thought is that the actions taken to reduce the catastrophe of the civil war in Yemen are insufficient and more efforts should be made to reach the most vulnerable groups and meet the shelter, food and medical needs of these groups (Rafa et al., 2019). It is seen that humanitarian aid organizations have and continue to experience many difficulties in providing the necessary information flow to reach these vulnerable groups (Nunlist, 2015).

3. CHALLENGES OF THE HUMANITARIAN AID ACCESS

3.1. Coalition Restrictions

Some of the difficulties in accessing humanitarian aid in Yemen are due to restrictions imposed by the coalition. Coalition restrictions hinder the delivery of humanitarian aid to those in need in Yemen. Ultimately, the restraint produced by the Saudi-led coalition resulted in difficulty in providing humanitarian aid. The actions of the



coalition have resulted in competitive and complex travel permits and delays in providing food and medical supplies to those in need due to procedures (Hill, 2017).

These restrictions, as a result of the actions of the Saudi-led coalition, have resulted in internal inefficiencies, and the confusion of bureaucratic actions has worsened the access of people in Yemen to available aid. In the process of delivering humanitarian aid in the northern and southern parts of Yemen, citizens continue to starve due to the conditions imposed on the country (Tepe, 2017). For example, it may take months to complete the bureaucratic procedures necessary to deliver basic needs such as food or medical supplies to those in need (Ann & Aisha, 2020).

Werrell & Femia, (2016) say that the rerouting of the port of Aden causes the limited capacity to overload, divert the consignees from the destination and cause the consignees to be stuck at various checkpoints. This situation may lead to the usurpation of funds in the process of delivering humanitarian aid (Mokdad et al., 2018).

A humanitarian agency says aid sent from Aden to Sana'a stopped at more than 70 checkpoints on a 300-mile route. This situation causes a very simple route to evolve into a complex process and therefore humanitarian aid cannot be delivered efficiently enough (Mitreski, 2015). As can be seen, it is such restrictions in Yemen that cause basic humanitarian needs not to be communicated to the intended groups (Rafa et al., 2019).

In an extremely complex environment in Yemen, humanitarian organizations may fall short in delivering necessary assistance to groups in need. It seems that the actions of the coalition have significantly jeopardized humanitarian aid and continue to do so (Rafa et al., 2019). It is stated that the response of humanitarian aid groups in Yemen is not as effective as the organizations that oversee such humanitarian aid, reaching and providing aid to communities in need. The actions of coalitions create barriers that make it very difficult for NGOs to assist war zones.

3.2. Houthi Obstacles

It is seen that there are internal restrictions on the provision of humanitarian aid to the people in Yemen, and these restrictions are primarily due to the obstacles brought by the violent actions of the Houthi militias. The basic situation regarding the war is that the parties to the war violate their responsibilities for the delivery of rapid humanitarian aid to the civilian population. This situation imposes restrictions on the actions of humanitarian aid personnel on duty in Yemen (Mitreski, 2015). When it comes to restrictions, it is said that the main responsible for the delivery of humanitarian aid to those in need is the Houthis. However, it is warring groups that are responsible for difficulties in delivering humanitarian aid. An example of such a violation is the Red Sea Mills, which were inaccessible due to war (Zarocostas, 2019). As Liden (2019) emphasized, the presence of rival governments in Yemen requires humanitarian personnel to obtain permission from more than one ministry. This situation results in many logistical problems. With the Houthis becoming dominant in the north and their important members becoming authority figures, it is also observed that the Houthis impose more restrictions on humanitarian aid efforts in the north (Mitreski, 2015).

It seems that one of the methods used by the Houthi forces, their partners and other interested parties involved in the conflict to finance the operations is control as well as the direction of aid (Werrell and Femia, 2016).

The restrictions imposed by the Houthis on humanitarian aid have worsened as of 2020. International communities say that the Houthis are not willing to abide by humanitarian law and allow humanitarian aid, which puts those in need at risk of losing access to aid altogether (Ann & Aisha, 2020).



USAID suspended its funding process to continue its humanitarian activities in the country in 2020 (Ann & Aisha, 2020). The reason for this situation was the result of many warnings made by the US administration, which was worried about the Houthis blocking humanitarian aid (Brehony, 2015). As a result, the United States continued to partially suspend humanitarian activities in areas of the country under Houthi control (Rafa et al., 2019).

In other words, humanitarian aid to reduce the impact of humanitarian disasters resulting from the war has become more difficult as a result of many obstacles placed by the Houthis (Zarocostas, 2019).

In addition to the decrease in humanitarian aid as a result of bureaucratic obstacles by the Houthis, it is said that the corona pandemic has made aid more difficult and put an extra burden on the plight of Yemen's health system (Michael, 2021). Due to the pandemic, the current humanitarian crisis in Yemen is said to have deepened even further (Ann & Aisha, 2020).

The increase in the number of cases and deaths due to the pandemic has made humanitarian aid operations in Yemen more difficult (Mitreski, 2015). Although the capacity of humanitarian aid activities to deliver aid to those in need has increased, the problems in delivering aid to those in need are still evident and the difficulties continue to increase (Rafa et al., 2019).

However, Michael (2021) says that the struggle for control between the various sides of the war in Yemen is quite complex and the impact of the war on the people has resulted in great difficulties which make it more complex.

Ann & Aisha (2020), on the other hand, states that local political authorities are in a distinct struggle to control the resources they need to improve their economic situation and gain power. This situation is important as it shows that political actors will not act jointly with humanitarian organizations (Mitreski, 2015). It is not clear who these partners are and what their interests will be. It is difficult for humanitarian workers to distribute supplies in areas in Yemen that are controlled by many different political groups and forces (Ann & Aisha, 2020). Also, many of these networks are known to charge tolls as well as distribution fees, often somewhere between the definition of taxation and bribery (Hill, 2017). This helps to enrich the network economically and at the same time increases the political power of the conflicting parties by effectively putting humanitarians at a disadvantage (Hill, 2017). Much of the resources derived from such taxation often result in more resources being devoted to warfare, thus complicating the humanitarian delivery process once again (Rafa et al., 2019).

4. CONCLUSION

The key to improving the situation in Yemen is securing a lasting peace agreement that can be built upon the road to an end to the violence that is undermining the country. Moreover, since Yemen is on the brink of bankruptcy and famine, local, regional and international actors must take steps an operation in order to spare Yemen the worst-case scenario, or at least mitigate the catastrophe that looming on the horizon. It must be recognized that the devastation caused by the war has reached an unprecedented level repairable, whether it is about the increasing number of war casualties or even those damages the result of the blockade and the destruction of a large part of Yemen's infrastructure.



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