

A theory of famines—A response

1 | INTRODUCTION

While famine research has matured much since Sen (1981) published his *Poverty and Famines*, there remains some tension between neo-Malthusian and other positions about the mechanisms of famine, not at least in popular debates (Alemu, 2007; Devereux, 1988; Ellman, 2000; Gráda, 2011; Khandekar Qudrat, 2006; Rubin, 2009). Neo-Malthusian-inspired research tends to focus on macro-level factors, leading often to either a food availability decline (FAD) or food requirement increases (FRI) type of explanation for famines (Daoud, 2010; Malthus, 1826). In contrast, Senian-inspired research relies often on food entitlement decline (FED) explanations (Alemu, 2007; Reddy & Daoud, 2020). Such FED explanations tend to argue that famines can occur despite there being sufficient food at the macro level. Sufficient food means that there is just about enough food to feed the population of interest; abundant food means that there is more than enough to feed that population. Moving beyond these entrenched theoretical perspectives, today, most famine researchers would agree with the statement that famines can occur due to one or several combinations of FAD, FRI or FED (Devereux, 2007; Shaw, 2007). Despite this agreement, there has been a lack of theories that show how exactly Senian and neo-Malthusian can be synthesized in one theory of famines: a theory that accommodates FAD, FRI or FED explanations.

In Daoud (2017) 'Synthesizing the Malthusian and Senian approaches on scarcity: A realist account', appearing in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, I proposed a general theory that provides the necessary conceptual tools to reason about FAD, FRI or FED explanations. In related work (Daoud, 2007, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2018), I generalized it to all kinds of scarcity, abundance and sufficiency cases. And with my collaborator, I linked it to social action theory (Bááth & Daoud, 2023), preference formation (Daoud & Puaca, 2011; Puaca & Daoud, 2009, 2011) and reasoning about intangible goods (Söderberg & Daoud, 2012). I will summarize the main components of my theory in the next section, but first, I would like to clarify the purpose of this rejoinder.

Peter Bowbrick (2022) has recently published a critique of my work as it appears in Daoud (2017). Although I welcome constructive criticism of my theory, the least one can expect of such criticism is that it engages with the actual theory proposed. His entire focus is on the empirical case—the 1943 Bengal famine—that I used to exemplify my theory. Besides, he seems to have misinterpreted the empirical evidence I have used to develop my theory. In addition, the conceptual validity of my theory does not even hinge on that particular case. To question my theory's validity, one would require a theoretical account of showing how it is conceptually wrong. Yet Bowbrick does not develop such a theoretical account.

While I will expose how Bowbrick is mischaracterizing key empirical statements, my reply will primarily focus on the core principles of my theory of famines, and it will demonstrate how my theory generalizes to any case of scarcity. This generalization emphasizes a key point I made in the past about how famine research (and adjacent fields) should focus on the dynamics of scarcity, abundance and sufficiency (SAS), rather than assuming scarcity of resources at the onset of analysis—as is often done in neoclassical economics. That strategy of replying will hopefully be more illuminating for the readership of the *Journal of International Development* than showing how Bowbrick is misstating historical facts and empirical data.

Challenge Response A Study Of Famines

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