



Livestock and Livelihoods in the IGAD Region: A Policy and Institutional Analysis

Ugo Pica-Ciamarra¹

Simplice Nouala²

Sunae Kim³

¹Animal Production and Health Division, FAO, Rome

²AU-IBAR, Nairobi

³FAO Regional Office for the Near East, Cairo



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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ALive	African Livestock Partnership for Livestock Development
AU	African Union
AU - IBAR	African Union Inter-African Bureau for Animal Resources
CAADP	Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Program
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CET	Common External Tariff
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DFID	UK Department for International Development
EAC	East African Community
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GALVmed	Global Alliance for Livestock
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGAD-LPI	IGAD - Livestock Policy Initiative
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NLDP	National Livestock Development Project
NPCA	NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OiE	World Organization for Animal Health
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty, Ethiopia
PMA	Plan for Modernization of Agriculture, Uganda
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
REC	Regional Economic Community
TADs	Transboundary Animal Diseases
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), comprising Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda, is implementing the IGAD Livestock Policy Initiative (LPI) through the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), with the financial support of the European Commission. The overall objective of the IGAD LPI is to enhance the contribution of the livestock sector to sustainable food security and poverty reduction in the IGAD region. Its purpose is to strengthen the capacity in IGAD, its member states, regional organizations, and other stakeholders to formulate and implement livestock sector and related policies that sustainably reduce food insecurity and poverty.

A variety of studies, including some commissioned by IGAD LPI, continually point at the multiplicity of international, regional, national and local policies and institutions impacting on the livestock sector and by extension on the livelihoods of the livestock dependent poor in the IGAD member states (e.g. Fahei, 2008; Maitima *et al.*, 2010; Perry and Sones, 2008; Pica-Ciamarra and Robinson, 2008; Sandford and Ashley, 2010). However, despite this realization, an overview of these policies and institutions at the different levels and their coherence in addressing the livestock sector and the livelihoods of the livestock dependent poor does not exist. It is with this in mind and in line with AU IBAR's mandate to harmonize livestock-related policies and legal frameworks, that AU-IBAR and IGAD-LPI has joined forces to investigate objectives, directions and consistency of the international, regional and national policy and institutional environment influencing IGAD's livestock sector. The major output of this joint collaboration is this report, which addresses two major questions:

- What livestock sector policies and programmes are currently in place in the IGAD region and what are the dominant development narratives that drive these policies and programmes?
- What are the expected and actual impacts on households' livelihoods of the dominant narratives driving the livestock sector policies and programmes?

Development narratives are storyboards or scenarios that, by simplifying complicated problems and indicating relatively simple solutions to complex developmental issues, influence the ways policies and programmes are thought and formulated. It is when major development paradigms appreciate the many livelihoods services provided by livestock that policy and institutional reforms, both within and beyond the livestock domain, will be consistently and continuously formulated and implemented to the benefit of the poor women and men who depend on livestock.

A livelihoods framework for livestock sector policy analysis

Many policies, programmes and projects, both within and beyond the livestock domain, affect the development of the livestock sector and the livelihoods of the livestock dependent poor. What matters for a long-term inclusive development of the livestock sector, however, is not that a number of livestock-livelihoods focused policies are designed and implemented, but that the dominant livestock development narratives

appreciate how livestock contribute to the livelihoods of the poor, and are used by them as route to escape or avoid poverty.

In order to appreciate how dominant development narratives or paradigms driving the livestock-related policies and programmes affect, or do not affect, the livelihoods of livestock-dependent households, this paper adopts a two pronged approach.

- The paper reviews the role of livestock in the household economy. It acknowledges that people employ rationale livelihoods strategies, which are proven to provide effective mechanisms of reducing poverty, and contributing towards economic growth. It therefore explores the nature of policies and programmes to appreciate whether they are consistent with those livelihoods strategies. A review of the available literature and evidence from the IGAD region (see chapter 2) suggests that livestock provide a variety of livelihoods services to rural households as they are, *inter alia*, a source of food, cash income, manure, draught power and hauling services, savings, insurance, social capital and women empowerment. Only for a limited (and predominantly wealthy) set of households, do livestock significantly contribute to monetary income, with many (predominantly poorer) people benefiting not so much from the cash derived from selling livestock or animal products, as from the other livelihoods services that livestock provides. Policies and programmes should therefore build on the many livelihood services provided by livestock, to allow households to fully benefit from their livestock assets.
- The paper adopts a targeted sampling approach and reviews a sufficient number of livestock sector policies, programmes and projects implemented in the IGAD region by pan-African, regional and country governments, with the ultimate objective of identifying major thrusts or underlying principles – i.e. dominant development narratives or paradigms – which pervade and dominate the policy discourse, shaping the majority of policies and programmes, and then to assess whether they are consistent with and supportive of household livelihood strategies.

Findings

- There are several livestock-related policies, programmes and projects implemented at pan-African, regional and IGAD country level. An 'increased production, productivity and access to market' narrative or paradigm dominates and pervades the majority of interventions. It assumes that increasing livestock productivity and facilitating access to markets is the major, if not the only, way to enhance the contribution of livestock to household livelihoods. For example, 75 percent of the NEPAD planned investments for livestock sector development in 2004-2015, or about US\$ 1,321 million, are to be allocated to infrastructure development, which includes marketing, processing and feed production (NEPAD, 2006). Major livestock sector interventions of Regional Economic Communities in East Africa, often backed by donors, aim to eradicate and/or control trans-boundary animal diseases, which are a strong barrier to regional and international trade; examples are the EAC 'Regional Emergency and Response Plan on Trans-boundary Animal Diseases Project' and a variety of donor funded projects to control Highly Pathogenic Avian Influenza. At country level, the majority of livestock sector related policies - including animal health, feed and breeding policies - aim to increase production, productivity and marketing of livestock and livestock products, such as the Sudan National Five-Year

Strategic Development Plan (2007-2011) (Government of Sudan, 2007), the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of Eritrea (Government of Eritrea, 2003), the Livestock Sector Strategy of Somalia (FAO *et al.*, 2004), the Uganda Marketing & Agro-Processing Policy (Government of Uganda, 2005) and the Uganda National Meat Policy (Government of Uganda, 2003). Major exceptions are the AU-IBAR 'Framework for Mainstreaming Livestock in the CAADP Pillars', which openly appreciates the many contributions of livestock to people's livelihoods and acknowledges that livestock sector interventions, in many instances, exclusively focus on marketing and trade issues; and the COMESA draft 'Policy Framework for Food Security in Pastoralist Areas', aiming at assisting pastoralists in deriving sustainable and long-term benefits from the drylands.

- Increased 'livestock production and productivity' and 'access to market' are essential elements of all policy and institutional reforms that aim at increasing the contribution of livestock to household livelihoods. However, on their own, they are not sufficient to allow households tapping into the many livelihoods services provided by livestock. Household level data show that only for a minority of farmers livestock significantly contribute to cash income: livestock are one of the many assets and income sources of poor rural households, which rarely specialize in animal production and benefit not so much from the cash derived from selling livestock or animal products, but more from the other services which farm animals provide (Ellis and Bahigwa, 2003; Karugia *et al.*, 2006; Little *et al.*, 2008; Nega *et al.*, 2009). Akliku and Catley (2010) review livestock exports from pastoralist areas in the Horn of Africa and conclude that: '*There seems to be little doubt that those groups who can respond most actively to changing markets are richer herders (with more animals to sell), various types of traders, and service providers such as financial services and transporters. Those who benefit least are poorer herders*' (Akliku and Catley, 2010).
- The majority of livestock sector policies and programmes at pan-African, regional and country level focus on technical fixes and disregard the institutional dimensions of policy implementation (see chapters 3, 4 and 5). First, policy documents marginally mention and/or identify the institutional changes required within the government bureaucracy to reform and/or implement new public policies. Yet, changes in institutional mandates and administrative processes - which are often firmly entrenched as officers at all levels adhere strictly to time honoured procedures - are a pre-condition for policy reforms to succeed. Second, policy documents rarely appreciate the system of incentives which underpin poor livestock keeper's behavior, including the way they use their livestock for production and consumption purposes. Yet, policies are likely to succeed in poverty reduction only when they are consistent with and supportive of the livelihoods strategies of the livestock dependent poor, allowing them to make full use of their scarce resources and their capacities, thereby contributing to, and benefiting from, livestock sector growth.
- There is little or limited coordination in the development and implementation of the various policies and programmes existing at both regional and country level. RECs often design livestock sector interventions with similar objectives and approaches, whilst for countries with membership in more than one RECs (the majority) a single

intervention may often suffice. At country level, livestock sector policies are often designed in isolation, with little cross-reference to other policies, such as land, credit and trade policies. At the same time, non-livestock ministries rarely initiate policies with the specific objective to support livestock keepers, nor do they consider how their initiatives impact (directly or indirectly) on the livelihoods of the livestock-dependent poor. It is difficult to see how livestock sector and related policies can improve household livelihoods unless the overall policy and institutional context within which livestock keepers make decisions is an enabling one.

- The roles of AU-IBAR, RECs and country governments in supporting the development of the livestock sector are clear on paper, with governments being responsible for ground implementation of policies and programmes, and AU-IBAR and RECs having the mandate to guide and oversee implementation of the CAADP and facilitate harmonization of country policies and programmes. In practice, however, AU-IBAR and RECs, backed by donors, often directly implement continental and inter-regional projects and programmes, rather than coordinating their implementation as per the principle of subsidiarity. As donors increasingly adhere to the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, which emphasizes the importance of countries' ownership, the coordinating role of AU-IBAR and RECs will become increasingly relevant.
- CAADP provides a common framework for stimulating and guiding national, regional and continental agricultural development initiatives. Its implementation is the responsibility of national governments under the guidance of RECs, with both expected to design CAADP implementation strategies, so called Compacts. However, so far, it appears that existing national policies are shaping the way regional and national Compacts are designed, rather than the other way round. This represents a missed opportunity, as the CAADP Livestock Companion Document well appreciates the multiple livelihoods services provided by livestock, while national and RECs' policies and programmes are largely expressions of the dominant productivity and market access narrative.

Recommendations

Livestock contribute to the livelihoods of the majority of the poor and its inclusive development, building on the skills and resources of the poor, has the potential to contribute to both accelerated poverty reduction and faster economic growth. Refurbishing the livestock sector policy and institutional framework, so as to ensure that policies, programmes and projects allow women and men to take full advantages of the many livestock services provided by livestock and to contribute to economic development, requires three major changes.

- First and foremost, the dominant 'production, productivity and market access' narrative should be enhanced by a development paradigm that also appreciates the many livelihoods services provided by livestock, including both monetary and non-monetary services. In effect, if resources are invested to ensure that a new, more comprehensive, livelihoods-livestock development narrative emerges, then one could be confident that most future policies, programmes and projects, by adhering to the new paradigm, will attempt to build on the many livelihoods services provided by livestock, i.e. that livestock sector development will be inclusive and pro-poor.

- Second, to be effective, policies, programmes and projects should be designed through an inclusive and participatory process that embraces dialogue and the use of evidence to address institutional dimensions, i.e. resources should be invested in the planning and implementation stage to identify / experiment with new delivery mechanisms and to appreciate the incentives that poor livestock keepers may have / not have to respond to new rules and regulations, as demanded by policy implementation.
- Third, there is need for more coordination between AU-IBAR, RECs and national governments; between RECs; and between livestock related policies at national level. This will avoid duplicating efforts and wasting scarce resources and, at the same time, will ensure that policies and programmes - at all levels and within and beyond the livestock domain - are consistent; something which only can guarantee an inclusive and livelihoods-enhancing livestock sector growth.

AU-IBAR, RECs and national governments could contribute to achieving the above three goals and IGAD, in partnership with AU-IBAR, has demonstrated encouraging experiences in this direction through IGAD-LPI. This is due to a number of facts:

- AU-IBAR has a continental mandate and a continental echo and, therefore, is best placed to take the lead in re-shaping the dominant livestock development narratives in Africa in order to '*support and coordinate the utilization of animals (livestock, fisheries and wildlife) as a resource for human wellbeing in the Member States of the African Union and to contribute to economic development*' (AU-IBAR Strategic Plan, 2010-2014, p. 4). Second, AU-IBAR has been designated as the leading African institution for supporting the implementation of the CAADP livestock component at regional and country level (AU-IBAR has recently endorsed its Framework for Mainstreaming Livestock in the CAADP Pillars, which has a poverty focus), i.e. it can influence the way regional and national Compacts are designed and implemented, thereby ensuring the institutional dimensions are included in regional and national level policies. Third, AU-IBAR is in the position to ensure that all programmes and initiatives undertaken by RECs in the livestock sector are consistent and adhere to the principles of subsidiarity, i.e. that RECs only implement programmes and projects which are innovative and experimental in nature and that would be difficult for countries to jointly implement. The ultimate objective of those initiatives should be to arrive at pro-poor research findings and / or to draw institutional lessons on how to ensure that countries can manage inter-regional livestock programmes on their own, with the role of RECs limited to the provision of advice and guidance, as the principle of subsidiarity recommends.
- AU-IBAR works through RECs and, in East Africa, IGAD has demonstrated some comparative advantages *vis-à-vis* other RECs, such as EAC and COMESA, in employing a livelihoods perspective. First, livestock significantly contribute to the economies of IGAD member states and to the livelihoods of the livestock dependent poor in those countries. Second, IGAD has the mandate to '*promote and realize the objectives of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the African Economic Community (EAC)*', i.e. COMESA and IGAD can fruitfully collaborate with IGAD's complementing COMESA's long-term development objectives by enhancing the livestock sector in the Horn of Africa. Third, since 2005, IGAD has been enhancing its capacity to investigate livestock-livelihoods linkages and support institutional

innovations at country level. Also, encouraging for the future, is that while the Livestock Desks in all East African RECs, including IGAD, are small at best and with a largely technical focus, in December 2009 the IGAD Member States requested the IGAD Secretariat to establish a Livestock Unit, whose responsibilities will include: *'serving as the technical arm of the Secretariat for the livestock sector in general with a particular focus on poverty alleviation and livelihood security in the pastoralist communities'; 'convening technical expertise within the Region and facilitating decision making power up to the highest level.'*

- A well established IGAD Livestock Unit would strengthen AU-IBAR's arm in East Africa, particularly with respect to institutional and policy reforms. It could support AU-IBAR in reshaping the dominant livestock development narrative - for example, IGAD-LPI has recently recalculated the livestock GDP for the Ethiopian economy suggesting that the figure be increased by more than 100 percent. In partnership with the Livestock Unit, AU-IBAR would be well placed to guide the design and implementation of the Livestock Companion Document in the IGAD countries and review national Compacts - for example by building on the capacity which IGAD-LPI has built on 'Livestock, Livelihoods and Institutions' and on 'Livestock and Gender' at country level. The Unit could strengthen AU-IBAR's capacity to coordinating livestock-related activities among East African RECs and ensure the inclusion of institutional dimensions in national livestock policies. An example of this would be in replicating the experience of the IGAD Policy Fora (Hubs). These are multidisciplinary groups, established in all IGAD member states - that ensure inclusiveness, broad stakeholder participation and the use of evidence when livestock sector issues are debated and discussed, and national positions developed. The same Policy Fora represent an opportunity for facilitating cross-sectoral coordination and for increasing the awareness of non-livestock ministries about the importance of initiating policies which have a specific focus on livestock. In general, if the Livestock Unit in the IGAD Secretariat became a centre of excellence on livestock-livelihoods policy issues in the IGAD region, it could provide a model for AU-IBAR's coordination of pan-African livestock sector policies, a one-stop-shop for information on livestock-livelihoods issues, and a source of livestock-related lessons for the benefit other RECs in the continent. In the long term, as the vision of an African Economic Community develops in line with the 1991 Abuja Treaty, with its implicit rationalisation of RECs, IGAD's comparative advantage with respect to such issues could well become part of its *raison d'être*.
- AU-IBAR should take interest in the establishment and functioning of the Livestock Unit in the IGAD Secretariat, placing itself in a position to support its evolution and ensure that its activities be both livestock and livelihoods centered, which will in turn ensure that livestock sector policies, programmes and projects build on the many livelihoods services provided by livestock, thereby contributing to the effective implementation of the CAADP Livestock Companion Document.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the last fifteen years, the livestock sector has grown at an annual rate of almost 4 percent in the IGAD region, and currently accounts for over 40 percent of the agricultural value added and for about 11 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) of the region. In spite of this growth, in the Horn of Africa over 61 percent of the poor - or about 43 million people - keep some livestock, as a source of food, cash income, manure, draught power and hauling services, savings, insurance and social status (World Bank, 2010; Thornton *et al.*, 2002). This suggests that the development of the sector has been to date all but inclusive, or unable to improve household livelihoods on a broad scale.

The way livestock contribute to household livelihoods depends on availability of both private and public goods. Examples of private goods are the livestock themselves, feed, shelters and drugs for animals, etc.; public goods include roads, market places, market information systems, government-run animal health posts along major trekking routes, etc. What matters too, however, are also the rules and regulations that influence the way livestock farmers can first access the various private and public goods, and then combine them for short, medium and long-term consumption and production purposes or, more in general, to satisfy some of their needs. For example, in Kenya, the new dairy policy framework has legalized the activities of small-scale milk vendors, which were previously banned, thereby creating opportunities for a smallholder-based growth of the dairy sector (Kaitibie *et al.*, 2008); at the same time, the existing policy framework in the country discourages and limits the activities of community animal health workers, which some studies have shown can effectively provide animal health services to smallholders (Mugunieri *et al.*, 2004). The formal and informal rules and regulations that influence the way households make use of their assets, including livestock, are usually termed 'policies and institutions', and the popular policy objective of creating an 'enabling environment' equates to formulating and implementing policy and institutional reforms which allow households making a socially desirable use of their, often scarce, resources.

Despite technical-fixes, on the one hand, and policies and institutions (rules and regulations), on the other, are equally critical for livestock to support household livelihoods, policy makers, donors and development practitioners have so far invested significant resources to analyse and investigate technical issues, but have paid little attention to policy and institutional questions. The bias in favour of technical over the policy and institutional dimensions of livestock sector development is considered a major reason for the incapacity of sector's growth to support household livelihoods. LID (1999) conducted a comprehensive review of over 600 interventions in the livestock sector, of which a large majority were concerned with technology transfer, and concluded that most of interventions failed to offer any significant and sustainable improvement in the livelihoods of the poor as they neglected the policy and institutional environment in which farmers arrive at their consumption and production decisions. A 2008 PPLPI Report on 'Pro-poor Livestock Policy and Institutional Change: Case Studies from South Asia, the Andean Region and West Africa' notes that '*In the 1990s, an increasing number of*

development aid experts and analysts came to realize that technology transfer alone was not going to transform development, especially agricultural development, in ways that would necessarily be beneficial to the poor. Policy and institutional change was identified as a pre-requisite to steer agricultural development towards meeting the needs of the poor (PPLPI, 2008). There is thus broad consensus that policy and institutional reforms are needed for livestock to better contribute to household livelihoods and, more in general, to poverty reduction and economic growth, though it is all but clear what and how those should be designed and implemented.

This paper reviews major livestock-related policies and institutions in the IGAD region to understand if and how they are supportive of households livelihoods. In particular, the paper addresses two questions:

- What livestock sector policies and programmes are currently in place and what are the dominant development narratives that drive these policies and programmes?
- What are the expected and actual intended or unintended impacts on households' livelihoods of the prevailing dominant narratives driving the livestock sector policies and programmes?

Development narratives are storyboards or scenarios that simplify reality (the Livestock Revolution is an opportunity for the livestock-dependent poor), suggest a linear input-output relationship (access to market helps small livestock keepers escape poverty) and influence the decision making process and the policy focus. While it is important that each livestock sector policy attempts to benefit the poor, it is only when major development paradigms appreciate how farm animals contribute to the livelihoods of the poor, that policy and institutional reforms, both within and beyond the livestock domain, will be consistently and continuously formulated and implemented to the benefit of smallholder livestock keepers.

The next section presents a framework for analysing livestock sector policies in the IGAD region from a livelihoods perspective. Section three to six review livestock sector related policies at pan-African, regional and country level and donors' priorities and policies. Section seven identifies the major livestock development narratives in the IGAD region and suggests institutional options for change. The last section summarises the main findings and draws some recommendations.

2. LIVESTOCK, LIVELIHOODS AND POLICIES: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

2.1 The many livestock-livelihoods services

Policies are effective and have a positive impact on the ground, at least in the medium to long term, when they are participatory, evidence-based and supportive of household livelihoods strategies, i.e. when they are consistent with the system of incentives that underpin household production and consumption decisions. Spielman and Pandya-Lorch (2009), commenting on 20 agricultural development instances that helped to substantially reduce hunger and poverty, note that: *'even with sustained public investment in science, technology, and complementary investment areas, little can be achieved without the right incentives. By putting policies in place that encourage farmers, entrepreneurs, and companies to invest in agriculture ... the likelihood of success in agricultural development increases' [...]* *'incentives work best when market participants can respond effectively to these incentives collectively or individually'* (Spielman and Pandya-Lorch, 2009).

Livestock provide a variety of livelihoods services to rural households, both monetary and non-monetary ones (Ayalew *et al.*, 2003; Bebe *et al.*, 2003; Moll, 2005; Upton, 2004). For example, Starkey (2000) reviews the role of livestock for tillage and domestic transport in Africa; Lybbert *et al.* (2004) look at the role of livestock as a risk-management tool in Southern Ethiopia; Randolph *et al.* (2007) present a comprehensive review of livestock's contribution to human nutrition and health for poverty reduction in the developing world; Kazianga and Udry (2006) examine the extent to which livestock (as well as grain storage and inter-household transfers) help mitigate risk and reduce income fluctuations in Burkina Faso; Jackson and Mtengeti (2005) provide an assessment of livestock manure production, management and utilization in the Njombe district of Southern Tanzania.

Sandford and Ashley (2010) identify nine major rationales for households to keep livestock in the Horn of Africa, and in the developing world in general. These can be grouped as follows:

- Generation of cash

The contribution of livestock to household income, either to total income or to agricultural income, is a simple measure of the monetary benefits of livestock for rural households. A review of the available evidence for the IGAD region suggests that: (i) Livestock contribute significantly to household cash income particularly in pastoral areas, where crop agriculture is marginally viable; in other production systems livestock are only one of the many assets of households, which rarely specialize in animal production (Ellis and Bahiigwa, 2003; Gryseels, 1988; Karugia *et al.*, 2006; Little *et al.*, 2008; Nega *et al.*, 2009). (ii) Well-off households derive some significant cash from sales of livestock and livestock products / by-products, whereas poor households marginally participate in livestock markets (FEWSNET, 2010a; FEWSNET, 2010b; IFAD, 2009; LIU, 2007a; Markakis, 2004; Pica-Ciamarra *et al.* 2010b).

- Provision of animal food

Livestock generate a regular supply of animal source food (ASF), that provide a critical supplement and diversity to staple plant-based diets. This is particularly true for milk and eggs but less true for meat, as slaughtering animals for meat purpose is more infrequent, occurring just when animals become sick, unproductive or for exceptional occasions such as religious ceremonies or hospitality. A review of consumption of animal food in the IGAD region suggests that: (i) The majority of the livestock-dependent poor are net buyers of food items, and tend to sell livestock and animal foods to buy cheaper sources of calories, typically staple grains (Fadul Kabbar, 2009; Herrero *et al.* 2009; ILRI 2010; Levinsohn and Mcmillan 2005; Niur Abdi, 2006; Zezza *et al.* 2008). (ii) There is a positive relationship between livestock ownership and consumption of animal food, which is mediated through a variety of channels, including increased income, reduced vulnerability, reduced drudgery, increased access to credit, and other factors that may help households access animal protein (Aklilu *et al.*, 2008; Leroy and Fronglillo, 2007; SDP, 2004; Vella *et al.*, 1995).

- Generation of savings and provision of insurance

Financial services, both access to credit and insurance facilities, are rarely available in rural areas. Livestock accumulation is one of the strategies farmers use to overcome their limited access to financial services: animals do not depreciate along time (i.e. they are a hedge against inflation) and can be easily liquidated both to finance productive investments and to cope with either minor or major shocks (Rahmato, 1991; LIU, 2007a; LIU, 2007b). The evidence in the IGAD region suggests that: (i) Households accumulate livestock for both savings and insurance purposes (Abegaz *et al.*, 2008; Dercon, 1996; Kibreab Habtom and Ruys, 2007; Obwona and Ddumba-Seentamy, 1995; Ogola *et al.*, 2010). (ii) Livestock accumulation strategies, on their own, are not always effective at sustaining the livelihoods of farmers, agro-pastoralists and pastoralists, particular in time of drought (allAfrica.com, 2010; Blench and Marriage, 1999; Desta and Coppock, 2000; Sudan Tribune, 2009).

- Production of manure

Continuous cultivation of land results in soil fertility decline in most agricultural systems in sub-Saharan Africa, because small-scale farmers rarely can afford buying fertilizers at market prices (Fleshman, 2006). A key resource that could be useful in reversing this trend is manure from livestock. In effect, in large parts of Africa manure represents up to 35-40 percent of the nitrogen needed for growing crops, making it a major source of soil nutrients in these regions; in some areas, manure is even more important than the stalks, leaves and other crop residues, which are fed back into soils by farmers after harvesting (Liu *et al.*, 2010). The evidence in the IGAD region suggests that: (i) Application of livestock manure significantly increases crop yields (Abusuwar and El Zilal, 2010; Baltenweck *et al.*, 2007; FAO, 2004; Kimbi *et al.*, 1992; Marere *et al.*, 2001). (ii) Households make very little use of fertilizers, including both chemicals and manure from livestock (Africanews, 2007; FAO, 2006; World Bank, 2000).

- Provision of draught and hauling services

Draft animals are appreciated by farmers in the developing world as an appropriate, affordable and sustainable technology, which provides them with power to plough and transport services, thereby reducing human drudgery and increasing land and labour

productivity (IFAD/FAO and Government of Japan, 1998; Panin, 1989; Starkey, 2000). The evidence from the IGAD region suggests that: (i) Cattle are widespread in mixed crop-livestock production systems and there is a positive correlation between use of animal traction and farmer livelihoods (Catley and Blakeway, 2004; Guthiga *et al.*, 2007; Sieber, 2004; Zerbini *et al.*, 1999). (ii) Though there is no any comprehensive assessment of the contribution of animal traction to household livelihoods in the IGAD region, which risks to leave unappreciated one of the potential linkages between livestock and livelihoods (Starkey and Mutagubya, 1992), there is evidence that animal traction contributes about 30 percent of ruminant GDP in Ethiopia (Behnke, 2010).

- Use of the scarce resources available in the drylands

Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists graze livestock in open access or collectively held drylands (which constitute nearly half of the land area in sub-Saharan Africa) by moving their herds in response to changes in pasture availability. Whilst for long pastoralism has been considered as an inefficient production system, there is increasing recognition of its rationale and sustainability. In particular, the evidence for the IGAD region is as follows: (i) Pastoral production systems are efficient and significantly contribute to livestock sector's output, as strategic and opportunistic access to drylands allows pastoralists to make efficient use of the scarce biomass which is available therein (Bremen and de Wit, 1983; Coneghour *et al.*, 1985; Moris, 1988; Rass, 2006; Scoones, 1994). (ii) Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists' access to and use rights over the drylands are regulated by traditional rules and mores (Fuys *et al.*, 2006; Pantuliano, 2007; Seno and Shaw, 2002; Tekle, 1998).

- Social reasons

Social capital is defined as the 'features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by coordinated actions' (Putnam *et al.*, 1993). In rural areas, livestock contribute to the creation of social capital in different ways. For example, because sharing and lending animals is common among the less-well off households, livestock help cement social networks and community-level obligations for the households involved; in many societies, dowry and bride-wealth are paid in cattle, and small stock and livestock are sold to pay for funeral expenses; livestock are also given in direct response to the emergency needs of friends and neighbours (Heffernan *et al.*, 2004; Misurelli and Heffernan, 2001). As to the IGAD region, there is unsystematic evidence that: (i) Livestock is still a critical component of social networks and ties for rural households (Coast, 2006; Köhler-Rollefson and Wanyama, 2003; Kristjanson *et al.*, 2004).

2.2 Livestock sector policies, policy objectives and development narratives

Policies are a set of government actions oriented towards a long-term economic and / or social purpose in a broad subject field (see Box 1); institutions are both organizations - including the government - and formal / informal rules and regulations governing behaviour of actors (e.g. government, farms) and among actors (e.g. between farmers and traders) (see Box 2). Policies and institutions at various levels (e.g. at the pan-African, regional, country and local level) and both within and beyond the livestock domain (e.g. land tenure, insurance, animal health services, credit, marketing, trade, environment and research policies and associated institutions) sustain an inclusive

development of the livestock sector if they are consistent with and support of the many livelihoods services that livestock provide to the livestock-dependent poor, including monetary and non monetary services (cash, food, insurance and savings, manure, draught power and hauling services, etc.).

Box 1. Policies

Public policies are a set of government actions oriented towards a long-term economic and / or social purpose in a broad subject field; they are pan-territorial and permanent, i.e. they cover an entire country and stay in place until a new policy regime is designed and put into effect. A policy consists of two main elements: (i) a policy objective and (ii) one or more policy instruments - i.e. tools at the government's disposal - that serve the objective and produce desired outcomes. The policy objective is a defined long-term socio-economic goal; the policy instruments serving the policy objective include programmes, regulations, decrees, laws, projects, etc. affecting the way the various stakeholders - including the government in its various forms and the private sector - interact within and between each other (e.g. laws/regulations affecting decisions within the household or within a ministry; affecting the relationships between livestock producers and public banks; between smallholders and processors). Policies should not be confused with programmes or projects, which are public or private driven actions limited in time and resources and involve direct interactions with particular stakeholder groups, such as livestock producers and financial institutions. Examples of programmes include the establishment of drought early warning systems, the set up of a commodity-exchange, and the one-off distribution of vouchers to farmers to purchase livestock services and veterinary supplies at market prices. Programmes, which include 'projects', are often an instrument to implement some broader policy and as such should be consistent with the prevailing policy framework. In most instances, policies and programmes go hand in hand, as policy reforms only become effective when supportive programmes nurture changes in the ways government and private sector institutions and organizations operate.

Source: ILRI, 1995; Norton, 2004.

Box 2. Institutions

Institutions are both organizations - including the government - and formal / informal rules and regulations governing behaviour of actors (e.g. government, farms) and among actors (e.g. between farmers and traders). Their major effect on economic growth and development is, ultimately, through the provision of (dis)incentives for investments. Elaborating on Williamson (2000), it is possible to identify four levels of institutions. (i) On top, there are 'social-embedded' institutions, which include norms, customs, mores and traditions. These have largely spontaneous origin, display a great deal of inertia - they evolve in 102 to 103 years - influence policy-making and might be changed by policy reforms, if ever, only in the very long run. For instance, there are few if any chances to rapidly develop the beef cattle industry in Hindi India. (ii) Second, there are 'structural institutions', including the Constitution, the form of government, government agencies, the system of property rights, the judiciary system, etc.

These institutions, which include policy making authorities, are slow-moving, as about 10 to 10² years are needed for a change: reforms modifying the Constitution, closing down or establishing new public institutes, reforming the system of property rights, etc. are not everyday policy shifts. For instance, land reform programmes that improve access to and use of common property resources by pastoral people are rarely designed and implemented. (iii) There are then formal laws and regulations governing the behaviour of and the relationships within and between the private and the public sectors. These are 'fast moving' institutions, which evolve within one to ten years, and policy reforms constantly review, modify, and adapt these rules, such as civil sector reforms or legalisation of community-based animal health workers. (iv) Finally, there are institutions which originate from the interactions within and between actors, given the existing 'rules of the game' and resource availability. In the poultry sector, for instance, large centralized production units or contract-growing arrangements may be seen as different institutions, which prevail in different contexts depending on whether available technologies and the rules of the game make it more convenient to hire in labourers or to outsource the raising of chicks to independent growers.

Source: Acemoglu and Robinson, 2008; Lin and Nugent, 1995; Ruttan, 2006; Williamson, 2000

It is a difficult and time-consuming exercise to review and analyse all individual livestock-related policy documents, and associated implementing institutions, with the objective to appreciate what are their major objectives and instruments and whether they support some of the livelihoods services provided by livestock.

- There are endless policies that influence the development of the livestock sector, at the macro (e.g. monetary and fiscal policies), meso (transport and water policies) and micro-level (credit and extension policies) and it would be difficult to identify and review all of them.
- Whereas each single policy is relevant, it is the overall policy and institutional framework within which livestock farmers operate that matters the most. For instance, public actions allowing livestock farmers access high-quality productive breeds and affordably priced animal health services may have little chance of success unless an enabling environment is in place, which allows livestock operators access feed, water and other inputs, as well as output markets.
- Disentangling the impact of each single policy on the livelihoods of livestock keepers is challenging, given the multiple linear and non-linear, planned and unanticipated, known and unknown interrelationships among the various policies.
- The outputs and livelihood impacts of policies change over time, because of the continuous evolution of the livestock sector instigated by policy and institutional reforms, as well by development of other sectors of the economy that generate provide new opportunities and constraints for the livestock-dependent poor.
- Many policies are not implemented and remain paper documents. Others are implemented but generate unexpected outcomes, because of unanticipated reactions of supposed beneficiaries and other stakeholders, or because institutional mechanisms of implementation have been poorly conceived.

A detailed review of each livestock-related policy, therefore, would be of limited use, though it could lead to some constructive recommendations to enhance the livelihoods

services provided by livestock, such as: 'implement institutional mechanism for bullock-sharing; support financial institutions in assisting the poor livestock farmers; implement livestock insurance schemes; build more feeder roads', etc. However, these recommendations, unless placed in the broader context within which farmers arrive at their production and consumption decision, would be moderately helpful as the success of each of them would depend on lots of other complementary, often not controllable factors.

From a broader developmental perspective it is more constructive to identify the main development narratives which pervade and dominate the livestock policy discourse in the IGAD region. Narratives are broad explanations and ideas that are used to interpret and analyze socio-economic problems and influence and shape, more or less directly, the majority (if not all) of livestock-related policies and institutions (Box 3). In effect, it is when major dominant livestock development paradigms fully appreciate the many livelihoods services provided by livestock that policy and institutional reforms will consistently be formulated and implemented to the benefit of smallholders and/or poor livestock keepers.

Box 3. Development narratives

Development narratives are like storyboards or scenarios that simplify complicated problems and indicate relatively simple solutions to complex developmental issues. Repetitive analyses of social problems from predefined simple previews lead to looping effects in policy planning and implementation, with policies and programmes designed and formulated to be consistent with the prevailing narratives. In essence, narratives take on verbal and institutional forms and shape our thinking and have a powerful influence on decision making; especially because adhering to them allows for greater certainty and self-confidence and complements notions of what one might call 'a rational policy choice'. For instance, the 'technology transfer' narrative in the 1960s and the 1970s and the 'getting prices right' narrative in the 1980s have been key determinants of policy reforms and investment trends in developing countries during those decades.

Refurbishing narratives or creating so-called counter-narrative is not straightforward, and requires hard data and concrete evidence as well as good communication and advocacy capacity. In addition refurbished narratives do not immediately translate into new policies and institutional settings. Administrative processes to deliver policy changes, in fact, largely pass through street level bureaucrats, or government employees, among which a predominant culture of power in terms of dressage - the way people act in their workplace - tends to reinforce hierarchy and behaviors like adherence to orders, rigidity in protocol and delivery target fixation. This reinforces a policy prototype, with policy making often reduced to following past protocol, in spite of possible policy and institutional innovations at the top.

Source: Ellis and Biggs, 2001; Jackson and Carter 1998; Laborier and Papadopoulos, 2004; March and Olsen, 1989.

Policy narratives are an appealing concept but any attempt to portray them risks oversimplification, as they develop and evolve over years and it is difficult, if not impossible, to neatly identify when and why they emerge, why and how they are abandoned and replaced by what are deemed more constructive and effective narratives.

This paper, in order to identify the prevailing narratives in livestock sector development and how they affect the livelihoods of the poor livestock keepers, adopts a simple two-pronged framework.

- It identifies and reviews the objectives of the major policy documents and strategies, at pan-African, regional and national level. It is straightforward to identify the major objectives of all policies, as they are spelled out in all policy documents, from broad national development policies to livestock sector and sub-sector policies and programmes.
- It confronts the various policy objectives to identify underlying common paradigms or narratives and attempts to appreciate whether they are consistent with the system of incentives that underpins household production and consumption decision, i.e. whether the policy objectives (and narratives) are in line with the many monetary and non-monetary livelihoods services that livestock provide to households.

3. LIVESTOCK SECTOR INSTITUTIONS AND POLICIES: THE PAN-AFRICAN SCENARIO

3.1 The Pan-African institutional setting

The development policy scenario in the African continent is dominated by the African Union (AU). The Union was established in July 2000 by the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of all African countries, including the seven IGAD countries. It provides a forum that assists governments in the continent in adopting coordinated positions on matters of common concern, with the ultimate objective to *'promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies'* (www.africa-union.org).

The African Union appreciates that investing in agriculture, including livestock, is key for promoting economic growth and poverty reduction in the continent. At the first conference of Ministers of Agriculture of the African Union held in Maputo, in July 2003, Ministers agreed to increase the national budgets allocated to agriculture and rural development. In particular, the 'Maputo Declaration on Agriculture and Food Security in Africa', endorsed by the Heads of State, contains several decisions regarding agriculture including the *'commitment to the allocation of at least 10 percent of national budgetary resources to agriculture and rural development policy implementation within five years'*. Three years later, in Sirte, AU Heads of State and Government also committed to allocate at least 3 percent of the national budgets to the livestock sub-sector. Agreements and commitments within the AU are however not binding for member States and, as of June 2009, only 8 countries in Africa had reached the Maputo target (www.aubiar.org; NEPAD / CAADP, 2009). The ways how the 10 percent / 3 percent of national budgets should be allocated to agriculture / livestock development are detailed in the Comprehensive African Agricultural Program (CAADP), formulated by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)¹ and endorsed by African Ministers of Agriculture in

¹ NEPAD has been established as a AU programme in July 2001 to provide an overarching vision and policy framework for accelerating economic growth and poverty reduction in the continent. It is in the

July 2002. CAADP provides a common African framework for stimulating and guiding national, regional and continental initiatives on enhanced agriculture production and productivity, its ultimate goal being to boost agricultural productivity growth in Africa by 6 percent per annum by 2015. It is structured around four pillars: (i) land and water management; (ii) infrastructure and trade capacity for market access; (iii) increasing food supply, reducing hunger and improving responses to food emergency crises; (iv) improving agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption (NEPAD, 2002).

In 2006, CAADP was enriched by a Companion Document titled 'Integrating Livestock, Forestry and Fisheries sub-sectors into the CAADP', which defines priorities for development and areas of investment in the livestock sector (NEPAD, 2006). The African Union - Inter African Bureau for Animal Resources (AU-IBAR) has been designated as the leading African institution for supporting the implementation of the livestock component of the CAADP Companion Document at regional and country level.

The NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency (NPCA) and AU-IBAR are not directly responsible for implementing CAADP, but Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and national governments are expected to design and implement their own CAADP Compacts. Regional and National CAADP Compacts are high-level agreements between governments, regional representatives and development partners for a focused implementation of CAADP within their respective region / country. They are meant to detail programmes and projects that the various partners can buy into and that address national priorities in line with the CAADP agenda (Gerecke, 2007).

Box 4. CAADP's economic rationale

The intention of guiding agricultural policy design and harmonization at supra-national level should encourage agricultural development, as most African countries neither have large enough internal agricultural markets, nor sufficient domestic endowments of human, social and capital for inward-looking agricultural development (only 15 out of 53 countries in Africa have a population of over 20 million, and 26 countries have a population of less than 10 million people). First, a large literature on 'endogenous economic growth' has emphasized the benefits of country size to promote development; second, the larger the region the larger the capacity to deal with natural calamities, which severely affect livestock production systems in Africa; third, the share of government spending over GDP is decreasing with GDP, i.e. smaller countries have comparatively larger governments and do not benefit of economies of scale in policy administration. It is true that above a certain size administrative and congestion costs may overcome the benefits of growing integration, but this applies to political and not to market entities. As a matter of fact, political size becomes growingly irrelevant to economic performance as economic integration grows; while political size is relevant to economic growth insofar economic integration and trade openness are low. African commitment to economic integration and agricultural policy harmonization, therefore, is appreciated; the more macro and sector policies and legal framework (transaction costs) will become homogenous, the more the expected benefits

Source: Alesina, 2003, FOASTAT, 2010.

process of being integrated into the AU structure; its Secretariat has been transformed into the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency (NPCA).

3.2. Pan-African livestock sector policies, programmes and narratives

A review of the major agricultural policy documents / strategies and of some of the agricultural / livestock development initiatives carried out at the pan-African level provides some hints on how the continental policy and institutional setting are supportive of the multiple livelihoods services that livestock provide to rural households. There are three major documents which deal with livestock from a pan-African perspective and that, together, are expected to influence the way African policy makers, both at regional and national level, plan and implement development interventions in the livestock sector. These are:

- The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme: Integrating livestock, forestry and fisheries subsectors into the CAADP (NEPAD, 2006).
- The AU-IBAR Strategic Plan 2010-2014 (AU-IBAR; 2009).
- The AU-IBAR Framework for Mainstreaming Livestock in the CAADP Pillars (AU-IBAR, 2010).

Box 5. The CAADP Livestock Companion Document

The CAADP Livestock Companion Document recognizes the multiplicity of livelihoods services provided by livestock. It reads:

- *'Livestock are often one of the most important sources of cash income for poor households. Ruminants provide milk and poultry provide eggs in small but readily available and regular amounts.*
- *Livestock utilize feeds with few alternative uses to produce highly nutritious foods for people in small but regular amounts. These foods are particularly important for children, and pregnant or lactating women.*
- *Livestock are one of the few assets owned by poor households and can be crucial in maintaining household survival in times of crisis. Livestock assets can be accumulated in good times and sold when necessary, e.g. to pay school fees or buy health care. Livestock are both an inflation-proof and productive investment.*
- *Livestock are central to farming systems used by the poor, providing draught power and manure - often when the purchase of substitutes is impossible. Draught animal power drives crop production in many farming systems. The use of manure is an efficient and sustainable method for maintaining soil quality and water retention.*
- *Livestock allow the poor to capture private benefits from common property resources: they do not require private land holdings.*
- *Livestock are often central to major social events and ceremonies. In many African societies, livestock are the basis for traditional social support systems and are an integral part of the African way of life.*
- *Livestock provide a range of other benefits including hides and skins, fuel for cooking and appropriate transport for carrying water, goods and people.'*

The document then identifies three major constraints to livestock sector development - technical constraints, policy and institutional constraints and specific agro-ecological zone related constraints - and proposes an investment plan to address those constraints, with the ultimate objective to achieve a growth rate of the livestock sector of 4.4 percent per annum.

Source: NEPAD, 2006

Box 6. AU-IBAR Strategic Plan 2010-2014

In December 2009 AU-IBAR released its Strategic Plan for 2010-2014, whose vision is '*an Africa in which animal resources contribute significantly to the reduction of poverty and hunger*'. The Plan identifies six strategic objectives:

- Reducing the impact of trans-boundary animal diseases.
- Enhancing Africa's capacity to conserve and sustainably use its animal resources and their natural resource base.
- Improving investment opportunities and competitiveness of animal resources in Africa.
- Promoting development and compliance with standards and regulations.
- Improving knowledge management in animal resources to facilitate informed and timely decision making.
- Facilitating development of policies and institutional capacities for improved utilization of animal resources in Africa.

These objectives will be achieved through a variety of projects and programmes, mostly funded by donors. AU-IBAR is committed to ensure that outputs of all initiatives have unambiguous linkages to development outcomes that alleviate poverty. The estimated costs of resource requirements for the period 2010-2014 is US\$ 40 million a year, of which about 50 percent will be allocated to programmes related to the control of trans-boundary animal diseases and zoonoses, and 18 percent to natural resources management programmes.

Source: AU-IBAR, 2009

Box 7. AU-IBAR Framework for Mainstreaming Livestock in the CAADP Pillars

In April 2010, AU-IBAR released its 'Framework for Mainstreaming Livestock in the CAADP Pillars, which identifies livestock-related interventions to implement under the four CAADP pillars. The document appreciates the many contributions of livestock to people's livelihoods, and even acknowledges that, too often, livestock sector interventions focus too much on market and trade issues. It then identifies a variety of actions, which may support the integration of livestock in the CAADP pillars, such as:

- Maintaining and sustaining pastoral and livestock mobility and reduce conflict over natural resources use.
- Encourage the development of market opportunities by increasing the availability of market information, and by strengthening the relationships between producers' groups and the institutions and control and monitor market information.
- Enhance governance of animal health services and promote and integrate crop-livestock production systems.
- Improve fodder crops, leguminous trees and forages for pastoral and crop-livestock systems.
- Development of practical technologies for controlling animal diseases that limit livestock productivity.

Source: AU-IBAR, 2010

- The Livestock Companion Document to the CAADP is a technical document which openly appreciates the many ways through which livestock can contribute to household livelihoods, with priorities given to policies and investments aimed at increasing livestock production and productivity. For instance, the ultimate objective of the Livestock Companion Document is to achieve a growth rate for the sector of 4.2 percent per annum; section 3.3 titles '*The need to increase livestock production and productivity*'; and section 3.4 '*Constraints to increased livestock production and productivity*'; 75 percent of the planned investments for the period 2004-2015, or about US\$ 1,321 million, are expected to be allocated to infrastructure development - which includes marketing, processing and feed production.
- The AU-IBAR Strategic Plan for 2010-2014 appreciates that livestock can provide many livelihoods services to rural households and proposes a number of development interventions for sector's development which fall into AU-IBAR four major programme areas, namely animal health, animal production, trade and marketing, and information. The risk that interventions ends up only focusing on technical dimensions of livestock production is minimized as the AU-IBAR Strategic Plan reads that all interventions will be linked to pro-poor outcomes and that '*the need to develop policy analysis and formulation capacities is recognized as an urgent priority for animal resources development in Africa*' (AU-IBAR, 2009), i.e. that appropriate policies are to be designed and implemented for technical interventions to have an impact on the ground.
- The AU-IBAR Framework for Mainstreaming Livestock in the CAADP Pillars has given AU-IBAR the opportunity to look at the livestock sector from a broader development perspective, as livestock are expected to be included into the four CAADP pillars, including land and water management; infrastructure and trade capacity for market access; increasing food supply, and improving agricultural research. The document first recognizes that '*most national policy documents do not fully recognize the role of livestock in poverty reduction: policies designed to increase production do not necessarily benefit poor livestock keepers who are an extremely heterogeneous group and often, because they are extremely poor, prioritize survival rather than production*' (AU-IBAR, 2010), and then proposes / recommends interventions which are not only related to the technicalities of animal production, i.e. animal health, breeding and feeding, but also to other livestock-livelihoods services, such as pastoral land management (improved use of drylands) and crop-livestock integration (improved use of animal draught power and manure).

The CAADP Livestock Companion Document and the two AU-IBAR strategic policy documents appreciate the many livelihoods services provided by livestock, though this is not yet translated into a comprehensive set of programmes and projects. For example:

- The AU-IBAR 2007-2010 'Support Programme to Integrated National Action Plans for Avian and Human Influence' — a €21.5 million initiative funded by the European Commission — aims to '*strengthen national capacities to prevent and control avian and human influenza*' in 47 ACP countries; the 2005-2008 Dryland Livestock Wildlife Environment Interface Project (US\$ 1 million) supported land management systems

at the *'livestock/wildlife interface'*; the 2008-2010 €3.4 Initiative on the 'Participation of African Nations in Sanitary and Phytosanitary Standard-setting Organizations' aims to promote greater access for African agricultural products to international markets (www.au-ibar.org). In these cases, access to market, supported through reduced animal diseases, represent the major channel to increase the cash contribution of livestock to household livelihoods.

- The AU-IBAR US\$ 20 million 20-month project (Jan 10 to Aug 11) on 'Vaccines for the Control of Neglected Animal Diseases in Africa' aims to reduce poverty and enhance food security *'amongst vulnerable rural communities through improved livestock health'*. The project's ultimate objectives are to improve the vaccine production and distribution capacity of 6 African laboratories, while at the same time nurturing the establishment a self-sustainable market for animal vaccines. It will be implemented in 15 countries (including Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda in the IGAD region) and, indirectly, will support many of the livelihoods services provided by livestock, including their generation of cash, food and provision of insurance (www.au-ibar.org).
- AU-IBAR is member of the African Livestock Platform (ALive), which is a partnership of international and regional institutions to *'reposition the African livestock sector into the development agendas of the national, regional and international policy makers, by emphasizing its crucial impacts in terms of poverty alleviation and sustainable economic growth and its overall contribution to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)'* (www.alive-online.org). The AU-secretariat, which was located at the World Bank, has been transferred to AU-IBAR in 2009 and the leadership of the Platform is now the AU Commissioner of Rural Economy and Agriculture of AU. ALive has so far produced a Livestock Investment Toolkit and a number of policy notes aimed at advocating for developing policies which build on many of the livelihoods services provided by livestock. However, ALive appears to be underfunded (www.au-ibar.org).

4. LIVESTOCK SECTOR INSTITUTIONS AND POLICIES: THE REGIONAL SCENARIO

4.1 The Regional institutional setting in the Horn of Africa

Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are the building blocks of the African Union, and expected to promote coordination and harmonization of policies and institutions at regional level. In 2008, the African Union adopted the 'Protocol on the Relations between the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities' meant to provide a legal framework for coordinating and harmonizing the relations between the AU and the Regional Communities. The Protocol recognizes eight RECs - including the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the

Southern African Development Community (SADC) - and emphasizes the need to coordinate and harmonize policies and institutions of the different regional blocks and of countries within blocks.

The Protocol is largely silent on some critical legal issues such as: are there any subjects on which only the AU can legislate? How are breaches of AU decisions and directives to the regional communities to be enforced? Is there supremacy of RECs normative acts and decisions over state laws? The lack of a structured legal framework to co-ordinate the legal relations between AU, RECs and member states is widely considered as a binding constraint to the effectiveness of pan-African and regional policy making and implementation (ACBF, 2008; Frimpong Oppong, 2008). This also affects pan-African livestock sector programmes and interventions, as NEPAD and AU-IBAR are expected to largely work at country level through the interface of the various Regional Economic Communities. Countries in the Horn of African have membership in four RECs (fig 2):

- CEN-SAD (Community of Sahelian-Saharan States);
- COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa);
- EAC (East African Community);
- IGAD (Inter-Governmental Authority on Development).

Fig 2. Regional Economic Communities with membership of IGAD countries

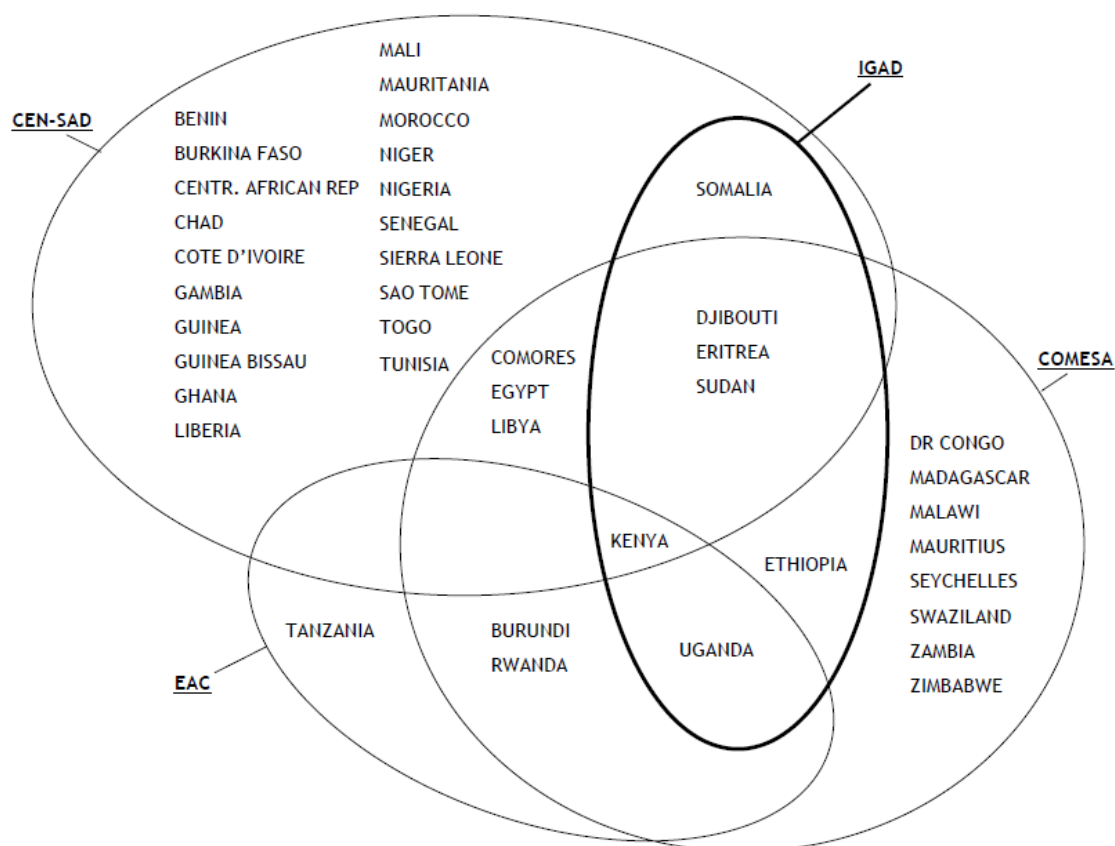


Figure 2, as many studies outline, highlights the issue of multiple and overlapping memberships in RECs, which makes it difficult appreciating the roles and responsibilities of the various Communities as well as the economic relationships between the various countries. For example, RECs often derive authority and legitimacy over agricultural issues from common decisions / statements of the Councils of Agricultural / Livestock Ministers and Heads of State but, because of overlapping memberships, it is difficult to decide the mandate of which REC is superior or should supersede the others; given that both Tanzania and Uganda are members of EAC, but only Uganda has membership in COMESA, a question could be whether Tanzania livestock exporters have de facto some privileged access to markets of other COMESA member countries. On the other side, EAC, but not COMESA, participates in the European Union Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), which aims at create a free trade area between the European Union and some developing regions / countries. The question could be then the opposite: can Uganda livestock exporters benefit from Tanzanian participation in EAC and get preferential access to European markets? In general, because most RECs have the long term objective to create a common market there is a widespread perception that *'multiple and overlapping memberships constitute a 'spaghetti bowl' that hinders regional integration by creating a complex entanglement of political commitments and institutional requirements adding significantly to the costs of conducting intra-regional business'* (Draper et al., 2007).

Box 8. RECs in the Horn of Africa: common or overlapping objectives?

The Community of Sahelian-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) was established in 1998 and comprises 28 countries, including five IGAD countries (Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia and Sudan). It has the objective of creating a *'Global Economic Union'*, based on the implementation of a community development plan - which involves cooperation in a variety of development domains, including agriculture, industry, energy, social, culture, health, etc. - through policy harmonization and infrastructural investments that facilitate intra-regional and international trade of goods, service and persons. The 2009 annual budget for the activities of the CEN-SAD General Secretariat was US\$ 9.3 million, of which about 30 percent contributed by Libya (www.cen-sad.org).

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) was established in 1994 and comprises 19 countries, including all IGAD countries but Somalia. Its objective is *'to achieve sustainable economic and social progress in all Member States through increased co-operation and integration in all fields of development particularly in trade, customs and monetary affairs, transport, communication and information, technology, industry and energy, gender, agriculture, environment and natural resources'*. The 2007 COMESA programme budget amounted to US\$ 7.8 million (www.comesa.int).

The East African Community (EAC) was established in 1999 and is *'the regional intergovernmental organization of the Republics of Kenya, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Republic of Rwanda and Republic of Burundi'*. It aims *'at widening and deepening co-operation among the Partner States in, among others, political, economic and social fields for their mutual benefit. To this extent there shall be established a Customs Union as the entry point of the Community, a Common Market, subsequently a Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation of the East African States'*. The budget estimates for the 2010/2011 financial year add up to \$60 million, half of which is expected be contributed by donors (www.eac.int).

The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was established in 1996 and comprises seven countries, including Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. It superseded the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) which had been established in 1986 by six drought afflicted Eastern African countries. IGAD has 11 major objectives, of which number one is to '*promote joint development strategies and gradually harmonize macroeconomic policies and programmes in the social, technological and scientific fields*'. Other objectives include the harmonization of '*policies with regard to trade, customs, transport, communication, agriculture, and natural resources, and people and the establishment of residence*'; the creation of '*an enabling environment for foreign, cross-border and domestic trade and investment*'; the achievement of '*regional food security*'; assistance to '*Member states to collectively combat drought and other natural and man-made disasters and their consequences*' (IGAD, 1996). In 2007, the IGAD budget was about US\$ 6.8 million, of which about 60 percent contributed by donors (IGAD, 2008).

4.2 Livestock sector policies, institutions and narratives: regional perspectives

The four Regional Economic Communities to which IGAD countries participate, including CEN-SAD, COMESA, EAC and IGAD, all aim at promoting agriculture development and are expected to support, directly or indirectly, also the livestock sector. Their overall appreciation of the role of agriculture, and of livestock, in supporting household livelihoods can be understood by looking at:

- The Rural Development Strategy and the Management of Natural Resources in the Cen-Sad Region (CEN-SAD, 2007);
- The 2006 Agriculture and Rural Development Policy for the East African Community (EAC, 2006);
- the COMESA Agricultural Strategy and the Draft COMESA Regional CAADP Compact (COMESA, 2010);
- The IGAD Food Security Strategy (2005).

Box 9. Agricultural development policies and strategies in the Horn of Africa

In 2007, the CEN-SAD General Secretariat endorsed the 'Rural Development Strategy and the Management of Natural Resources in the CEN-SAD Region' with the objective to '*foster food security and fight poverty through sustained growth in the agricultural sector and through the sustainable management of natural resources and water resources*'. The strategy builds on four pillars, i.e. food security, water management; fight against desertification and resource mobilization, and comprises two phases. The 2007-2010 phase aims at identifying investment opportunities for agriculture in the CEN-SAD region; the second phase, expected to start in 2011, will realize the identified investments.

The total budget allocated for activities in first phase amounts to US\$ 6.6 million. As to livestock, the CEN-SAD Rural Development Strategy aims to '*strengthening the productivity of existing breeding systems*', improve the efficiency of '*livestock breeding*

services and stimulate private sector involvement in the livestock breeding sub-sector; establishing a regional programme to control / eradicate epizooties; improve pastoral infrastructure (grassland productivity; watering conditions; health treatments and shipping); support farmer organizations; *'strengthening of processing capacity and marketing/distribution networks' for livestock products*.

The COMESA Treaty dictates that the overall objectives of co-operation in the agricultural sector are the achievement of regional food security and rational agricultural production, The COMESA Agricultural Strategy stipulates that Member States should harmonize agricultural policies, achieve food sufficiency and replace food imports on a regional basis, and increase agricultural productivity. It comprises three major areas of intervention: *'facilitation of efficient agricultural markets'*, with a major focus on market infrastructure, market information systems and market institutions; *'accelerating adoption of productivity-enhancing technologies'*; *'promoting an enabling policy environment'*, with a focus on opening up the region to freer flow of international and intraregional trade of agricultural products. The COMESA Agricultural strategy is the building stone of the COMESA Regional CAADP Compact, as COMESA has been given the mandate to detail and guide implementation of the CAADP agenda in Eastern and Southern Africa. Essentially, the COMESA CAADP is a *'long list of potential programmes'* which have been identified by local stakeholder *'based on existing portfolio of regional programmes that address the strategic priorities, the requirements by Member States, and the gaps and required synergies that have been identified'*. 12 priority programmes are identified, of which 7 are related to trade, 3 to agricultural research, one to fishery and one to irrigation. As to livestock, the 'Livestock Trade Development' programme proposes to harmonize livestock trade legislations with a particular focus on animal health related barriers to trade.

The 'Agricultural and Rural Development Policy for the East African Community' was endorsed by the EAC Secretariat in 2006. The overall objective of the Policy is *'to attain food security through increased agricultural production, processing and marketing'*. The policy covers 14 domains, including *'crop production', 'animal production', 'fisheries', 'forestry', 'research, extension and training', 'plant and animal pests and diseases', 'irrigation and water management', 'natural disasters', 'processing and marketing', 'financing agriculture and agro-processing', HIV and Aids', 'Gender', 'land and environment'*, and a *'legal and regulatory framework'* which should enable the development all other domains. As to livestock, the overall objectives are *'to produce enough quality animals and animal products to match both the requirement of the rapidly increasing human population in the region and for the export market'* and *'to reduce the impact of pests and diseases for [plants and] animals in order to promote sustainable production and trade'*. EAC role will be to develop regional stances and approaches and to support in mobilizing resources through the establishment of a 'Common Agricultural and Rural Development Fund' (CARDF) from where various joint programmes will be funded. Member states remain the ultimate responsible for implementation of the EAC Agricultural and Rural Development Policy, through providing public goods and establishing an enabling policy and regulatory framework.

The 2005-2008 IGAD Food Security Strategy, which still is the reference document for IGAD investments for rural and agriculture development, includes three major goals: *'to assist member states ensure that people ... have access to sufficient and nutritious food at all times while protecting the natural resource base and the environment; to promote peace and stability ...; to promote regional economic cooperation and integration'*. The strategy identifies a number of interventions which aim to achieve three major objectives: *'increasing food production; promoting food trade; and protecting consumption (safety nets)'*. The role of IGAD in the implementation of the strategy is to coordinate and supplement the efforts of member states, as well as through implementing initiatives of regional relevance. As to livestock, a development programme has been detailed under the *'increasing food production'* heading, which identifies a number of past and prospective initiatives for supporting sector's growth. These include 12 livestock-related interventions, including projects, studies and the establishment of livestock policy fora, such as *'establishing cross border stock routes with infrastructure for certification'*, *'establish a regional forum for livestock vaccine producers'* and *'study of port charges and suggestions for efficient port handling'*.

- The rural / agricultural development strategies of the various RECs emphasize the importance of growth in agriculture for food security and contend that increased production and productivity, which translate both in increased self-consumption and marketable surpluses (cash), is the main channel through which agriculture should support household livelihoods. The CEN-SAD Rural Development Strategy aims to *'foster food security and fight poverty'* through *'strengthening of technical and operational skills'* that contribute to intensification of agriculture and adoption of improved breeds (CEN-SAD, 2007). *'COMESA Member States have placed a high priority on accelerating food production and food system productivity through adoption of existing and newly generated technologies'* in order to achieve the overall objective of *'regional food security and rational agricultural production'* (COMESA, 2010). The EAC Agricultural and Rural Development Policy reads: *'the overall objective is to attain food security through increased agricultural production, processing and marketing'* (EAC, 2006). The IGAD Food Security Strategy is built around agriculture and identifies 67 interventions that will *'ensure that the people in the region have access to sufficient and nutritious food'*; 41 interventions focus on *'increasing food production'* (IGAD, 2005).
- The CEN-SAD, EAC and IGAD rural development / food security strategies have some specific focus on livestock. In particular, increasing production and productivity of animal food is the underpinning objective of the CEN-SAD and the EAC agricultural development strategies: in the former, identification and dissemination of high productive breeds is the key means towards developing the sector (CEN-SAD, 2007); in the latter, *'the overall objective of animal production is to produce enough quality animals and animal products to match both the requirement of rapidly increasing human population in the region and for the export market'* (EAC, 2006). The IGAD Food Security Strategy identifies 12 livestock-related interventions aimed at enhancing the contribution of the sector to food security. Some are technical / infrastructural interventions while others focus on policy and institutional issues, such as the establishment of regional fora *'for livestock health service providers'* and for

'farmers and NGOs in pastoral areas', and a project to *'assist countries in developing pro-poor policies'* (IGAD, 2005).

- The COMESA Agricultural Strategy and the COMESA Regional Compact have no specific focus on livestock, which is treated as one of the many agricultural sub-sectors. However, in December 2009, COMESA has released a consultative draft of a 'Policy Framework for Food Security in Pastoral Areas' (COMESA, 2009), expected to contribute to the third pillar of the CAADP: *'increasing food supply, reducing hunger and improving responses to food emergency crises'*. The draft Policy appreciates the many contributions of livestock to the livelihoods of pastoral peoples and recommends a number of actions to support an inclusive development of pastoral areas in the COMESA region, such as land tenure reforms which institutionalize pastoral mobility, and investments in regional and local road networks.

Box 10. COMESA Policy Framework for Food Security in Pastoralist Areas

The COMESA Policy Framework for Food Security in Pastoralist Areas was formulated by the Feinstein International Center, Tufts University, under the guidance of the COMESA Secretariat and within the framework of the USAID funded project 'Pastoralist Areas Coordination, Analysis and Policy Support' (PACAPS). The document recognizes that COMESA member countries, in particular Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lybia, Sudan and Uganda, have substantial pastoralist populations (estimated at over 25 millions) and adopts the 'livelihoods framework' to present a detailed review of pastoral development and policy issues in the COMESA region. It recommends that: (i) studies be conducted to *'improve our understanding of the economic value and potential of pastoralism nationally and regionally'* and *'to evaluate emerging approaches in pastoral areas such as safety nets and livestock insurance'*; (ii) policies / legislations be designed and implemented that *'support pastoral mobility, including cross-border movements, and pastoral land tenure'*; (iii) the main infrastructural investments be on feeder roads and communication technology as when in pastoral areas *'a decision is made to sell an animal, households need rapid access to local, small-scale markets or traders and information on prices. At this level, the main infrastructural needs are secondary roads and good telecommunications ... rather than market infrastructure'*; (iv) carry out *'comprehensive evaluation of recent or ongoing livelihoods diversification programmes in pastoral areas, with attention to the economic feasibility of scaling-up within specific national policy and institutional contexts'*; (v) provide support to pastoralists to fruitfully participate in intra-regional trade, also through developing regional strategies to control trans-boundary animal diseases and through participation of COMESA member countries in the international standard setting policy debate; (vi) sustain livelihoods-based responses to drought and risk-management, such as the adoption of the Livestock Emergency Guidelines and Standards (LEGS).

- A major focus of the agricultural / rural development strategies is on market access and intra-regional trade, areas where Regional Economic Communities have comparative advantages with respect to national governments. The CEN-SAD rural development strategy aims at *'strengthening of processing capacity and marketing / distribution networks for agricultural, livestock and fishing products mainly by the creation of a common agricultural market and the signing of relevant trade agreements'* (CEN-SAD, 2007). *'COMESA has place strong emphasis on facilitating*

enhanced trade of agricultural products, specifically food staples including livestock and fisheries at local, regional and international level' ... 'commercialization of smallholder farmers and improved market services within staple crops and livestock are high priorities' (COMESA, 2010). The EAC Agricultural Development Policy devotes one section to 'processing and marketing' with the objective to 'improve access of agricultural products to domestic and international markets' (EAC, 2006). The IGAD Food Security Strategy includes 25 interventions aimed at 'promoting food trade', such as 'strengthen the marketing information system to facilitate regional trade'; 'formulate regional policies to facilitate regional food trade, also for relief and a 'study on smuggling of food commodities across borders' (IGAD, 2005).

- Because trans-boundary animal diseases (TADs), including zoonoses, are one of the major constraints to increased intra-regional and international trade, all RECs have been implementing some programmes and projects aimed at controlling TADs. CEN-SAD has been implementing a 'Regional program for cross-border disease control and eradication', which essentially consists of vaccination campaigns in five of its member countries, including Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Niger and Sudan. COMESA has been advocating for a regional approach and common mechanisms to control transboundary animal diseases in cooperation with Middle East livestock trade partners and other key stakeholders. EAC has been implementing two major TADs related programmes: the 'Regional Emergency and Response Plan on Transboundary Human and Animal Diseases Project', which is currently non operational because of lack of funds, and the 'Avian Influenza Regional Response Plan', which is a 3-year US\$ 3 million project funded by the European Union. IGAD has drafted and submitted to the African Development Bank a concept note for a project on 'Trans-boundary Animal Health'.
- Regional initiatives aimed at mitigating the impact of TADs and promoting intra-regional trade of livestock in the region are part of a broader set of trade-related interventions, which represent the core activities of the Regional Economic Communities. Examples include the EAC African Trade and Transport Project; the EAC Road Network Project; and the EAC Investment Climate Program. COMESA has been investing about US\$ 2.7 billion in road infrastructure for creating the North-South development corridor; it has been implementing the Strengthening Trade in Agricultural Input Project (STAR); the Agricultural Marketing Promotion and Regional Integration Project (AMPRIMP); The Regional Agricultural Trade Expansion Project and others. Trade-related projects in the IGAD region includes the 'Mombasa / Nairobi / Addis Ababa Development Corridor Project'; the 'Djibouti - Ethiopia Railway Development Project'; the 'Establishment of Regional Standards and Quality Control Measures Project'. So far, CEN-SAD has not yet implemented any initiatives related to intra-regional trade.
- In addition to projects related to TADs, the EAC and the IGAD have been also implementing other livestock-related initiatives. EAC plans to establish three Steering Committees to handle issues related to pastoral development, animal breeding and animal genetic resources, and livestock trade and marketing. IGAD, with support by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), has set up a Livestock Marketing Information System (LMIS), with the objective 'to enhance food security for the IGAD sub-region through the provision of timely and reliable marketing

information' (www.lmis.nortak.com). However, whilst the project managed to set up a comprehensive livestock data information system - comprising price and volume data from a variety of rural and urban markets, different livestock species, breeds and grades - there are currently no funds available to populate the platform with livestock data. Finally, the IGAD Livestock Policy Initiative aims to strengthen the capacity in IGAD member states, and other regional organizations and stakeholders, to formulate and implement livestock sector and related policies that sustainably reduce food insecurity and poverty (box 11). At the policy level, the Initiative has recently facilitated an agreement among Ministers responsible for livestock IGAD member countries for a common policy framework on animal health, trade and vulnerability.

Box 11. The IGAD Livestock Policy Initiative (LPI)

The IGAD Livestock Policy Initiative (2005-2012) has been established by IGAD in collaboration with FAO and with financial support from the European Commission. Its main objective is to enhance the contribution of the livestock sector to sustainable food security and poverty reduction in the IGAD region.

The initiative builds on the evidence that technical fixes, on their own, are all but sufficient to promote an inclusive development of the livestock sector and, *'of no less importance, are the other ways in which livestock make smallholder livelihoods possible, in the face of many pressures and vulnerabilities. For instance, livestock provide an effective and high interest means of savings which can be relatively easily liquidated into cash when needed. Their various roles within social structures, celebrations and particularly marriage allow access to the social capital which is crucial in managing the vulnerabilities so often associated with life in the region. The draft and transport they supply are essential components of agriculture in general, while their manure provides a source of fertility in the most infertile of areas. Livestock can only provide these functions if they are permitted to do so by the web of institutions and rules that determine the options available to the poor. Evidence from previous livestock interventions has shown that is the policies and rules (also referred to as institutions) under which livestock keepers operate that determine how well they can support their livelihoods through livestock'*.

The overall objective of the IGAD LPI is to strengthen the capacity in IGAD, its member states, and other regional organizations and stakeholders, to formulate and implement livestock sector and related policies that sustainably reduce food insecurity and poverty, thereby enhancing the contribution of the livestock sector to sustainable food security and poverty reduction in the IGAD region.

Source: www.igad-lpi.org

5. LIVESTOCK SECTOR POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS AT COUNTRY LEVEL

Pan-African and regional policies and institutions matter as far as they influence national policy design and implementation. Policies on the ground are in fact implemented by national governments, which remain responsible either for articulating the implementation of pan-African / regional agreements - such as the establishment of a common external tariff in some regional blocks or the allocation of ten percent of their national budget to agriculture - and for designing and implementing policies which are intrinsically national, such as land, water and animal health policies.

5.1 Livestock in the broad national development strategies

All IGAD countries, but for Eritrea, have drafted one or more Development Strategies or Plans - often as Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) - which describe a country's macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programmes over a three-year or longer horizon. The overarching objectives of major national policy documents of IGAD countries are economic growth and poverty reduction (box 12).

Box 12. Overarching development objectives of IGAD country governments

The two first goals of the Djibouti 'National Initiative for Social Development' (INSD) are '*reduction of the incidence of extreme poverty and of relative poverty; increase in average annual economic growth to over 7 percent*' (Government of Djibouti, 2008).

The 'Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper' for Eritrea stipulates that '*The development strategy promotes growth with equity which is broad-based so that the gains of growth accrue to the majority of the poor*' (Government of Eritrea, 2004).

The Ethiopian 2005-2010 Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to end Poverty (PASDEP) reads: '*In order to eradicate the daunting poverty challenges faced by the country and to improve people's livelihood, it is imperative to have an accelerated and sustained economic growth*' (Government of Ethiopia, 2006).

The first two objectives of the Kenya's Economic Strategy for Wealth and Employment Generation' are: '*GDP growth rate increases from 1.2 percent in 2002/2003 to ... 4.5 percent by 2007/07; reduced proportion of the people below the poverty lines by 10 percent by 2006 from 57 percent in 1997*' (Government of Kenya, 2005).

Because of conflict and lack of a fully-functioning central government, public institutions are virtually non-existent in Somalia and the UNDP - WB Somali Joint Needs Assessment provides major guidelines for the development of the country: '*the main outcomes from the program of the proposed investments are increased income generation ... poverty reduction, and improved food security*' (UNDP and World Bank, 2006).

The Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy of Sudan reads: '*a medium term economic programme ... has been adopted in anticipation of the coming peace as well as explicitly introducing poverty reduction policies for the medium term.*'

The economic programme aims at maintaining macroeconomic stability, achieving a real GDP growth of 7 percent ...' (Government of Sudan, 2004). The Ugandan National Development Plan (2010/11 - 2014/15) aims to '*increasing the GDP while improving the socio-economic indicators such as the number of people living below the poverty line and infant mortality*' (Government of Uganda, 2010).

The inclusion of livestock in the national development strategies would ensure that sector's priorities are consistent with the broader national development objectives; that adequate funds are earmarked to the sector; that policy makers anticipate that livestock sector development could contribute both to household livelihoods and, hence, to economic growth and poverty reduction, the two overarching priorities of IGAD countries.

In Djibouti, '*as regards livestock breeding, four goals had been identified: (i) upgrading of infrastructure for receiving livestock from neighboring countries to be re-exported; (ii) creation of an appropriately sized structure for production of food supplements and provision of fodder during the pre-embarkation period; (iii) promotion of livestock assembly centers in rural areas for national cattle destined for the domestic market or for export; and (iv) provision of water points along cattle driving routes*' (Government of Djibouti, 2004). In Eritrea, '*priority measures include developing and rehabilitating breeding/hatching centers, and establishing bee-colony breeding and multiplication centers and systems for collection of milk. Technical advice and training will be provided to commercial producers, smallholder farmers, on modern production, marketing, and management techniques. Credit facilities will be increasingly made available to small-scale commercial and semi-commercial poultry and livestock farms and distribution of chicks to needy farmers and female-headed households. In pastoral areas, 'the objective is to enhance livestock production and the marketing system, particularly for pastoral communities*' (Government of Eritrea, 2004).

Noteworthy are the Ugandan and Ethiopian development strategies, which look at livestock from a broader development perspective. The Ugandan National Development Plans reads: '*The current focus on maximising livestock production alone needs to be replaced by one that recognises the multiple contributions that livestock make to livelihoods. This will require a greater understanding of who are the clients of livestock development efforts/services and what their priorities are. Lack of such understanding is the reason why there has been only limited uptake of 'improved' livestock technologies, which have been largely inappropriate to meeting the needs of livestock keepers in general and pastoralists, in particular. Hence pastoralists and their farming systems will be a key component in the new policy*' (Government of Uganda, 2010). The Ethiopian 'Plan for Accelerated Sustainable Development to End Poverty' considers livestock as an integral part of crop agriculture and envisages targeted interventions for pastoral populations: '*Since the livelihood of the pastoralists rests on livestock breeding, special efforts will be made to enhance specialization in livestock production and marketing through the provision of water supply for the community and their livestock. The major interventions are thus centered on improving livestock quality, expansion of animal health services, water points, feed production, breed improvement and development of market infrastructure*' (Government of Ethiopia, 2006).

Table 1 below provides a summary of how the major national development strategies of IGAD countries appreciate the various livelihood services provided by livestock, including cash, food, draught and hauling services, manure, savings and insurance, and the contribution of farm animals to use / maintain the drylands and to family's social networks. In general, national development strategies emphasize livestock production, productivity and access to market as the major channels through which livestock can contribute to household livelihoods and economic development, and recognize the importance of investing in arid and arid-areas, thereby supporting pastoralists' livelihoods.

Table 1. Livestock and livelihoods services in national policy documents

	Livestock-livelihood services						
	Cash / Income	Food / nutrition	Draught / Hauling	Manure	Savings / Insurance	Use of drylands	Social capital
Djibouti, National Initiative for Social Development, 2007	√	√				√	
Eritrea, Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2004	√	√					
Ethiopia, Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty, 2006	√	√	√	√	√	√	
Kenya, Investment programme for the economic recovery strategy, 2004	√					√	
Somalia, UNDP-WB Joint Needs Assessment, 2006	√	√				√	
Sudan, Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2004	√	√				√	
Uganda, National Development Plan, 2010	√		√	√		√	

5.2 Livestock-livelihood services in sector policies and programmes

National development policies are implemented on the ground through sector policies, programmes and projects, which are jointly expected to contribute to achieving the stated overarching goals of economic growth and poverty reduction. In general, sector policies and programmes are consistent with the national development strategies and largely aim to increasing livestock productivity and market access to enhance household livelihoods. The major focus is either on export markets, such as in Uganda, Somalia and Sudan, or on national markets, such as in Eritrea and Ethiopia. Though not with the same

emphasis, many policies are also supportive of some of the other livelihoods-services provided by livestock.

In Uganda, the National Livestock Productivity Improvement Project (NLPIP), implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF) primarily aims to rehabilitate/construct livestock markets, slaughter sheds, livestock check points, cattle dip tanks, animal holding grounds and quarantine stations, with the objective to increase efficiency in livestock production and support exports of livestock products. In Sudan, a set of disease control measures - intensification of vaccination campaigns, active disease surveillance and investigation, creation of disease free zones, rehabilitation of veterinary posts and recruitment of community based animal health workers - have been proposed to increase livestock production and exports as a major means to boost economic growth. The government anticipates that, by 2011, about US\$ 820 million will be derived from increased exports of live animals, meat and animal skins (Government of Sudan, 2007). In Somalia, where exports of livestock and animal products contribute an estimated 40 percent to GDP (taxation of livestock trade and exports is one of the major sources of revenue for the Somali government as well as for Somaliland and Putland), the Livestock Sector Strategy emphasizes the importance to strengthen veterinary institutions to meet international sanitary and phytosanitary standards and, recently, a quarantine station has been inaugurated in the city of Bossasso (FAO *et al.*, 2004; OIE, 2008). In Ethiopia, the mandate of the recently established Livestock Marketing Authority is to support livestock market development, which includes conducting livestock marketing studies, establishing a livestock marketing information system, and investigate opportunities for supporting hides and skins trade as well as reducing livestock smuggling (Solomon *et al.*, 2003).

In Uganda, the consumption of animal protein is considered key to reduce malnutrition and malnourishment and the government plans to revise the 2003 National Food and Nutrition Policy to enhance the contribution of livestock to human nutrition. The government of Kenya plans to include livestock products, namely milk and meat, in its Strategic Food Reserve. In Djibouti, the Special Food Security Programme, implemented in collaboration with FAO between 1998 and 2009, aimed to increase consumption of animal source food to improve food security. In general, many livestock-related policies in IGAD countries assume that increased livestock production is associated with increases in the consumption of animal food, though there are no policy documents in which the causality between increased livestock production and food security is spelled out.

As to the role of livestock in saving and risk management through stock accumulation, Ethiopia stands out in recognizing such role in both the PASDEP and the Rural Development Strategy. In particular, the latter recognizes that only by favoring stock accumulation in pastoral areas there could be a growth of the livestock sector which is pro-poor in the drylands. The Ethiopia PASDEP and the Uganda Animal Feeds Policy recognize that livestock manure could contribute to crop productivity. The contribution of animal traction to household livelihoods is openly appreciated by the Ethiopian government, which recognizes that about 90 percent of crop production in the highlands depends on the use of drought power and that the lack of plough oxen reduces the size of cultivable land. In Uganda, due to the unsatisfactory performance of the past programmes of tractor hire services and tractorization, the Plan for Modernization of

Agriculture (PMA) encourages the adoption and use of 'intermediate technology', i.e. animal traction for smallholder farmers (World Bank, 2006).

All IGAD countries have implemented some land policies to increase agricultural productivity, including livestock productivity, on the evidence that secure access to land provides incentives for short to long-term investments. Land policies have largely focused on settled crop farmers, and neglected pastoral peoples. In Uganda, for example, sedentarization of pastoral people has been the leitmotiv of many livestock-related policies since decades; and Kenya gives more 'rights' to private, individualized land ownership than to pastoralist's customary rights on lands. In Sudan, according to the Civil Transactions Act as amended in 1990, all non-registered (pastoral) land is considered state land and any appeal for land adjudication is prohibited (UNDP, 2007).

Finally Eritrea is the only country where the contribution of livestock to women's empowerment seems appreciated: the National Livestock Development Project (NLDP) aims to distribute small ruminants to trained women farmers to contribute to a more gender-balanced and equitable development of the livestock sector.

6. AID TO AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK IN EAST AFRICA

Policies and programmes designed and implemented at pan-African and regional level are largely supported by donors. As of today, programmes implemented by AU-IBAR are financed to the tune of by 80 percent, or about US\$ 76 million, by the European Commission. USAID and the African Development Bank come as the second largest donors, each contributing about US\$ 6 million to AU-IBAR. AU-IBAR contributes to its projects about 2 US\$ million from its regular budget. As of December 2010, the 'Vaccines for the Control of Neglected Animal Diseases in Africa' project and the 'Support Programme to Integrated National Action Plans for Avian and Human Influenza' accounted for about 45 percent of the total AU-IBAR programme budget (www.au-ibar.org). Also funds for implementing the various RECs Agricultural Development Strategies are largely contributed by donors, with statutory contributions by Member countries mainly covering the technical and policy work of the Secretariats. For example, on 3 May 2010, EAC approved its US\$ 59 million budget for the fiscal year 2010/2011, of which about half is expected to be contributed by donors. In 2007, the COMESA programme budget amounted to US\$ 7.8 million, but donors contributed at least another US\$ 35 million to support the implementation of specific programmes / projects. In 2007, 60 percent of the IGAD US\$ 6.8 million budget was contributed by donors. As to national governments, foreign aid amounts to about 13 percent of agricultural GDP in Djibouti and Eritrea, 12 percent in Uganda, 9 percent in Eritrea and about 4 to 5 percent Kenya and Sudan (www.oecd.org). Overall, donors (can) play a significant role in shaping livestock sector policy and institutional reforms in the IGAD countries, and in the Horn of Africa in general.

6.1 Aid to agriculture: donors' vision

In 2003, 34 bilateral and multilateral donors, international financing institutions, intergovernmental organizations and development agencies established a Global Donor Platform for Rural Development. The Platform aims to increase and improve the quality of development assistance in agriculture and rural development by adopting the principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action. In 2009, the Platform adopted Joint Donor Principles to ensure coordination and consistency among all agricultural development programmes (box 13).

Box 13. Joint Donor Principles for Agricultural and Rural Development (ARD) Programmes

1. Support government leadership and ownership in ARD that are based on inclusive processes, promoting effective participation of key agricultural stakeholders. This includes remote rural farming communities and women farmers.
2. Support capacity development of key stakeholders and their institutions to participate more effectively in the design, delivery and monitoring of ARD-specific country strategies.
3. Focus on alignment with national ARD development strategies and country systems that are 'good enough', strongly considering decentralised government institutions.
4. Support the strengthening of internal coherence of policies (internal alignment), enhancing cross-sectoral approaches to ARD.
5. Support consensus building on the role of government (civil society and private sector) in ARD.
6. Contribute to and sign up to existing country PRSP, thematic or sector working groups and national compacts (such as the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) process); [...].
7. Use and support national development strategies, Joint Assistance Strategies, agricultural sector policies and common funding mechanisms via sector-wide and programme-based approaches, to bring about harmonisation.
8. Advance complementarity and country-led division of labour in ARD, reducing fragmentation.
9. Recognise the need for intra- and inter-sectoral harmonisation in rural development.
10. Support the tracking and reporting on measurable outcome and results indicators for ARD. [...].
11. Development indicators for ARD should highlight the role of smallholder agriculture contributing to equitable growth.
12. Join with partners to promote and to develop sector-level mutual accountability frameworks, which need to include roles for rural stakeholders (farmers, farmer organisations, CSOs and local governments).
13. Consider cross-cutting issues (particularly the roles of women in agriculture, and environmental or natural resource management issues) when drawing up mutual accountability.

Source: www.donorplatform.org

The Joint Donor Principles support the formulation of participatory and evidence-based programmes, which also focus on smallholder agriculture. As to livestock, they could facilitate the inclusion of livestock sector interventions in the broader development framework, thereby creating synergies and complementarities with programmes in other livestock-related sector (e.g. land; environment) and favoring the promotion of an inclusive and sustainable growth of the sector. Complementarities and synergies among various projects in agriculture are expected to be detailed in national / regional agricultural development strategies as donors are increasingly providing their aid through general and sectoral budget support, rather than project aid, and intend to prioritize their spending according to national / regional agricultural development strategies.

As to East Africa, most donors have committed to make use of the CAADP framework to prioritize their spending in African agriculture. For example, the European Commission Communication 'Advancing African Agriculture' underlines CAADP as a 'very useful framework' for development cooperation with Africa (EC, 2007); USAID has been the first donor agency to contribute to the Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF) - which is host at the World Bank - to '*strengthen organisations supporting the development and implementation of CAADP processes and facilitating African platforms at the continental, regional, and national level*'; and to support '*the development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of CAADP pillar programmes at continental, sub-regional, national and local levels*'. The African Development Bank '*endeavors to use CAADP country compacts where they exist to support agricultural development*'.

6.2 Foreign aid and the livestock-poverty interface

Whilst donors pledge to support an Africa-driven agricultural development strategy, they also set up and pursue their own agendas for promoting African agriculture, which not only provides the basis for allocating aid resources but also contributes to generate development narratives and paradigms as to how agriculture should evolve and develop.

At a 2008 World's Bank meeting on 'Repositioning Livestock on the Development Agenda' participants from a variety of institutions (DFID, FAO, Gates Foundation, IFAD, IFPRI, ILRI, OIE, USAID, WB and others) identified and ranked burning issues to determine a priority list for planning and action in the sector. Market access, climate change, and zoonotic diseases were identified as high priority topics (World Bank, 2008). The theme of the 2009 FAO's annual flagship publication 'The State of Food and Agriculture' is 'Livestock in the Balance'. The major conclusions are that '*the livestock sector makes important contributions to food security and poverty reduction. It, however, could do more given judicious policy and institutional reforms and significant public and private investments aimed at: (i) enhancing the ability of smallholders to take advantage of the opportunities offered by growth in the sector; (ii) protecting the poorest households for whom livestock serve as a crucial safety nets; (iii) enacting broader development policies to ease the transition of some livestock keepers out of the sector*' (FAO, 2009).

The conclusions by FAO are largely reflected in (or reflect) the agricultural development strategies / papers formulated by major donors / international institutions, including:

- The 2005 DFID 'Growth and Poverty Reduction: the Role of Agriculture';
- The 2004 'USAID Agricultural Strategy: Linking Producers to Markets';
- The 2007 EU 'Advancing African Agriculture';

- The 2006 OECD 'Promoting Pro-poor Growth: Agriculture';
- The 2009 World Bank Group 'Agricultural Action Plan', which largely builds on the World Bank Development Report 2008 'Agriculture for Development';
- The 2006 Agricultural Development Strategy of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

The DFID Policy Paper 'Growth and Poverty Reduction: the Role of Agriculture' recommends that interventions: *'focus on places where significant productivity gains are possible and the potential linkages to the wider economy are strongest; address the most significant constraints to increased productivity and employment; build on market opportunities; ensure complementarity with social protection strategies'*. The OECD guidelines for promoting an inclusive growth of agriculture focus on *'increasing productivity and improving market access'* while at the same time *'reducing risk and vulnerability'*. The World Bank's Agriculture Action Plan 2010-2012 suggests to *'raise agricultural productivity, link farmers to markets to strengthen value chains'* and *'reduce risk and vulnerability'*. The EU 'Advancing Africa Agriculture' Communication highlights that *'cooperation will combine a competitiveness orientation, focused on productivity and growth, with broad-based development, focusing on poverty alleviation and social cohesion'*.

In general, livestock are treated as one of the many sectors of agriculture and are not given specific emphasis. The only exception is the EU 'Advancing African Agricultural' Communication', which contains a section devoted to livestock: *'This cooperation area will enhance the sustainability of the livestock sector and its contribution to poverty alleviation and growth, with an emphasis on strengthening animal disease control knowledge and systems. Cooperation will aim to reduce animal mortality, lower livestock production risk and improve public health prevention, as well as to improve access to regional and international markets, facilitate rational land use and reduce livestock related environmental problems'*.

In general, the agricultural support strategies formulated by industrialized countries allow donors to sponsor a variety of different livestock projects, focusing both on the market and the non-market channels through which animals contribute to household livelihoods. Some of the major initiatives funded by donors in the livestock sector are as follows:

- In 2008 and 2009 the European Commission disbursed € 750 and € 250 million respectively to provide food support to an estimated 12 million pastoralists affected by droughts in Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Uganda. In 2007, the World Bank provided a US\$ 120 million loan to the government of Kenya to support emergency drought recovery efforts in arid and semi-arid areas. In Uganda and Ethiopia the World Bank sponsored programmes for the Control of Avian Influenza; the African Development Bank assisted the government of Sudan in building a contingency plan to deal with avian influenza outbreaks.
- The World Bank has funded the 'East African Community Investment Climate Program' which *'supports a better investment climate in the countries of the East African Community (EAC) aimed at improving trade and investment flows and at reducing regulatory costs and risks'*. The African Development Bank is assisting COMESA in implementing a variety of trade-related projects, such as the 'Agriculture Marketing Promotion and Regional Integration Project'; the 'Agricultural Marketing

Information System Project' and the 'SPS Improvement and Harmonization Project'. The 'Support to Livestock Exports from the Horn of Africa' project, funded by the Italian cooperation, aimed at creating a regional system of animal vaccination, testing and certification which ensure access to the lucrative Middle Eastern markets.

- The European Union has funded the 'Farming in Tsetse Controlled Areas' (FITCA) to identify, validate and initiate the Diffusion of Pro-poor and Poor Environment Tsetse Repellent Technology in Uganda. DFID funded the 'Risk management strategies for tick-borne diseases in east African pastoral systems' project and the 'Decision support tool for bovine diseases in Africa', which should help Uganda farmers and animal health field workers to diagnose and treat common cattle diseases. The Gates Foundation is the major funder of GALVmed, a charity which *'seeks to protect livestock and save human lives by developing, registering and launching several vaccines, pharmaceutical and diagnostic products over the next 10 years; [...]*. (www.galvmed.org). GALVmed has worked with ILRI and private companies, such as VetAgro Tanzania Ltd., to develop an effective East Coast fever vaccine, and is now working on registration and commercial distribution in Eastern, Central and Southern Africa affected countries. In 2009 the vaccine was registered in Kenya, with Uganda expected to follow soon (ILRI, 2010).
- The Regional Enhanced Livelihoods in Pastoral Areas programme (RELPA), funded by USAID, was designed to increase household incomes and economic resiliency of the population living in the pastoral regions, reduce their requirements for emergency assistance, and set the conditions for pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa to contribute and benefit from the broader process of socio-economic development. In 2009, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), funded food-emergency interventions in the pastoral areas of Afar, Somali and part of Omonia region in Ethiopia. The African Development Bank has been implementing 'Pastoral Development Projects' in a variety of countries, including Ethiopia, to establish effective models of public service delivery; undertake disaster management and investment that address pastoral communities' priority needs; improve the livelihoods of pastoralists and reduce their vulnerability to any disaster.

7. LIVESTOCK SECTOR POLICIES, NARRATIVES AND HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOODS

7.1 On dominant livestock narratives

A variety of policies and programmes have been designed to support the development of the livestock sector at pan-African, regional and national level, some of which are significantly supported by donors. A comparative and critical review of major policy objectives of livestock sector policies and plans helps identify the key development narratives which pervade the livestock policy discourse in the IGAD region, thereby influencing the large majority of interventions in the sector.

- Policy documents at the pan-African level appreciate the many livelihoods services that livestock provide to rural households, such as the CAADP Livestock Companion Document, the AU-IBAR Strategic Plan for 2010-2014 and AU-IBAR Framework for Mainstreaming Livestock in the CAADP Pillars. However, designed interventions and programmes tend to give priorities to productivity-enhancing technical interventions in animal feed, health and breeding, i.e. an 'increased production-productivity' narrative seems to eventually influence actions on the ground.
- At the regional level, increased production and productivity and increased intra-regional trade are the major channels through which livestock are expected to contribute to household livelihoods. In particular, trans-boundary animal diseases are the major focus of RECs interventions, as they act as a major constraint to regional trade and economic integration. RECs often design livestock sector interventions with similar objectives and approaches, whilst for countries with membership in more than one RECs (the majority) a single intervention may often suffice. In general, an 'increased productivity-market access' narrative dominates both paper policies and investment plans at regional level, though being mitigated by a 'poverty reduction' narrative that finds place in targeted interventions to sustain pastoralists' livelihoods.
- At country level, most of national development strategies emphasize that livestock can contribute to economic growth if productivity is enhanced and access to market improved. Priority is given, for instance, to dissemination of high-productive breeds and improved animal health services, which are both critical for increasing productivity and for satisfying sanitary requirements to access regional and international markets. At the same time, all national development strategies give some priorities to developing the drylands, which constitute nearly half of the land area in sub-Saharan Africa and where livestock production is one of the few viable activities. The ultimate goal is to help pastoral populations access markets, such as through the construction of adequate road infrastructure, abattoirs and slaughterhouses as well as through improved delivery of animal health services and better standard and hygiene control in pastoral areas. As overall, a 'production-productivity and market access narrative' tends to dominate national development policies and strategies.

- Sector policies at country level, including livestock-related policies, programmes and projects, often appreciate the many livelihoods-services provided by livestock, but a major emphasis is given to increased production/productivity and market access than to the other channels through which livestock contribute to household livelihoods. For example, in no country there is a policy which explicitly aims at promoting livestock accumulation, possibly because of the difficulty in identifying a-priori the role that livestock will play in different production systems and for different households (e.g. the Uganda Veterinary Drug Policy could both contribute to livestock accumulation and/or increased livestock productivity and marketing, but the former outcome is not mentioned as one of the policy objectives). With the notable exceptions of Uganda and Ethiopia, there seems to be little appreciation of the benefits of using livestock manure to increase crop productivity, and mechanization is given much more emphasis than the promotion of animal draught. The capacity of livestock to generate and support so-called social capital and networking is rarely, if ever, mentioned in sector policies, which is hardly a surprise given the limited appreciation of livestock by non-livestock decision makers, who are responsible for formulating social policies and programmes. In general, livestock sector policies are often designed in isolation, with little cross-reference to other policies, such as land, credit and trade policies. At the same time, non-livestock ministries rarely initiate policies with the specific objective to support livestock keepers, nor do they consider how their initiatives impact (directly or indirectly) on the livelihoods of the livestock-dependent poor. Overall, at national level there exist scattered interventions which build on the many non-market livelihood services provided by livestock, but in no country a comprehensive set of policies is in place to fully tap into both the many market and non-market livestock-livelihoods services.
- A review of major livestock initiatives funded by donors in the IGAD region indicates that emergency, trade and markets, and animal disease-related projects are major areas of investments, with some projects specifically focusing on pastoral areas. There are few donor-funded projects that look at livestock development from a different perspective. Examples are the DFID funded project 'Improving Livelihoods for Small Holder Dairy Sector' in Kenya, which aims to enable raw milk traders to effectively contribute to the creation of policy and institutional frameworks that are responsive to their needs and the needs of the poor; and the EU-funded IGAD Livestock Policy Initiative, which aims to help countries in the IGAD region to formulate and implement livestock sector policies that sustainably reduce poverty and food insecurity. Overall, however, a 'market access' narrative tends to dominate donor funded interventions, which mainly translates in trade-supporting and animal-disease related projects. In addition, donors seem not to fully adhere to the principles of the Paris Declaration, which also emphasizes the importance of country ownership, and, by requesting RECs to directly implement projects, also defy the principle of subsidiarity.

At all policy levels, increased production and productivity and market access are considered the major channels through which livestock can contribute to households livelihoods and, though there are policies and programmes that tap into some of the other livelihoods services provided by livestock, in no IGAD country there is a comprehensive set of policies and programmes that builds on all the livelihoods services provided by livestock. The issue is that smallholder livestock keepers are likely to benefit

only marginally from policies that largely focus on enhancing livestock productivity and improving market access (Ravaillon 2001). First, household level data show that only for a limited number of farmers livestock significantly contribute to monetary income: livestock are only one of the many assets and income sources of poor rural households, which rarely specialize in animal production and benefit not so much from the cash derived from selling livestock or animal products, but more from the other livelihoods services that farm animals provide (Ellis and Bahigwa, 2003; Karugia *et al.*, 2006; Little *et al.*, 2008; Nega *et al.*, 2009). Second, there is evidence that only the more educated households or those with more fertile land are able to profitably access and utilize livestock markets; in general, an enabling market environment tends to particularly benefit the resource-rich, i.e. the already well-off livestock farmers (Christiansen *et al.*, 2002). Akliku and Catley (2010) review livestock exports from pastoralist areas in the Horn of Africa and conclude that: '*There seems to be little doubt that those groups who can respond most actively to changing markets are richer herders (with more animals to sell), various types of traders, and service providers such as financial services and transporters. Those who benefit least are poorer herders*' (Akliku and Catley, 2010). Overall, the livestock-dependent poor are trapped in a low-asset low-growth vicious circle which is not easily broken if the major focus of livestock sector policies and programmes is only on increased production and productivity and market access as the major channels to enhance the contribution of livestock to household livelihoods (Azariadis and Stachurski, 2005; Barrett, 2005; Carter and Barrett, 2006).

7.2. Changing narratives and institutions in the livestock sector policy scenario

In order to better exploit the capacity of livestock to contribute to household livelihoods, decision makers at all level should experiment with policy and institutional reforms that consistently build on all the livelihoods services provided by livestock. For example, policies, programmes and projects can be designed and formulated to encourage farmers to use livestock manure; to sustain household accumulation of small stock for insurance purposes; to facilitate a sustainable and profitable use of arid and semi-arid areas by livestock keepers. However, what really matters for a long-term inclusive development of the livestock sector is not that one or few livestock-livelihoods focused policy reforms be designed and implemented, but that broad-based awareness and appreciation of the many livelihoods services provided by livestock be generated. This only would ensure that all future livestock-related policy and institutional reforms will consistently support farmers in taking full advantage of the multiple livestock-livelihoods services. A review of the current institutional framework in the Horn of Africa suggests that refurbishing the dominant 'increased production, productivity and market access' narrative could be quite challenging.

- Country governments have generally limited resources to invest in research and advocacy, which is critical to instigate significant changes in the prevalent livestock development paradigms. In addition, policies on the ground are designed within the context of a pre-existing institutional structure that tends to produce and reproduce behavioral prototypes (structuration), and are influenced by old programmes and policies (path-dependency) which, as we saw, mainly build on the 'increased production, productivity and market access' narrative.

- CAADP is anticipated to influence regional and national level policies, with both RECs and country governments expected to design their own Compacts. So far, however, it appears that existing national policies are shaping the way regional and national Compacts are designed, rather than the other way round. This is a missed opportunity, as the CAADP Livestock Companion Document well appreciates the multiple livelihoods services provided by livestock. A possible explanation is that RECs, who are expected to assist countries in designing their regional Compacts, have a primary interest in trade and market access issues and rarely devote significant resources to address other developmental questions. In effect, RECs mandate is to promote economic integration among member countries: integration is achieved through the elimination of internal barriers to trade; the creation of a customs union with a common external tariff (CET); the establishment of a common market, which comprises common policies on product regulation, and freedom of movement of all factors of production; some RECs may eventually adopt a common currency.
- IGAD has demonstrated some comparative advantages *vis-à-vis* other RECs, such as EAC and COMESA, in employing a livelihoods perspective. First, livestock significantly contribute to the economies of IGAD member states and to the livelihoods of the livestock dependent poor in those countries. Second, IGAD has the mandate to *'promote and realize the objectives of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the African Economic Community (EAC)'*, i.e. given that it has not been leading a process of economic integration, IGAD has been devoting resources to supportive interventions which facilitate and accompany the construction of a common market. Third, since 2005, IGAD has been enhancing its capacity to investigate livestock-livelihoods linkages and support institutional innovations at country level. Also, encouraging for the future, is that while the Livestock Desks in all East African RECs, including IGAD, are small at best and with a largely technical focus, in December 2009 the IGAD Member States requested the IGAD Secretariat to establish a Livestock Unit, whose responsibilities will include: *'serving as the technical aim of the Secretariat for the livestock sector in general with a particular focus on poverty alleviation and livelihood security in the pastoralist communities'; 'convening technical expertise within the Region and facilitating decision making power up to the highest level.'*
- IGAD can support the refurbishment of the current development narrative to promote an inclusive development of the livestock sector in its member countries, only in strict partnership with AU-IBAR. AU-IBAR, having a continental mandate and a continental echo, is best placed to take the lead in re-shaping the dominant livestock development narratives in Africa in order to *'support and coordinate the utilization of animals (livestock, fisheries and wildlife) as a resource for human wellbeing in the Member States of the African Union and to contribute to economic development'* (AU-IBAR Strategic Plan, 2010-2014, p. 4). In addition, AU-IBAR has been designated as the leading African institution for supporting the implementation of the CAADP livestock component at regional and country level, i.e. it can influence the way regional and national Compacts are designed and implemented, thereby ensuring the institutional dimensions are included in regional and national level policies.

- Donors, finally, have also a critical role to play to help enhance the current livestock development narratives. First, they should ensure that all programmes and initiatives that they sponsor - at country, regional and continental level - be focusing on the many livelihoods services provided by livestock, i.e. they should support countries, RECs and AU-IBAR in better appreciate the multiple channels through which livestock can contribute to economic growth and poverty reduction. Second, by better adhering to the principle of subsidiarity, they should support only continental and regional projects which are innovative and experimental in nature and that would be difficult for countries to jointly implement. The ultimate objective of those initiatives should be to arrive at pro-poor research findings and, in particular, to help AU-IBAR and RECs draw institutional lessons on how to better co-ordinate country activities and ensure that the CAADP Livestock Companion Document, which fully appreciates the many livelihoods services provided by livestock, be successfully implemented at country level.

8. SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. The issue

Over 60 percent of the poor depend on livestock for part of their livelihoods in the IGAD region. Increasing the contribution of livestock to their livelihoods is a means of reducing poverty as well as contributing to economic growth. Policies and institutions play a critical role in determining how livestock can meet livelihoods needs. In recent decades, in East Africa, livestock sector policies, programmes and projects have been formulated and implemented by pan-African institutions (NEPAD, AU-IBAR), by donors, by Regional Economic Communities, including IGAD, and by governments of IGAD member states, but the evidence is that these policies have not significantly benefited poor women or men.

This paper reviewed major livestock-related policies in the IGAD region to investigate the following two questions:

- What livestock sector policies and programmes are currently in place and what are the dominant development narratives that drive these policies and programmes?
- What are the expected and actual impacts on households' livelihoods of the dominant narratives driving the livestock sector policies and programmes?

8.2. A livelihoods framework for livestock sector policy analysis

Many policies, programmes and projects, both within and beyond the livestock domain, affect the development of the livestock sector and the livelihoods of the livestock dependent poor. What matters for a long-term inclusive development of the livestock sector, however, is not that a number of livestock-livelihoods focused policies are designed and implemented, but that the dominant livestock development narratives appreciate how livestock contribute to the livelihoods of the poor, and are used by them as route to escape or avoid poverty. Development narratives are like storyboards or

scenarios that, by simplifying complicated problems and indicating relatively simple solutions to complex developmental issues, influence the ways policies and programmes are thought and formulated. It is when major development paradigms appreciate the many livelihoods services provided by livestock that policy and institutional reforms, both within and beyond the livestock domain, will be consistently and continuously formulated and implemented to the benefit of the poor women and men who depend on livestock.

In order to appreciate how dominant development narratives or paradigms driving the livestock-related policies and programmes affect, or do not affect, the livelihoods of livestock-dependent households, this paper adopted a two pronged approach.

- The paper reviewed the role of livestock in the household economy. It acknowledges that people employ rationale livelihoods strategies, which are proven to provide effective mechanisms of reducing poverty, and contributing towards economic growth. It therefore explores the nature of policies and programmes to appreciate whether they are consistent with those livelihoods strategies. A review of the available literature and evidence from the IGAD region (see chapter 2) suggests that livestock provide a variety of livelihoods services to rural households as they are, *inter alia*, a source of food, cash income, manure, draught power and hauling services, savings, insurance, social capital and women empowerment. Only for a limited (and predominantly wealthy) set of households, do livestock significantly contribute to monetary income, with many (predominantly poorer) people benefiting not so much from the cash derived from selling livestock or animal products, as from the other livelihoods services that livestock provides. Policies and programmes should therefore build on the many livelihood services provided by livestock, to allow households to fully benefit from their livestock assets.
- The paper adopted a targeted sampling approach and reviewed a sufficient number of livestock sector policies, programmes and projects implemented in the IGAD region by pan-African, regional and country governments, with the ultimate objective of identifying major thrusts or underlying principles – i.e. dominant development narratives or paradigms – which pervade and dominate the policy discourse, shaping the majority of policies and programmes, and then to assess whether they are consistent with and supportive of household livelihood strategies.

8.3. Findings

- There are several livestock-related policies, programmes and projects implemented at pan-African, regional and IGAD country level. An 'increased production, productivity and access to market' narrative or paradigm dominates and pervades the majority of interventions. It assumes that increasing livestock productivity and facilitating access to markets is the major, if not the only, way to enhance the contribution of livestock to household livelihoods. Whereas these may be of benefit to wealthy livestock keepers, the livestock-dependent poor are only likely to marginally benefit, if not lose, from policies and programmes that do not build also on the other equally important services that livestock provide, the ones which are often the most valued by them (see Chapter 2). The skills and entrepreneurial capacity of the poor to contribute to economic growth and poverty reduction using livestock remain therefore untapped, with a net loss for society.

- The majority of livestock sector policies and programmes at pan-African, regional and country level focus on technical fixes and disregard the institutional dimensions of policy implementation (see chapters 3, 4 and 5). First, policy documents marginally mention and/or identify the institutional changes required within the government bureaucracy to reform and/or implement new public policies. Yet, changes in institutional mandates and administrative processes - which are often firmly entrenched as officers at all levels adhere strictly to time honoured procedures - are a pre-condition for policy reforms to succeed. Second, policy documents rarely appreciate the system of incentives which underpin poor livestock keeper's behavior, including the way they use their livestock for production and consumption purposes. Yet, policies are likely to succeed in poverty reduction only when they are consistent with and supportive of the livelihoods strategies of the livestock dependent poor, allowing them to make full use of their scarce resources and capacities, thereby contributing to, and benefiting from, livestock sector growth.
- There is little or limited coordination in the development and implementation of the various policies and programmes existing at both regional and country level. RECs often design livestock sector interventions with similar objectives and approaches, whilst for countries with membership in more than one RECs (the majority) a single intervention may often suffice. At country level, livestock sector policies are often designed in isolation, with little cross-reference to other policies, such as land, credit and trade policies. At the same time, non-livestock ministries rarely initiate policies with the specific objective to support livestock keepers, nor do they consider how their initiatives impact (directly or indirectly) on the livelihoods of the livestock-dependent poor. It is difficult to see how livestock sector and related policies can improve household livelihoods unless the overall policy and institutional context within which livestock keepers make decisions is an enabling one.
- The roles of AU-IBAR, RECs and country governments in supporting the development of the livestock sector are clear on paper, with governments being responsible for ground implementation of policies and programmes, and AU-IBAR and RECs having the mandate to guide and oversee implementation of the CAADP and facilitate harmonization of country policies and programmes. In practice, however, AU-IBAR and RECs, backed by donors, often directly implement continental and inter-regional projects and programmes, rather than coordinating their implementation as per the principle of subsidiarity. As donors increasingly adhere to the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, which emphasizes the importance of countries' ownership, the coordinating role of AU-IBAR and RECs will become increasingly relevant.
- CAADP provides a common framework for stimulating and guiding national, regional and continental agricultural development initiatives. Its implementation is the responsibility of national governments under the guidance of RECs, with both expected to design CAADP implementation strategies, so called Compacts. However, so far, it appears that existing national policies are shaping the way regional and national Compacts are designed, rather than the other way round. This represents a missed opportunity, as the CAADP Livestock Companion Document well appreciates the multiple livelihoods services provided by livestock, while national and RECs' policies and programmes are largely expressions of the dominant productivity and market access narrative.

8.4. Recommendations

Livestock contribute to the livelihoods of the majority of the poor and its inclusive development, building on the skills and resources of the poor, has the potential to contribute to both accelerated poverty reduction and faster economic growth. Refurbishing the livestock sector policy and institutional framework, so as to ensure that policies, programmes and projects allow women and men to take full advantages of the many livestock services provided by livestock and to contribute to economic development, requires three major changes.

- First and foremost, the dominant 'production, productivity and market access' narrative should be enhanced by a development paradigm that also appreciates the many livelihoods services provided by livestock, including both monetary and non-monetary services. In effect, if resources are invested to ensure that a new, more comprehensive, livelihoods-livestock development narrative emerges, then one could be confident that most future policies, programmes and projects, by adhering to the new paradigm, will attempt to build on the many livelihoods services provided by livestock, i.e. that livestock sector development will be inclusive and pro-poor.
- Second, to be effective, policies, programmes and projects should be designed through an inclusive and participatory process that embraces dialogue and the use of evidence to address institutional dimensions, i.e. resources should be invested in the planning and implementation stage to identify / experiment with new delivery mechanisms and to appreciate the incentives that poor livestock keepers may have / not have to respond to new rules and regulations, as demanded by policy implementation.
- Third, there is need for more coordination between AU-IBAR, RECs and national governments; between RECs, and between livestock related policies at national level. This will avoid duplicating efforts and wasting scarce resources and, at the same time, will ensure that policies and programmes - at all levels and within and beyond the livestock domain - are consistent; something which only can guarantee an inclusive and livelihoods-enhancing livestock sector growth.

AU-IBAR, RECs and national governments could contribute to achieving the above three goals and IGAD, in partnership with AU-IBAR, has demonstrated encouraging experiences in this direction through IGAD-LPI. This is due to a number of facts:

- AU-IBAR has a continental mandate and a continental echo and, therefore, is best placed to take the lead in re-shaping the dominant livestock development narratives in Africa in order to '*support and coordinate the utilization of animals (livestock, fisheries and wildlife) as a resource for human wellbeing in the Member States of the African Union and to contribute to economic development*' (AU-IBAR Strategic Plan, 2010-2014, p. 4). Second, AU-IBAR has been designated as the leading African institution for supporting the implementation of the CAADP livestock component at regional and country level, i.e. it can influence the way regional and national Compacts are designed and implemented, thereby ensuring the institutional dimensions are included in regional and national level policies. AU-IBAR has recently endorsed its Framework for Mainstreaming Livestock in the CAADP Pillars, which has a poverty focus. Third, AU-IBAR is in the position to ensure that all programmes and initiatives undertaken by RECs in the livestock sector are consistent and adhere to

the principles of subsidiarity, i.e. that RECs only implement programmes and projects which are innovative and experimental in nature and that would be difficult for countries to jointly implement. The ultimate objective of those initiatives should be to arrive at pro-poor research findings and / or to draw institutional lessons on how to ensure that countries can manage inter-regional livestock programmes on their own, with the role of RECs limited to the provision of advice and guidance, as the principle of subsidiarity recommends.

- AU-IBAR works through RECs and, in East Africa, IGAD has demonstrated some comparative advantages *vis-à-vis* other RECs, such as EAC and COMESA, in employing a livelihoods perspective. First, livestock significantly contribute to the economies of IGAD member states and to the livelihoods of the livestock dependent poor in those countries. Second, IGAD has the mandate to '*promote and realize the objectives of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the African Economic Community (EAC)*', i.e. COMESA and IGAD can fruitfully collaborate with IGAD's complementing COMESA's long-term development objectives by enhancing the livestock sector in the Horn of Africa. Third, since 2005, IGAD has been enhancing its capacity to investigate livestock-livelihoods linkages and support institutional innovations at country level. Also, encouraging for the future, is that while the Livestock Desks in all East African RECs, including IGAD, are small at best and with a largely technical focus, in December 2009 the IGAD Member States requested the IGAD Secretariat to establish a Livestock Unit, whose responsibilities will include: '*serving as the technical aim of the Secretariat for the livestock sector in general with a particular focus on poverty alleviation and livelihood security in the pastoralist communities*'; '*convening technical expertise within the Region and facilitating decision making power up to the highest level.*'
- A well established IGAD Livestock Unit would strengthen AU-IBAR's arm in East Africa, particularly with respect to institutional and policy reforms. It could support AU-IBAR in reshaping the dominant livestock development narrative - for example, IGAD-LPI has recently recalculated the livestock GDP for the Ethiopian economy suggesting that the figure be increased by more than 100 percent. In partnership with the Livestock Unit, AU-IBAR would be well placed to guide the design and implementation of the Livestock Companion Document in the IGAD countries and review national Compacts - for example by building on the capacity which IGAD-LPI has built on 'Livestock, Livelihoods and Institutions' and on 'Livestock and Gender' at country level. The Unit could strengthen AU-IBAR's capacity to coordinating livestock-related activities among East African RECs and ensure the inclusion of institutional dimensions in national livestock policies. An example of this would be in replicating the experience of the IGAD Policy Fora (Hubs), These are multidisciplinary groups, established in all IGAD member states - that ensure inclusiveness, broad stakeholder participation and the use of evidence when livestock sector issues are debated and discussed, and national positions developed. The same Policy Fora represent an opportunity for facilitating cross-sectoral coordination and for increasing the awareness of non-livestock ministries about the importance of initiating policies which have a specific focus on livestock. In general, if the Livestock Unit in the IGAD Secretariat became a centre of excellence on livestock-livelihoods policy issues in the IGAD region, it could provide a model for AU-IBAR's coordination of pan-African livestock sector polices, a one-stop-shop for

information on livestock-livelihoods issues, and a source of livestock-related lessons for the benefit other RECs in the continent. In the long term, as the vision of an African Economic Community develops in line with the 1991 Abuja Treaty, with its implicit rationalisation of RECs, IGAD's comparative advantage with respect to such issues could well become part of its *raison d'être*.

- AU-IBAR should take interest in the establishment and functioning of the Livestock Unit in the IGAD Secretariat, placing itself in a position to support its evolution and ensure that its activities be both livestock and livelihoods centered, which will in turn ensure that livestock sector policies, programmes and projects build on the many livelihoods services provided by livestock, thereby contributing to the effective implementation of the CAADP Livestock Companion Document.

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