

4. CONCLUSION

The pastoral system in the Sudan varies along a North-South axis, with camel pastoralism dominating the desert and semi-desert areas North of latitude 16° and cattle herding in the savannah belt towards the south.

Recently, cattle rustling in Sudan has transformed from being a customary means of livestock restocking where traditional weapons such as arrows and spears were used to a commercial practice where sophisticated weapons are now used. Africa has about 30 million pieces of small arms in circulation, of which 70 percent are in the hands of the communities. Sudan has about 3.2 million pieces in circulation. Persistent conflicts in many regions of Sudan continue to be a primary cause of new and existing vulnerability across the country. Conflicts and related insecurity also help to create conditions that prevent individuals and families from rising out of poverty, as they disrupt livelihoods and access to basic services and other community infrastructure. This is compounded by the easy availability of weapons, increasing the potential for local tensions to erupt into violence, and fueling banditry and other criminal activities. Since the eruption of conflict in Sudan in 1983, conflict over livestock has been a constant source of insecurity, instability, and a contributing factor to damage of property, death of civilians and displacement among the pastoral communities especially at the hotspot areas surveyed by this study.

5. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this survey, the following are the summary recommendations that will support development and peaceful coexistence among pastoralists if adopted:

- The development of pastoralists needs a new approach based on their participation in development of initiatives, and priorities. Such initiatives should be inspired by the human rights-based approach that recognizes pastoralists as human beings having the full rights to determine their own destiny.
- There is need for cultural dialogue and conflict resolution mechanisms across ethnic groups or diverse clans.

- Existing peace building and conflict management mechanisms should be upgraded and revitalised to a level that provides platforms for communities to engage with the Government. The platform is intended to support dialogue as an important vehicle for communication and confidence building by addressing fundamental problems and formulating alternative discourse and cooperation around natural resources, peace building and resilient livelihood issues while informing government decisions.
- Along the borders, security-related issues should be the responsibility of the police. The communities should be disarmed to improve security and reduce tensions and the likelihood of conflict.
- Regional initiatives to control proliferation of illicit arms should be strengthened so as to check their flow across the borders and to seal the common routes for arms trade.
- Border communities should be free to interact socially with one another. Inter-marriage should be encouraged to support social and economic relations between the border populations. Sports and social programmes should be supported to promote community relations across the border.
- Cross border trade should be promoted with tax reduction or removal. Joint organised cross border markets should be established at border points with security and other services provided.
- Roads are needed to connect areas along the borders as good roads will facilitate communication between neighbouring communities. They will also enable transportation of goods and trade, and will reduce the cost of goods on the market by making transportation more efficient.
- The border areas require provision of basic, academic, vocational, technical and agricultural education. There is need for health promotion and provision of health services including medicines in the border areas.
- A joint cross-border committee of traditional leaders should be established to promote and be consulted on any negotiations related to policy development which address cattle rustling challenges and those that concern the status of the border.
- Existing land ownership entitlements should be recognised and upheld. Individuals should not lose their property or investment if the North-South border is drawn between them and their assets.

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ICPALD

IGAD Centre for Pastoral Areas and Livestock Development



SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COSTS OF CATTLE RUSTLING IN SUDAN



I. INTRODUCTION

Sudan is rural in social, economic and cultural outlooks; the majority of the country's total population live in rural areas and pursue environmentally extractive livelihood systems based on traditional farming and pastoralism as the two fundamental land use systems.

Livestock is seen by its owners as "money on hooves". Pastoralists in Sudan perceived their livestock as one road to prestige, power, and political position. However, successive governments from the colonial to the present times have systematically favored the 'modern' agricultural sector over smallholder farming or pastoralism. Cattle rustling in Sudan has existed for many centuries. Traditionally, it was sanctioned by the Native Administration (NA) and was played as a "game". It was aimed at replenishing lost herds and for cultural practices including payment of dowry and as proof of one's manhood and bravery. However, in the last 30 years, it has changed from a noble practice to a lethal commercial activity involving diverse actors.

The extent and seriousness of cattle rustling has largely been attributed to the availability of illicit small arms and light weapons. A more deadly form of cattle rustling has emerged, with well-planned raids executed by the use of modern and destructive weapons. This has virtually transformed cattle rustling from a traditional practice to a highly organized crime. Livestock rustling is perceived as a major threat to the livestock economy in the pastoral areas; there is an urgent need to assist the Government at local and national levels. To address this challenge effectively, a complementary integrated approach that encompasses efforts of both state and non-state actors is urgently needed. The objective of this policy brief is to bring out evidence on the socioeconomic impact of cattle rustling in Sudan. The evidence will be used to lobby support by Government and other stakeholders towards combatting the menace.



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2. METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

The study covered five sites representing four regions of Sudan (Eastern, Central, Darfur, and Kordofan) that are considered hotspots for cattle rustling (see map). The total area covers about 1.8 million km² and stretches between latitudes 10°N and 23°N and longitudes 21°45 and 38°30 E. It borders South Sudan, six African nations, and the Red Sea. The study deployed participatory methodology and used mixed method approach where both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. It used structured and unstructured interviews, focus group discussions, and participatory observations as tools to collect relevant data. The interviews were conducted at federal, state, locality, and community levels.



3. MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

A. Factors influencing cattle rustling in Sudan.

From the literature reviewed and according to the respondents interviewed, the main causes of cattle rustling include availability of illegal arms, commercialization of this act, increasing level of poverty, political incitement, illiteracy, lack of alternative income sources, resource scarcity, and traditional

B. Cattle Rustling In Sudan: Frequency and Mitigation mechanisms.

The changing trend in livestock rustling is an overt and a vexing problem among the pastoralist communities of Sudan. Livestock rustling has contributed negatively to the development of the pastoral communities over the years. Frequent activities involving massive theft of

livestock, killings, and destruction of property have led to reduced economic activities, collapse of the education system and infrastructure as well as displacement of various pastoral communities.

Various actions and responses have been undertaken by communities to try and curb livestock rustling in these regions. These include holding community sensitization meetings, intercommunity peace and dialogue, intercession by religious leaders, encouraging inter-tribal marriage, establishing peace committees and using peace songs.

Conflict among pastoralists is indiscriminate and affects all people women and children being the most affected. The study found that in the areas surveyed, women play both positive and negative roles in cattle rustling. Negative roles include encouraging rustling through inciting songs, encouraging revenge, cooking food for raiders, appreciating and welcoming the raiders after returning from raids and encouraging ownership of guns.

The native administration mainly initiates conflict resolution process when an incident of cattle rustling occurs. Most conflict resolution mechanisms are applied after conflicts have occurred. No measures are taken by the community members, Government or other organizations to mitigate livestock rustling and reduce the risk of recurrence of conflicts. This could explain why peace attained through the above initiatives does not last long before conflicts recur.

In response to this phenomenon and to the challenges faced by pastoralists in general, some initiatives have been put in place as government projects funded by development partners. The key intervention related to cattle rustling is the formation of peace and conflict management committees; these are to serve as an institutional home for community-based conflict early warning system for prevention of such types of conflicts. Efforts by Government to quell the violence associated with cattle rustling have so far failed to yield significant results. The cyclic conflicts within the country have fueled this practice through the proliferation of small arms, which are used by the pastoralists as a means of protection and have spread across porous boundaries. Other initiatives are led by some civil society actors, local and international non-government organizations.

C. Cattle rustling in the states surveyed.

The states covered by the study were: West Darfur, West Kordofan, Blue Nile, Sennar, and Gedaref. In 2017, seven people were killed and 11 injured in an

exchange of fire between gunmen and cattle raiders in the capital town of West Darfur State over stolen livestock. During the year 2016, in Gedaref State which borders Ethiopia (Jebel Halawa), about 6750 sheep, 700 cows were lost and 25 people lost their lives. In 2015, at the same site, about 600 cows, 700 sheep were lost, 39 people were killed and 13 people were injured in another raiding incident. Cattle rustling was reported to occur mainly during the dry season (October–June), and involved mainly youth aged 20 years and above, who were incited by the elders. Among the pastoralists, a youth who kills during the raids or brings the largest herd of cattle is appreciated with the most beautiful girl on arrival in the village. Politicians and businessmen sponsor raids for their own political and business interests.

A whole community can facilitate and contribute to livestock raids in an area but youths are usually on the frontline during raiding missions.

In terms of severity and intensity of cattle rustling and according to the findings of this study, West Darfur is the most severe hotspot, followed by West Kordofan, Blue Nile, Gedaref, and Sennar States.

The main lessons learned from donor-funded and implemented initiatives on livestock corridors as potential conflict flashpoints needs proper implementation, project management and monitoring. Knowledge about the routes, which is held by elders, should be complemented with formal mapping, which can substantiate claims. Moreover, entitlements and local re-negotiation of routes should make a realistic assessment of their contemporary viability and relevance given changing patterns of resource use. The success of efforts to delineate and demarcate migration routes depends on the levels of trust and confidence that all groups affected by the routes have in those processes.

D. Social and economic costs of cattle rustling at national level.

Cattle rustling in pastoral livelihoods is the outcome of a complex set of interconnected factors including inappropriate development policies based on sectoral interventions, heavy taxation, lack of access to markets under conditions of unequal terms of exchange, lack of a long-term vision towards pastoralists and by definition, lack of legitimacy as a land and social reproduction system. Cattle rustling and pastoral violence has been transformed in recent years by a number of factors, including economic and political marginalization, active resistance to assimilation by pastoralist communities, resource depletion and demographic changes, and the growing availability of small arms and light weapons.

The overall economic cost of livestock rustling in Sudan is shown in the table below. It consists of the cost of displacement in terms of compensation for or assistance to families to help them to resettle and start earning a livelihood of almost similar standard, as well as the cost of livestock that covers loss of capital and revenue, both at local and national levels. The total cost of livestock loss is estimated at SDG4.3 billion (USD\$0.6 billion) as estimated for year 2015, while the cost of displacement is SDG36.0 billion (US\$5). This gives an overall national annual cost of SDG40.3 billion (USD\$6.0 billion), a significant figure that would go a long way in meeting the annual cost of implementing livestock identification and traceability system (LITS).

Overall total cost of cattle rustling in Sudan (2015)

Livestock type	Livestock loss (SDG Billion)	Cost displacement (SDG Billion)	Total cost (SDG Billion)
Camel	0.6		
Cattle	2.8		
Sheep	0.9		
Total	4.3	36.0	40.3