

Rural Livestock Farming Challenges in South Africa's Mpumalanga Province: A Case Study of Dr. Pixley Ka Isaka Seme Policing Precinct

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Abstract

This study explored unemployment and poverty as selective challenges on stock theft causation in the rural farming community of the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme. Through the applications of qualitative research approach, and non-probability: Purposive sampling method, about Twenty-one (21) participants formed part of this study, including Nine (09) police officials from the South African Police Service Stock Theft Units (SAPS STUs) of Three (03) different police stations, namely: Daggakraal, Amersfoort, and Wakkerstroom, all from the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme. Other participants comprised Four (04) livestock farmers, Five (05) herdsmen, One (01) Community Police Forum (CPF) member, and Two (02) community leaders. They were all subjected to one-on-one in-depth semi-structured interviews for data collections. The collected data were analysed by means of Creswell's (2009) six steps of data analysis. This study ascertained that poverty and unemployment are the main causative factors of stock theft in the study area. On the basis of these findings, several recommendations were made.

Keywords: Unemployment, poverty, stock theft, crime, farming community.

1. Introduction

Crime in general is and has always been a cause for concern for many regimes across the world. This concern emanates from breaching the contract entered between governments and their citizens, who bear the brunt of crime. The yearly release of crime statistics by the South African Police Service (SAPS) and Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) is a demonstration of democracy that is based on the principles of accountability but also shows the extent to which crime affects citizens in urban and rural areas alike. The SAPS (2020, p. 3) usually categorizes crime as contact crime, contact-related crime, property-related crime, other serious crime, and crime that is dependent on police action.

This study's focus was on stock theft, which is categorized under property-related crimes. Stats SA (2022) reported an estimated 1 331 000 incidences of theft

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of personal property in the 2021/2022 reporting period, which affected 1 105 000 individuals. Although this report is not specific regarding stock theft, it provides an indication of the gravity of theft of personal property (including stock theft) in general. It could be for this reason that the SAPS (n.d., p. 1) acknowledged that the high levels of stock theft required the formulation of a comprehensive and holistic strategy to support the creation of a safe rural environment to ensure food security.

The Stats SA report on incidences of theft of personal property that occurred in 2021/2022 is consistent with the SAPS's (2019, p. 12) assertion that rural and farming communities are isolated and far removed from national and provincial government, business, and non-governmental organizations, which increases their exposure to crime. This is unfortunate because rural communities contribute to the welfare and prosperity of the country as an economically viable group (SAPS, n.d.). Furthermore, it is believed that stock theft is one of the most important challenges faced by poorly resourced farmers, with the potential to cripple their livelihoods (Greyling, 2007, p. 41).

An effective response to stock theft by authorities requires an understanding of the causes of the crime. The available evidence in the form of scientific studies suggests the existence of a causal relationship between poverty and crime (Gillani, Rehman & Gill, 2009; Kingston & Webster, 2015; Sugiharti, Purwono, Esquivias and Rohmawati, 2023). This study did not seek to investigate the causal relationship between poverty and unemployment and stock theft but to explore unemployment and poverty as causative factors of stock theft in the rural farming community of the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct.

2. Problem Statement

A crime-free society is every nation's dream. In South Africa, stock theft has reportedly increased by 0.6%, while Daggakraal, an area that falls within the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct, experienced 19 instances of stock theft (7.6%) (SAPS, 2023). This is certainly not what the South African nation aspires to, as captured in the National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030. Ideally, people living in South Africa should feel safe at home, at school, and at work, and they should enjoy a community life free of fear. When communities do not feel safe and live in fear, the country's economic development and the people's wellbeing are affected, which hinders their ability to achieve their potential. The NDP is also aimed at eliminating poverty by 2030 (National Planning Commission, 2012). The rate of stock theft in the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct as influenced by poverty and unemployment is a representation of the problem that prompted this research.

3. Literature Review on the Crime of Stock Theft

Many factors contribute to the increased rate of stock theft in many parts of the world, including South Africa. Doorewaard (2020) identified *unemployment*, opportunistic attitude, previous criminal history, negative peer association, low or no formal education, and a large family size as causative factors of stock theft. This study limited itself to *poverty* and *unemployment* as causative factors of stock theft in the rural farming community of the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct. In an attempt to provide context to this study and to enable a comparison and contrast of its research results, the focus of the literature review is on the nexus between unemployment and poverty, followed by unemployment and poverty as causes of stock theft.

3.1 The Nexus between Unemployment and Poverty

The nexus between unemployment and poverty refers to the close relationship between these two socio-economic factors. It is important to understand that the presence of unemployment often paves the way for poverty, and that poverty can hinder individuals' ability to secure employment opportunities. Numerous studies have examined the relationship between unemployment and poverty and shed some light on the factors that contribute to this nexus (Slabbert, 1997; Mauro & Carmeci, 2007; Chibba & Luiz, 2011). These studies suggested that there is a direct relationship between unemployment and poverty. A simple definition of this relationship is that lack of work, or unemployment, results in a loss of income that leads to financial instability for individuals and families. Hakim (2017) concurs that those who experience unemployment often face severe economic hardships, struggle to meet their basic needs, and fall into poverty. According to Fletcher and Spilsbury (2018), the impact of the inextricable relationship between unemployment and poverty extends beyond the immediate loss of income as people who are unemployed may also experience psychological distress, social exclusion, and a decline in their overall wellbeing. These negative effects can further perpetuate the cycle of poverty by making it challenging for individuals to (re)gain stable employment and escape the shackles of poverty.

Furthermore, poverty and unemployment are an indicator of illegal drug abuse since it may serve as a means of coping with the daily pressure of not having a job (Isaac, 2019). Many communities are distressed due to diverse socio-economic challenges, which include poverty and joblessness, and, consequently, the problem of illegal drug abuse is heightened (Pienaar & Savic, 2016). Conversely, poverty can act as a barrier to securing employment. Individuals who live in poverty often face limited access to resources, education, and training, which prohibits them from acquiring the necessary skills or qualifications to compete in the job market

(Leibbrandt Woolard, Mcewen & Koep, 2010). As if this challenge is not difficult enough, South Africa's unemployment rate increased to 32.9% in the first quarter of 2023, which was the first rise in over a year, from 32.7% in the preceding period. The number of unemployed persons rose by 179 000 to 7.933 million (Stats SA, 2023). This means that 179 000 more people are vulnerable to poverty. While Renee (1990) posits that research shows that there are many impoverished or unemployed people who do not commit crimes, Hinteregger (2017) and Kingston and Webster (2015) argue that although the relationship between poverty and crime is not always direct, living in poverty makes both offending and being the victim of crime much more likely. It is for this reason that the SAPS recorded 92 150 incidences of property-related crimes, including theft, between January and March 2023 (SAPS, 2023). A correlation may be found if these increasing statistics are read in conjunction with Stats SA's unemployment statistics of the first quarter of 2023.

In support of the latter, Lombard, Van Nicker and Mare. (2017, p. 3) contend that the negative impact of stock theft on the income of households and the government has reduced livestock owners to a poverty level that places a strain on the economy. Farmers are reluctant to invest in breeding cattle and households consider getting rid of their cattle. This is contrary to the aims of the National Rural Safety Strategy to respond to the safety and security needs of rural communities, provide a safe and secure rural environment to support food security and socio-economic development, and to respond to the needs of rural communities to support food security and economic development; among others (SAPS, 2019, p. 9).

3.2 Unemployment and Poverty as Causes of Stock Theft

Past empirical studies have proven that inequality is a contributing factor to crime in many countries, including Russia (Hauner, Kutan & Spivey, 2012), the United States of America (USA) (Brush, 2007), China (Song, Yan, & Jiang, 2020), and Indonesia (Sugiharti et al., 2023; Widyastaman & Hartono, 2022). Unemployment and poverty are widely recognized as significant contributors to crime rates (Gillani et al., 2009). Several studies have examined the relationship between these socio-economic factors and criminal behavior. Scientific evidence suggests that there is a connection between unemployment, poverty, and crime (Bangane, 1999; Levin, 1994; Spier, 1994). Poverty manifests in a lack of educational opportunities, lack of meaningful employment options, poor housing, lack of hope, and prejudice against persons who are living in poverty, which result in them committing crime (Waterloo County Gaol, 1996). Kynoch and Ulicki (2000) also found that joblessness and poverty are rated as the primary reasons for endemic theft.

Sampson and Wilson (1995) provides evidence that poverty and unemployment are critical factors in the “concentration of disadvantage” within certain neighborhoods. Their study suggests that the combination of high poverty rates and limited job prospects creates a breeding ground for criminal behavior, which leads to a higher prevalence of crime in these areas. Other studies have also considered the role of investment, infrastructure, and poverty in affecting crime rates (Dong, Egger & Guo, 2020; Mohammed, Mosharrof, & Mohammad, 2018; Montolio, 2018). Khan, Ahmed, Nawaz and Zaman (2015) proved that the impact of poverty on crime rates is positive in the long term but negative in the short term. This is because poverty results in more stress and mental illness over time, which may trigger individuals to commit crime.

Similarly, high levels of unemployment have been found to increase the incidence of criminal behavior, particularly property crime (Steven & Winter-Ebmer, 2001). The lack of employment opportunities and financial resources pushes individuals to resort to illegal activities to meet their basic needs. Research has shown that impoverished individuals are more likely to resort to livestock theft as a means of survival. According to Dzimba and Matooane (2005, p. 65), the paramount factors in the cause of stock theft are clearly unemployment and poverty, which are said to increase if there is a poor harvest in regions where unemployment is already high.

Martinez (2018) highlights that poverty-stricken areas have higher rates of livestock theft than more affluent regions. The lack of economic resources and the need for immediate income drive impoverished individuals to steal livestock and to sell or consume it to meet their immediate needs. According to Mustard (2010), there is a positive correlation between unemployment rates and crime rates and with South Africa’s high rate of unemployment, an increase in stock theft in rural communities should not come as a surprise.

4. Methodology

The purpose of this study was to explore unemployment and poverty as causative factors of stock theft in the rural farming community of Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct. This qualitative study used the case study research design. supported by the exploratory research objectives. About 21 participants were purposively selected utilizing the non-probability purposive sampling technique and distributed as follows: 03 SAPS STUs from 03 different police stations, namely Daggakraal, Amersfoort, and Wakkerstroom in the rural areas of the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct, 4 livestock farmers, 5 herdsman, 1 member of the Community Policing Forum (CPF), and 2 community leaders. Data

were collected through semi-structured one-on-one in-depth interviews and their respective responses that were audio recorded with the participants' consent.

The researchers analyzed the data using Creswell's (2009, pp. 185-189) six steps of data-analysis:

- **Step 1:** This step was carried out by organizing and preparing the collected data. The interviews were transcribed, and all materials were scanned, including the notes taken during the interviews.
- **Step 2:** The collected data were read thoroughly to determine the tone of the general ideas and the impression of the overall depth and credibility of the information.
- **Step 3:** Segments and text data were placed in categories and then labeled with a term (poverty and unemployment; greed and social pressure; farmers' carelessness; and an ineffective Criminal Justice System - CJS).
- **Step 4:** The categories were determined and described. Coding was used to generate a small number of themes (categories), which serve as the major findings of this study.
- **Step 5:** The findings of the study were conveyed in a narrative format. This was in the form of a detailed discussion of the emerging themes.
- **Step 6:** The collected data were interpreted through a comparison of the findings with information from the literature.

5. Trustworthiness of the study findings

Since this was a qualitative study that sought an understanding of the causative factors of stock theft in the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct, it is important to address the trustworthiness of the research results as opposed to validity and reliability normally used in quantitative research. Trustworthiness is divided into credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. Below is a description of how these categories of trustworthiness were addressed.

5.1 Credibility

Schurink, Fouché, and De Vos (2011, p. 420) state that the credibility of research refers to the assurance that the research participants' views and the researcher's reconstruction and demonstration of those views correspond. This can be achieved through prolonged engagement with participants, persistent observation in the field, the use of peer debriefers or peer researchers, negative case analysis, researcher reflexivity, and participant checks, validation, or co-analysis (Creswell, 2013). To meet this criterion and to maintain the credibility of the information gathered from the participants, the researchers had various prolonged (average of an hour) engagements with the participants, namely farmers, herdsmen,

police officials, a CPF member, and community leaders. Interview schedule were used to collect the data for this study and the whole process was recorded. Furthermore, credibility was ensured by requesting the participants to check the correctness of data once it had been transcribed.

5.2 Transferability

Transferability discusses the extent to which the research findings can be transferred to another setting or situation (Schurink et al., 2011, p. 420). To ensure the trustworthiness of this study, the researchers provided details of the characteristics of the sample and the data-collection and -analysis methods, which will enable the reader to evaluate the transferability of the findings. It can therefore be concluded that this study met this criterion.

5.3 Dependability

The dependability of research focuses on the logic, traceability, and documented process of the research in order to ensure that the research is a true depiction of reality (Schurink et al., 2011, p. 240). To ensure the dependability of the research results of this study, the researchers prepared an interview schedule to ensure consistency and logical discussions and that the research process was well documented, and audited. Furthermore, the researchers kept and documented all relevant documentation and interview notes in order to ensure traceability.

5.4 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to how well the collected data support the findings and interpretation of the researcher and indicates how well the findings flow from the data (Koonin, 2014, p. 259). Babbie and Mouton (2004) state that the findings of a study should be the product of the focus of the investigation and not the bias of the researcher. The outline of this paper was structured to make clear provision for the research results (see study findings, discussions and recommendations, and conclusion). As it can be witnessed from the findings, this paper was informed by the data collected as presented. The recorded interview sessions are safely kept for confirmability purposes. This therefore means that this study met the confirmability criterion.

All ethical conditions were adhered to in this study, including informed consent that was obtained before data collection and that all participants had the choice to opt out of the study. To ensure that the ethical requirements of the Tshwane University of Technology were fulfilled, a letter of permission from the Faculty of Humanities Research and the Ethics Committee was obtained. The data collected through audio recordings were transcribed verbatim and translated into

English as topics and themes for examination by coding and grouping the data. An interview schedule ensured consistency in the line of questioning.

6. Study Findings

In order to enable in-depth responses and to ensure that all participants understood what the questions required, they were asked to outline the contributing factors to the increased rate of stock theft in the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing area. It was noted that most of the participants mentioned poverty and unemployment as the main or major contributors to stock theft. They also mentioned that there was no facility for skills development in the area, the education level was very low, and those who wished to go to university had no means to fund themselves. There were no recreational facilities in the area, and, as a result, the youth are left idle most of the time. Verbatim responses from the interviewed participants, as categorized in terms of Step 4 (The categories were determined and described. Coding was used to generate a small number of themes (categories), which serve as the major findings of this study) of Creswell's (2009) six steps of qualitative data analysis, follow.

6.1 The Identified Study Theme 1: Poverty and Unemployment

"There is a lot of youth not working, and they eventually get involved in stock theft" (Participant 1).

"Joblessness, lawlessness, and less convictions are the cause of stock theft in this area" (Participant 2).

"Poverty and the use of drugs as the cause of livestock theft in the area" (Participant 4).

"Unemployment, the use of drugs and lack of finances as the cause of stock theft in the area" (Participant 5).

"Unemployment is a contributing factor to livestock theft" (Participant 6).

"Unemployment and the need of quick cash as the cause of stock theft in the area" (Participant 7).

"Youth unemployment is the contributory factor in stock theft. We do not get paid enough for looking after the livestock, for each cow we are only paid R20 a month" (Participant 8).

"Joblessness is a contributing factor to stock theft in the area of Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme Municipality" (Participant 9).

"Unemployment and poverty and the absence of police officials to deal with stock theft" (Participant 12).

“Unemployment, poverty, and the opportunity to commit a crime ... Poor payment of the farm dwellers, and a bad relationship between the farmers and the farm dwellers” (Participant 13).

“Unemployment, lack of self-respect, poverty, the use of drugs, lack of money and being generally naughty as contributing factors to stock theft in the area” (Participant 15).

“Poverty and lack of employment, people steal so they can get money to survive” (Participant 17).

“Poverty is the cause of stock theft” (Participant 18).

“Job scarcity, and livestock that is loitering around without herdsmen as contributing factors to stock theft” (Participant 19).

“Unemployment is the contributing factor; many people sell this livestock for money to feed their families” (Participant 20).

“Unemployment rate in the area contributes to stock theft since most of the arrested people are not working, some steal for consumption, they feed their families, and only a few will steal and keep the livestock; mostly they resell it to feed their families” (Participant 21).

6.2 The Identified Study Theme 2: Greed and Social Pressure/Ilis

“... since they are also on drugs, they are involved in stock theft to satisfy their drugs cravings” (Participant 1).

“The use of drugs is the cause of livestock theft in the area” (Participant 4).

“... the use of drugs and lack of finances as the cause of stock theft in the area” (Participant 5).

“People steal because they want to resell the livestock” (Participant 10).

“Herdsmen are underpaid; sometimes they leave the livestock to go do other piece jobs, and when they come back the livestock will be stolen. The people who are buying this stolen livestock are also contributing to the livestock theft by providing a market to the thieves” (Participant 11).

“December ‘stokvels’ is the cause of livestock theft because members are always promised meat at the end of the year, so the organizers steal livestock to fulfill that obligation. Underpayment of herdsmen, which results in them being involved in the stealing of livestock” (Participant 14).

6.3 The Identified Study Theme 3: Livestock Farmers’ Carelessness

“The owners of livestock do not brand their stock while they are still young, therefore the thieves capitalize on that and steal their livestock while they are still not yet branded” (Participant 16).

“Many livestock are found loitering around, which makes them a target for criminals. Some livestock is not marked, which makes it easy for criminals to steal and mark it as theirs” (Participant 13).

“Livestock that is loitering around without herdsman as contributing factors to stock theft” (Participant 19).

6.4 The Identified Study Theme 4: Ineffective Criminal Justice System

“... lawlessness, and less convictions are the cause of stock theft in this area” (Participant 2).

“It is not easy for the thieves to be caught; if they are caught, they are released early and the punishment they get is not enough” (Participant 3).

“Police are not enough to deal with the community, they are understaffed” (Participant 12).

The foregoing multiple perspectives from individuals as presented in the quotations are a representation of the transcribed interviews. The data were analyzed according to Creswell’s (2009) six steps of data analysis. Subsequent to the in-depth one-on-one interviews, four themes emerged from the analysis. These themes are unemployment and poverty, greed and social pressure, farmers’ carelessness, and an ineffective CJS.

Although other factors were mentioned by the participants, their responses suggest that poverty and unemployment are the main contributing factors to stock theft in the area of study. It was also found that those who are involved in stock theft are unemployed youths who use drugs. Drugs could therefore be a driving force behind stock theft in the study area. Strained relationships between the farmers and farm dwellers as a result of underpayment were also found to contribute to stock theft. Due to their access to direct information regarding security and seeing opportunity, farm dwellers find it easy to steal stock and could also be serving as a conduit for people from outside to easily steal stock.

Furthermore, the study found that the second most prevalent cause of stock theft is to make a “quick buck” to meet personal needs such as drugs and food. People therefore steal stock for a for a “fix” or to buy food. This study also found that many people in the study area belong to various society groups whose objectives include saving money until the end of the year, when they share it. These groups often save money to buy meat to share instead of sharing the money. This perpetuates stock theft because stolen stock is relatively cheaper than a legitimate business transaction. It was also found that the carelessness of livestock owners is another cause of stock theft. The owners of livestock do not brand their livestock and let them wander around without being herded. Lastly, it was found that the CJS,

including the police and the courts, do not live up to the expectations of effective service delivery to the community.

7. Discussions

Poverty and unemployment appear to be the main contributing factors to the occurrence of stock theft in the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct. This is corroborated by the participants mentioning words such as “*youth not working*”, “*joblessness*”, “*poverty*”, “*unemployment*”, “*youth unemployment*”, “*poverty and lack of employment*”, “*job scarcity*”, and “*sell this livestock for money to feed their families*” as contributing factors to stock theft in the study area. This is consistent with the assertions of Slabbert (1997), Mauro and Carmeci (2007), and Chibba and Luiz (2011) that there is a direct relationship between poverty and unemployment. The relationship between poverty and unemployment is inextricable (Fletcher & Spilsbury, 2018). Poverty and unemployment are widely recognized as significant contributors to crime rates (Gillani et al., 2009). Bangane (1999), Levin (1994), and Spier (1994) attest that there is a connection between unemployment, poverty, and crime.

Poverty manifests in a lack of educational opportunities, lack of meaningful employment options, poor housing, lack of hope, and prejudice against persons living in poverty, which result in them committing crime (Waterloo County Gaol, 1996). Kynoch and Ulicki (2000) also found that joblessness and poverty are rated as the primary reasons for endemic theft. With the unemployment rate standing at 32.9% (Stats SA, 2023), it is not surprising that an increased rate of crime, particularly stock theft, is witnessed in many parts of the country, including the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct.

In a quest to delineate existing research, factors, and practices regarding perceptions of illegal drug use in South Africa, Isaac (2019) proved that poverty and unemployment are an indicator of illegal drug abuse since it may serve as a means of coping with the daily pressure of not having a job. This finding supports Pienaar and Savic’s (2016) assertion that many communities are distressed due to diverse socio-economic challenges, which include poverty and joblessness, and, consequently, the problem of illegal drug abuse is heightened. This a true reflection of the experiences of the people of the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct, as indicated by some of the participants and the use of words such as “*since they are also on drugs, they are involved in stock theft to satisfy their drugs cravings*”, “*the use of drugs is the cause of livestock theft in the area*”, and “*the use of drugs and lack of finances as the cause of stock theft in the area*” in response to the interview question. As part of the researchers’ observations and notes taken during the interviews, a lack of recreational facilities appeared to contribute to taking

drugs, which leads to addiction that must be satisfied. Drug addicts will steal anything to get a “fix” and livestock is an easy target.

8. Conclusions

This study explored the causative factors of stock theft in the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct. It took cognizance of the fact that there are several elements that contribute to stock theft, but the study focused on unemployment and poverty. Its context emanates from literature on the nexus between unemployment and poverty, and unemployment and poverty as causes of stock theft. Through a qualitative research approach, this study found that poverty and unemployment, among other causes, are indeed a thorn in the side of the rural farming community of the Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme policing precinct. Based on its findings, this study made several recommendations including enhanced livelihood opportunities or skills development centers, community education or awareness campaigns as well as the improvement of law enforcement that could help to solve the challenges of stock theft; not only in the study area but also in many rural parts of the country.

9. Recommendations

Based on the empirical findings of this study, as well as the reviewed studies, the following recommendations are made for agricultural sector, the criminal justice system and the academia.

9.1 Enhanced Livelihood Opportunities / Skills Development Centers

The root causes of problems such as unemployment and poverty need to be addressed by promoting alternative income-generating opportunities in rural areas. This can include training programs, microcredit schemes, or other support mechanisms for small-scale businesses, which can reduce the motivation for engaging in criminal activities. The region lacks a skills development center, and, as a result, teenage criminality is on the rise. The researchers urge that each region establishes a skills development center to help young people build talents that they can utilize to establish businesses and job opportunities for others. Because the region is predominantly rural, such development centers should be tailored to the requirements of the rural community.

9.2 Community Education / Awareness Campaigns

The community may be unaware of several aspects, such as how the CJS works and the procedures to follow when applying for a livestock branding certificate. Livestock farmers may be unaware of when or at what age they are supposed to tattoo or brand their livestock. The researchers recommend that communities should be educated about the importance of securing their livestock,

as well as given information about common theft techniques, preventive measures, and signs of potential theft. The community should also be encouraged to form neighborhood watch groups and report any suspicious activities.

9.3 Improve Law Enforcement

Strengthening law enforcement capabilities to combat livestock theft should be a priority. The police should be provided with the necessary resources such as vehicles, equipment, and training to effectively investigate and solve cases related to livestock theft. Stock theft cases need specialized skills; the researchers therefore recommend that detectives must undergo a specialized course or training to be equipped with more knowledge and skills. Stock theft units should be established in all rural police stations, or the stock theft unit should at least be central to all police stations. Furthermore, if stock theft units cannot be established in all rural police stations, each police station should have at least one well-trained detective for stock theft.

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