

**LIVESTOCK THEFT: A CRIMINOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT AND
SAMPLE-SPECIFIC PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS**

by

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Exact wording of the title of the dissertation as appearing on the electronic copy submitted for examination:

Livestock theft: A criminological assessment and sample-specific profile of the perpetrators

I declare that the above dissertation is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.



SIGNATURE

____28-01-2020____

DATE

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SUMMARY

This qualitative research and case study analysis resulted from the dearth of information on livestock theft and the livestock theft perpetrators. The purpose of this study was to explore, describe and explain the criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft from a criminological point of view by compiling a sample-specific profile of the perpetrators. Interviews were conducted with 35 offenders, 28 case dockets were analysed and additional interviews were conducted with the SAPS STU members and victims to determine the modus operandi, motives and causes of the crimes. Criminological theories were applied to explain the offending behaviour. The findings of this study revealed that the livestock theft perpetrators come from diverse backgrounds regarding age, qualification status and socio-economic class. Their crimes were of an organised nature and the motives and causes revealed that financial intent was the main driving factor of the behind the thefts.

Key terms: causes; criminological assessment; criminological profiling; crime event; livestock theft perpetrators; modus operandi; motives; policing; rural crime; stock theft

KAKARETŠO

Dinyakišišo tša boleng le tshekatsheko ya dinyakišišo tša tiragalo di feleleditše ka tlhokego ya tshedimošo ka ga bohodu bja leruo le basenyi ba bohodu bja leruo. Maikemišetšo a dinyakišišo tše e bile go utolla, go hlatholla le go hlaloša maitshwaro a bosenyi a go amana le bohodu bja leruo go ya ka lehlakore la tša bosenyi ka go ngwala phrofaele ya mabapi le sampole ya mahodu a leruo. Dipoledišano di swerwe le basenyi ba 35, ditokete tša melato di ile tša sekasekwa gomme dipoledišano tša tlaleletšo di ile tša swarwa le maloko a Lekala la Maphodisa leo le šomago ka Bohodu bja Leruo le batšwasehlabelo ka nepo ya go tseba mokgwa wo o šomišwago ka bohodung bja leruo, maikemišetšo le tše di bakago bosenyi. Diteori ka ga dithuto tša bosenyi di ile tša dirišwa go hlaloša maitshwaro a tshenyo. Dikutollo tša dinyakišišo di utollotše gore basenyi ba bohodu bja leruo ba tšwa maamong ao a fapanego mabapi le mengwaga, maemo a tša thuto le maemo a ekonomi ya setšhaba. Bosenyi bja bona ke bjo bo rulagantšwego gomme maikemišetšo le dilo tše di bakago bosenyi di utollotše gore maikemišetšo a tša ditšhelete, bojato, go iphediša, tlhokego ya mešomo, boipušeletšo, kgatelelo ya sethaka, maemo a setšhabeng le tšhomišobošaedi ya diokobatši e bile dilo tše kgolo tše di bakago bohodu.

Mareo a bohlokwa: bohodu bja leruo; bohodu bja dinagamagaeng; tshekatsheko ya tša bosenyi; go ngwala phrofaele ya tša bosenyi; tše di bakago bosenyi; maikemišetšo; mokgwa wo o šomišwago; basenyi ba bohodu bja leruo; go hlapetša; tiro ya bosenyi

ISIFINYEZO (ISAMARI)

Uhlaziyo locwaningo lwe-qualitative kanye ne-case study luvezwe wumphumela wokusweleka kolwazi ngokuntshontshwa kwemfuyo kanye nalabo abantshontsha imfuyo. Inhlalo yalolu cwaningo ukuhlola, ukucacisa kanye nokuchaza ukuziphatha kobugebengu obuhambisana nokuntshontshwa kwemfuyo, ngokulandela izifundo zezobugebengu ngokwenza uhlaka olulula lohlobo lwalabo abenza lobu bugebengu. Kwenziwe izingxoxo zama-interview nabenzi bubugebengu abangu 35, kwahlaziywa namadokethi amacala kwabuye kwenziwa ama-interview namalunga ezamaphoyisa abhekene nokuntshontshwa kwemfuyo abe-Stock Theft Unit kanye nalabo abangamaxhoba okuntshontshelwa imfuyo, ukuthola indlela okusetshenzwa ngayo, isisusa kanye nembangela yobugebengu. Amathiyori ezifundo ngobugebengu asethenziswe ukuchaza indlela yokuziphatha kobugebengu. Okutholakele kucwaningo kuveze ukuthi izigebengu ezintshontsha imfuyo zivela emikhakheni ehlukeni, maqondana neminyaka yobudala, izinga lemfundo kanye nesimo sezomnotho emphakathini. Ubugebengu yinhlobo yobugebengu obuhleliwe, kanti izisusa nezimbangela zikhombise inhloso yezezimali, ubugovu, ukuzama ukuziphilisa, ukusweleka kwemisebenzi, impindiselo, ingcindezelo ngontanga, isimo emphakathini kanye nokusetshenziswa kwezidakamizwa ngezinye zezinto ezingumfutho obangela lokhu kuntshontshwa kwemfuyo.

Amathemu abalulekile: ukuntshontshwa kwemfuyo; ubugebengu basemakhaya; uhlalo lwezifundo zobugebengu; ukubheka ukuthi ngobani abenza ubugebengu; izimbangela; izisusa; inqubo yokwenza; abenzi bobugebengu bokuntshontsha imfuyo; ubuphoyisa; izehlakalo zobugebengu

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Crimes committed in the agricultural sector are global issues that need addressing. For decades, social scientists have expressed concern over the lack of attention that rural crimes receive from within academia and the criminal justice system (Clack, 2013a:78; Clack & Minnaar, 2018:103; Donnermeyer & DeKeseredy, 2014:2). Rural crime, in general, poses a unique and complex problem (Smith & McElwee, 2013:115), as does livestock theft, a rural-specific crime that remains a challenge to both South Africa and its international counterparts.

Zwane, Van Marle-Köster, Greyling and Mapholi (2013:36) emphasise that livestock theft is one of the most persistent crimes in South Africa and ultimately threatens the country's food and bio-security. Livestock contributes to the food security of both developed and developing countries. It also renders multiple goods and services, serving as a means to an income and provides financial security to many households (Shackleton, Shackleton, Netshiluvhi & Mathabela, 2005:127). Owners of livestock become financially deprived when falling victim to livestock theft. The economy of a country also suffers. In South Africa, the theft of livestock costs millions of Rands each year. In 2010, the annual loss was estimated at R655 million. That figure increased to over R800 million in 2015, statistically showing a 25% increase over a five-year period (Clack, 2016:11), while in 2018, the figure increased with a recorded loss of R1.3 billion to the farming community and another R1.24 billion in 2019 (Makhaye & Mikhize, 2018:1; Brandt, 2019:1).

Although livestock theft poses a unique and complex challenge around the world, the South African agricultural community has been pleading for law enforcement to view livestock theft in a more serious light (George Herald, 2018:8; Hofmeyr, 2013:11). Despite law enforcement declaring livestock theft a priority crime since 2011, the crime is still of great concern (Maluleke, Mokwena & Motsepa, 2016:257; Van der Walt, 2019a:1). For many farmers, the loss of their livestock is a personal matter. Thieves are often portrayed as cunning, ruthless and unremorseful. As one farmer stated, "stock thieves [are] ruthless and show no compassion, not even for pregnant or lactating animals ... unless you have caught the guy red-handed and the police can take over and do their thing, it is very difficult to nail these guys" (Rondganger, 2016:3).

According to media reports, the absence of successful prosecutions and the number of bail applications granted to many repeat offenders further fuels the farming community's distrust in the criminal justice system. The criminal justice system is viewed as failing victims and the police as incapable of controlling livestock theft (Gibson, 2016:9; LiN Media, 2015:1).

The perceived inadequacy of the criminal justice system to successfully apprehend and prosecute these perpetrators does not seem to end with their arrest and prosecution. Reports also surfaced that an offender in the custody of the correctional services continues his illegal operations from within the correctional centre by using an alias to con unsuspected speculators, auctioneers and abattoirs into buying stolen livestock (Bezuidenhout, 2015:2). Such cases can engender the belief that the South African Department of Correctional Services (DCS) is unable to supervise and rehabilitate offenders effectively. The consequences of such views mean that, instead of reporting livestock theft incidents, acts of vigilantism are carried out by farmers who would rather take the law into their own hands (Doorewaard, 2016:31; KwaZulu-Natal Department of Community Safety and Liaison [KZNDCSL], 2008:3).

Combating livestock theft is not without challenges. Law enforcement agencies are often understaffed, overloaded with cases, have limited resources to work with and struggle with farmers who fail to brand their livestock properly (LiN Media, 2015:1; Van der Walt, 2016:8). This is among the number of challenges that face both the criminal justice system and the farming community in the prevention of livestock theft.

To control livestock theft, it is necessary to identify the perpetrators and understand their need to commit this type of crime (Hofmeyr, 2011:71). It is often the very lucrative nature of this crime that drives perpetrators to commit acts of livestock theft. Researchers and investigators alike suggest that livestock theft is no longer limited to just stealing for survival but has since evolved into an organised crime where crime syndicates are believed to be responsible for stealing large numbers of livestock (Clack, 2013a:82; KZNDCSL, 2008:8; Oosthuizen, 2014). The question is, "what" and "who" does the criminal justice system have to deal with? Without having sufficient knowledge on such shortcomings, effective prevention of livestock theft and the apprehension, prosecution and rehabilitation of these offenders will not be achieved. Empirical research on livestock theft and on the offenders of livestock theft is limited. Research is mainly based on anecdotal information and often derived from secondary sources (Dzimba & Matookane, 2005:xii; KZNDCSL, 2008:8).

Thus, no research has yet been carried out where interviews with offenders sentenced for livestock theft are used as a source of information, specifically to compile a criminological profile. The aim of this research project was to compile a sample-specific criminological profile of perpetrators (offenders) sentenced for livestock theft to gain more knowledge on livestock theft and its perpetrators. The purpose of this study was to explore, describe and explain criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft from a criminological point of view. In order to achieve this, the objectives of this study need to be outlined to determine what modus operandi the perpetrators employ when committing livestock theft, to identify the motives and causes of the crime and to determine which criminological theories to use to explain the crime and criminal behaviour.

From the objectives, the following questions arise: When and where do these thefts occur? What methods do the perpetrators use to commit the thefts? Are the thefts committed spontaneously or are they planned? Are there different types of perpetrators involved? Do the perpetrators work in groups or individually? What makes it easier for them to steal livestock? Do cultural factors, such as African traditions, play a role in the execution of the thefts? What motives and causes guide the perpetrators to commit the thefts? Which criminological theories best explain the crime of livestock theft and its associated criminal behaviour? Through sharing insight into the nature of the crime and criminal behaviour of the perpetrators by answering these questions, together with the aim and objectives of this study, it is anticipated that the research will contribute to the criminal justice system's body of knowledge on livestock theft.

The introductory chapter commences with the definition of key concepts that are unpacked and analysed. A short historical overview of the nature and extent of livestock theft in South Africa is followed by contemporary trends detailing the impact and consequences of the crime. Thereafter, the rationale and problem statement of this study are discussed, together with the aim, purpose and objectives of this study. A brief overview of the anticipated contribution of this study to the field of criminology is provided followed by a short layout of the methodology that guided this research project.

1.2. DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

The following concepts central to this study are defined in relation to the meaning and context of this specific study (Allen, 2017:1855; Babbie, 2016:115).

1.2.1. Cattle rustling

Historically, according to Okoli and Okapaleke (2014:109), the term “cattle rustling” originated from the historical colloquial language of the United States (US). The term emerged as a result of cattle being taken from large grazing ranges for the purposes of selling or obtaining meat and is traditionally associated with subsistence and commercial pastoralism (Bunei, McElwee & Smith, 2016:49; Okoli & Okapaleke, 2014:109). Bunei et al. (2016:47) further describe it as a criminal act where a group of people “plan, organize and steal livestock” by forcefully taking it from another for financial reasons.

However, different terms are often used synonymously in various parts of the world to refer to the taking of livestock. The term “rustling” is mostly associated with the US, whereas Africa prefers the term “raiding” (Masiola & Tomei, 2015:36). Yet, the concepts “theft” and “raiding” or “rustling” have different meanings although they are often used interchangeably in certain contexts (see Aleu & Mach, 2016:1). It is therefore necessary to unpack these terms for clarification.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime’s (UNODC) International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes (ICCS) (UNODC, 2015:7) classifies criminal offences based on internationally agreed concepts, definitions and principles. This is to ensure that enhanced consistency and international comparability of crime statistics are met and to improve analytical capabilities, both at national and international levels.

The ICCS separated livestock theft into two categories, namely, theft of livestock and robbery of livestock. The term “rustling” is known as the robbery of livestock (including cattle, goats and sheep) and is classified under the category “acts against property involving violence or threats against a person”. On the other hand, the term “theft of livestock” is excluded from this category and classified as an act “against property only” (UNODC, 2015:57). The difference between rustling or raiding and the stealing of livestock therefore lies in the way the livestock is taken.

For the purpose of this study, robbery (i.e. rustling and raiding) of livestock occurs when livestock is forcefully taken from its owner or caretaker, whereas the stealing or theft of livestock takes place when livestock is taken without any force committed towards the owner or caretaker. In South Africa, no distinction is made between the theft and robbery (or so-called raiding) of livestock, however within the context of this dissertation, the term “cattle raiding” or “raiding of livestock” will be used only to refer to cases where reference is made to specific sources.

1.2.2. Criminological assessment

Roestenburg (2012:218) refers to an assessment as a process of collecting, analysing and synthesising data about a person, group, organisation or community (collectively described as the client system). This process enables the formulation of a joint opinion about a problem concerning the client system (Roestenburg, 2012:218). From a criminological perspective, assessment entails the identification of the unique criminological needs and risks of the individual offender to enable effective management of such an individual and his or her offending behaviour (Hesselink, 2012a:199).

Hesselink (2012a:201) defines “criminological offender assessment” as the analysis, evaluation, profiling, examination, determination and assessment of crime and criminal behaviour in all its facets. These facets include factors linked to the criminal behaviour such as personal, family and social background, precursors, triggers, causes and motives of the crime, offender characteristics and influences. These factors can determine the offender’s personal needs, risks and responses (specific or individual reaction-style) to treatment (Hesselink, 2012a:201). In other words, a criminological assessment identifies, analyses and examines crime and criminal behaviour and then explains and elaborates on its surrounding factors (Hesselink-Louw & Joubert, 2003:101).

Hesselink-Louw and Joubert (2003:102) point out that assessment is a core function of profiling because a profile is compiled from the information derived from the assessment. The criminological assessment process is based on sound empirical, meta-analysis literature, tested theories, relevant research findings, approved international actuarial scales and the assessor’s personal judgement and experience of the behaviour in question (Hesselink, 2012a:201). Therefore, criminological assessment can be described as the process of identifying, analysing and examining crime and criminal behaviour. Factors which lead to the crime and criminal

behaviour, such as precursors, triggers, causes, motives, offender characteristics and influences, and personal, family and social background of the offender, are identified and assessed. The assessment process, which is based on criminological empirical evidence, tested theories and relevant research findings is used to compile a criminological profile of the perpetrator (Hesselink, 2012a:201; Hesselink-Louw & Joubert, 2003:101). This process will assist in identifying the motives and causes that contributed to the perpetrators' decisions to commit livestock theft (Hesselink, 2012c:210-211).

For the purpose of this study, criminological assessment entails the process of identifying, analysing and examining the crime and criminal behaviour of the perpetrator. This is achieved by gathering information on personal, family and social background factors, including the motives and causes of the crime, offender characteristics and influences.

1.2.3. Criminological profiling

Hesselink-Louw and Joubert (2003:99) aver that the profiling of criminal behaviour consists of both "hard" evidence and "soft" evidence. "Hard" evidence mostly relates to what is known as "criminal profiling" and includes evidence, such as Deoxyribonuclei Acid (DNA) and blood samples, while "soft" evidence (derived, for example, from the assessment of criminal behaviour) is associated with the concept of "criminological profiling".

The purpose and focus of criminological profiling is to understand, classify and describe the origins of criminal behaviour such as the motives and causes of the crime (Herbig & Hesselink, 2009:442). It further considers the modus operandi, relevance of a specific culture, customs and personal beliefs of the perpetrators, personal (biographical) information, family and social background of the perpetrators, including factors, such as intelligence, emotional functioning, fantasies and cognitive disorders, that are unique to the offenders (Hesselink-Louw & Joubert, 2003:99).

The above information is then used to identify, predict and understand the occurrence of crime and criminal behaviour of known or unknown perpetrators with the purpose of explaining it from a criminological point of view. This criminological profile then serves as a guide to law enforcement officials in their investigations of known or unknown suspects (Bartol & Bartol, 2013:xiii; Herbig & Hesselink, 2009:441; Hesselink-Louw & Joubert, 2003:99; Knocsis, 2007:ix-x).

Information on criminal behaviour can be derived from, for example, crime scenes, databases, documents and published research, in addition to the use of offender assessments (interviews) as a central part of the concept of profiling (Bartol & Bartol, 2013:xiii; Hesselink, 2012a:199; Hesselink-Louw & Joubert, 2003:102).

A criminological profile, as it pertains to this study, is the collection of factors related to the crime and criminal behaviour of the perpetrators. These factors include the motives, causes and modus operandi of the crime, cultural customs and beliefs, personal (biographic) details and family and social background information of the livestock perpetrators. It also includes relevant factors, such as intelligence, emotional functioning and cognitive deficits that are unique to the perpetrators.

1.2.4. Livestock theft

Livestock theft, also known as stock theft, is regarded as a property crime and is, by nature, an economically motivated crime (Booyens, 2011:272; Clack, 2014a:57). As a broader concept, economic offences encompass various types of crimes, such as theft, fraud, robbery and burglary (Hesselink, 2012b:171). In legal terms, these offences fall under the scope of property-related offences (Snyman, 2008:483). Theft (of property) is committed when a person unlawfully and intentionally appropriates a certain type of property (for example, livestock) belonging to another person (Snyman, 2008:483-484).

In South Africa, the South African Police Service (SAPS) categorises the theft of livestock as a property-related crime and prioritises the theft of livestock as “stock theft” under the official crime statistics of South Africa (SAPS, 2015:55). In terms of the South African Stock Theft Act no. 57 of 1959, stock is defined as “any horse, mule, ass, bull, cow, ox, heifer, calf, sheep, goat, pig, poultry, domesticated ostrich, domesticated game or the carcass or portion of the carcass of any such stock” (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development South Africa [DoJ & CD 1959:1). Clack (2013a:79) explains that this definition, with its inclusion of a wide variety of livestock, does not mean that all the animals mentioned have a major impact on the extent of livestock theft. The author argues that, on average, between 2003 and 2012, 89% of all livestock theft consisted of cattle, sheep and goats, while the other types of animals mentioned in the definition made up only 11% of livestock theft (Clack, 2013a:79). In addition, the Red Meat Producers Organisation (RPO) and the National Stock Theft Prevention Forum (NSTPF) also limit the extent of livestock theft to cattle, sheep and goats (Clack, 2013a:80).

More generally, livestock theft is referred to as “cattle rustling” or “cattle raiding” in other parts of the world (for example, Kenya and Nigeria), which is an American term that means “stealing of cows” or “cow stealing” (Aleu & Mach, 2016:1; Bunei et al., 2016:48). However, the terms “livestock theft” and “cattle rustling” are entirely two different concepts and encompass different meanings. As such, these concepts will be defined separately.

For the purpose of this study, the term “livestock theft” is defined as the unlawful and intentional taking of livestock, namely, cattle, sheep and goats, from the owner in order to sell or slaughter the stolen livestock for own use or for economic purposes. The terms “livestock” and “stock” is used interchangeably in this study to refer to the above-mentioned species, namely, cattle, goats and sheep. Further, to avoid confusion, the theft of livestock will be referred to as “livestock theft” or “stock theft”.

1.2.5. Organised crime

The term “organised crime” has no universal agreed upon definition. This causes debate on what should be classified as organised crime that results in a variety of opinions and different, yet slightly similar variations, of the concept in relation to the term’s main points (Doorewaard & Minnaar, 2016:34; Hübschle, 2010:8). The term assumes a variety of criminal role players and activities affirming Paoli’s (2014:13) view that this “vague umbrella concept” cannot be used for empirical analysis, theory-building or policymaking without clear specification.

Some definitions comprise political or legal aims, while others mainly focus on criminal activities and criminal groups (Govender, 2015:124; Hübschle, 2010:7-8; Wright, 2013:3). On the one hand, Wright (2013:3) acknowledges that policy makers and investigators require a solid term on which to base their operations and the risks that such crimes impose but, on the other hand, criminologists seek a deeper meaning of the term for purposes of analysis. Wright (2013:3) states that, even though there are diverse perspectives, there is no reason why the number of reoccurring themes cannot be identified.

In simple terms, Hübschle (2010:7) believes that organised crime encompasses the activities or organised criminal groups who commit serious crimes over a period of time for financial purposes. Other definitions detail the number of members that form the criminal organisation and the offences committed by these criminal groups.

For the purposes of this study, the two central concepts that make up organised crime are the criminal groups and the crimes that are deemed to be “organised” in nature. An organised criminal group is defined by Article 2 of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime as “a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences ... in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit” (UNODC, 2004:5).

The Convention further separates the concept “structured group” from the concept “organised criminal groups” by describing a “structured group” as a non-random group of persons formed for the immediate commission of a crime. This group was not in existence prior to its formation for a specific purpose, the members of the group do not have any formal defined roles or a membership and it does not have a development structure (Boister & Currie, 2015:414).

Boister and Currie (2015:414) note that State Parties to the Convention have the prerogative to include or omit the number of group members required by the definition. They further mention that the Convention acknowledges the hierarchal structures of sophisticated criminal groups, but that the terms described under this Convention are used in their broadest sense to include both groups with a hierarchical or defined structure and non-hierarchical (i.e. loosely structured) groups. The Convention further excludes single or ad hoc operations when such a group exists for a period of time. Boister and Currie (2015:415) affirm that organised crime is characterised by criminal activities that are carried out on a continual and repeated basis even after individual members are arrested.

Within a South African context, organised crime groups are loosely functioning entities that often change from one network to another. They have no definite structure or hierarchy thus the focus is on the members’ conduct and the nature of the crime rather than on the structure itself (Doorewaard & Minnaar, 2016:34). The Prevention of Organised Crime Act [POCA] No. 121 of 1998 defines a “criminal gang” as any “formal or informal ongoing organisation, association, or group of three or more persons ... whose members individually or collectively engage in or have engaged in a pattern of criminal gang activity” (DoJ & CD, 1998:6). Although the Act does not include stock theft as an offence under Schedule 1 of the Act, it does however incorporate the act of theft both under common law and statutory provision (DoJ & CD, 1998:51).

For the purpose of this study, livestock theft is described as an organised crime if three or more persons, individually or collectively, engage in livestock theft where the objective is to financially (directly or indirectly) profit from livestock theft, regardless of its structure or hierarchy. The thefts may occur on a continual basis or over a prolonged period of time, irrespective of the arrest of individual members.

1.3. THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF LIVESTOCK THEFT IN SOUTH AFRICA

This section details the nature, extent and trends of livestock theft in South Africa by providing a short overview of the historical nature of livestock theft and the more recent trends, including the impact and consequences of this type of crime.

1.3.1. Historical overview

The crime of livestock theft dates back to ancient times and is even noted as far back as biblical times (Clack, 2012:109). Clack (2014b:61) explains that, prior to the year 200 BC, stealing of cattle was presumed to be the work of small gangs that later escalated into tribal warfare where large numbers of cattle were stolen. Clack (2014b:61) discusses the occurrence of livestock theft during the 17th century in South Africa where cattle rustling was a favourite pastime among some of the African tribes, with the exception of a few settlers. He also notes the *Mfecane* ("crushing by the Zulu") wars during 1820-1830 as a prime example of cattle raiding during which armies raided the neighbouring tribes and took their cattle and food (Global Security, 2016:1).

Eloff's (1988:53) article on livestock theft in the Eastern Free State border region (known as the Conquered Territory) highlights the significance of livestock theft during the 19th century. Despite the criticism by some authors that livestock theft in the border communities was an integral part of the conflict and that the analysis of these thefts is overemphasised, it is not denied that livestock theft was already a serious problem during that time (Eloff, 1988:53). Factors related to the causes of these thefts included the ease with which perpetrators could cross the border that ran between the Free State and the Basotho land during 1869, inadequate border control and policing, insufficient record keeping of the movement of livestock across borders and revenge taken by disgruntled workers on farmers. In some cases, these thefts were viewed as just and compensatory (Eloff, 1988:58-61).

These thefts were characterised by violence, mutilation and slaughtering of the animals and damage to property. A significant number of livestock were lost during the first outbreak of the Basotho-war in 1858. An estimated number of 70 000 sheep and more than 2 000 cattle were reportedly taken in one day alone when some farmers lost the majority of their livestock (Eloff, 1988:64).

The purpose of raiding livestock was not only limited to economic reasons or for sustenance, but the Mosuto tribe believed that, if a tribal leader had no cattle, he would find himself weak and powerless (Eloff, 1988:61-62). Peires (1994:4-5) further notes that livestock thieves, during precolonial times, took livestock from neighbouring chiefdoms. At the time, livestock theft was viewed as a type of “social” and “common” banditry where the former was not to steal from the poor, but from the “fat herds of the rich” while the latter was carried out for personal benefit (Peires, 1994:2, 5).

Historically, cattle played a significant role in the lives of the African people as the number of cattle owned was synonymous with power and status. Livestock were more than a source of sustenance, such as meat and milk, but signified wealth and trade (South African History Online, 2015:2). Cattle still embody elements of wealth and value for the people of Africa, as illustrated by the traditional custom of *lobola* (bride wealth), the fact that cattle sometimes roam freely in the urban townships of South Africa and where the slaughtering of cattle occurs on ceremonial and family celebration days (Chocolat, 2013:7).

1.3.2. The impact, nature and the consequences of livestock theft

In the 21st century, livestock theft still features prominently as a crime that affects the financial situation of farmers and the country as a whole. This crime causes emotional feelings of anger and bitterness and leads to unfavourable consequences such as acts of vigilantism and retaliation. In 2015, frustrated farmers, in protest against the Ermelo Stock Theft Unit’s (STU) inability to combat livestock theft in the area, dumped the remains of several animals that had been hacked to pieces by livestock thieves (Viljoen, 2015:1). It was reported that, within two weeks of further being deprived of 50 sheep (21 of which were possibly pregnant), the financial loss amounted to an estimated R120 000. As one of the victims said, “It is enough to break one’s courage ... the arrogance of the thieves astound us every time” (Viljoen, 2015:1).

Individual livestock owners not only suffer financial losses but are deprived of their bloodlines and breeding herds (Washington State Department of Agriculture, [sa]:1). The theft of livestock impacts both commercial and non-commercial (emerging farmers) financially and emotionally, irrespective of whether they do it to acquire an income or to feed their families (Wilk, Andersson & Warburton, 2013:276). A farmer can lose his/her entire livestock in one incident that renders him or her financially and emotionally broken (African News Agency Reporter, 2016:1; Clack & Kruger, 2014:57). Davids (2015:4) reported that livestock thieves finally shattered an old man's dream of becoming a successful farmer. At the end of 2014, he lost 160 sheep to theft and another 38 sheep in 2015. This left him with 22 sheep, less than what he had started with 15 years before. The farmer's son described his father as being finally broken – "he just sits on the sofa and grieves about all the losses he has suffered" (Davids, 2015:4).

The reporting of such cases by the media is an exception to the rule as livestock theft cases draw less media attention in comparison to more high-profile cases or crimes of extreme violence (Brodie, 2013:5). Cases where animals are hacked and slaughtered to pieces cannot be ignored for the inhumanity and cruelty that goes with these occurrences. A farmer once described his cattle not only as a source of income, but stated that "these cattle are my children, my bread and butter ..." after his cattle (valued at R210 000) were hacked to pieces by thieves leaving one bull to bleed to death (Nel, 2014:4). Another incident in 2014 revealed the gruesome yet understated side of this crime. A farmer from Gauteng (South Africa) made a heart-breaking yet gruesome discovery when he found 11 of his cattle viciously butchered while they were still alive. Five of those were slaughtered on the spot where the thieves trapped them (90.6 FM Stereo News Team, 2014:1). The senseless manner of livestock theft and the cruelty to which some of the animals are subjected illustrate the nature and impact of this crime. Such cases show that their livestock is more than just another commodity to these farmers.

The consequences of thefts also raise concerns of distrust and suspicion, which may lead to acts of vigilantism and underreporting of livestock theft cases (Gibson, 2016:9). In this regard, livestock theft has been linked to cases resulting in community members (especially from within the communal areas) taking the law into their own hands. The Analysis of the National Crime Statistics 2014/2015 of South Africa (SAPS, 2015:17), reveals that the intergroup violence emanates from various incidents including livestock theft. Linked to this, Dzimba and Matookane (2005:25) note that suspicion and mistrust among fellow livestock owners tends to increase when the identities of the perpetrators are unknown to community members or when they are

harboured amongst them because “it is often the poor who are fingered and stigmatised”. A key example of such a case is where a family, including two minor children (a four year old and a two year old) were shot, burned and brutally hacked to death at their home in 2016. It was believed that this attack, by unknown assailants, was the result of a revenge killing associated with livestock theft in the Mpambulekweni village of KwaCeza in Northern KwaZulu-Natal of South Africa (Ndaliso, 2016:1).

1.4. RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Livestock production is said to be one of the most economically viable and sustainable sectors in the industry (Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:3; Dzimba & Matoane, 2005:22). The livestock industry contributes significantly to the socio-economic development of the country and provides food and income security. In Parliament, the vice-chairman of the RPO stated that 1.2 million households own livestock of which 60% is owned by the commercial sector and 40% owned by emerging farmers (Red Meat Producers Organisation, 2016a:1). Livestock theft results in major financial losses to all owners and it may take years for farmers to regain what they have lost through such thefts (Oellermann, 2016:1).

Not only is livestock theft financially detrimental to both farmers and to the country’s economy, but it further invokes feelings that law enforcement, the courts and correctional management are unable to effectively deal with and control the theft of livestock therefore many cases are not reported (Red Meat Producers Organisation, 2016b:22). Statistically, livestock theft is one of the least reported crimes in South Africa (Van der Walt, 2017:9). Doorewaard, Hesselink and Clack (2015:39) report that 60,1% of livestock theft cases in 2011 were not reported to the police. This percentage increased to 67,7% in 2015 from 64,4% in 2014 (Van der Walt, 2017:9).

Farmers do not report incidents of livestock theft because of the low recover and conviction rate, and because they feel that nothing is being done about the situation (Essop & Gous, 2016:5). George (2014:1) reports that livestock theft cases receive little attention and, when perpetrators are apprehended, many of them are released the next day. Many experts within the agricultural sector believe that livestock theft is out of control and view it as a serious problem (Rondganger, 2016:1).

The RPO (Rondganger, 2016:2) reported that the agricultural industry suffers more than R800 million in direct losses a year from livestock thefts alone, excluding unreported cases. Clack (in Rondganger, 2016:2) argues that, when placed into perspective, livestock theft costs the country double the amount of what, for example, rhino poaching costs South Africa a year, yet the attention received from government and non-government organisations is not as prominent.

Because of this situation, many farmers are starting to reduce their herd sizes, while others have decided to stop farming altogether. These farmers agree that they have no other option but to put their businesses up for sale due to repeated livestock thefts and a lack of success in bringing the perpetrators to justice (Labuschagne, 2014:1; Ngubane, 2015:1). The consequence of this for South Africa is that demand will start to exceed the supply, leaving many people unable to afford meat in the future. Not only are the farmers or consumers affected by theft, but many farmworkers will be left without work (Gibson, 2016:9).

Animals are subject to extreme cases of cruelty before being slaughtered or left for dead. Such incidents include animals being crammed into and transported by motor vehicles, while others are beaten to death or slaughtered alive by perpetrators (Clack, 2015a:7; Du Toit, 2014:2; Ismael, 2015:1). According to the chairperson of NSTPF, it is time for the public to become aware of livestock theft, not only regarding the impact it has on the economy, but also to bring awareness of the cruelty that goes with it (Van der Walt, 2017:9).

Despite the aforementioned need for livestock theft to be sufficiently addressed and to be categorised as a priority crime within the official South African crime statistics, this topic has evoked little attention among researchers in the criminal justice field and, particularly, criminology as a science (Clack, 2013a:78; Coleman, 2011:1; Donnermeyer & DeKeseredy, 2014:2; Impumelelo, 2008:33; KZNDCSL, 2008:8). According to Minnaar (2016:i), mainstream criminology has, for the most part, ignored and neglected the development and building of a distinct theory of crime to address the challenges of crime in the rural environment. A number of studies (Bunei, Rono & Chessa, 2013: 75; Kaprom, 2013: v; Khoabane & Black, 2014: 142; Lombard, 2015: x; Maluleke, 2014: 2; Rafolatsane, 2013:i; Scholtz & Bester, 2010:15) have been carried out on the effect of livestock theft from an economical and preventative perspective, including factors that contribute to livestock theft, however, research on the actual profile of the perpetrator of livestock theft has not been given the same attention.

A further justification for undertaking this study is the nature and complexity of the crime, which renders it beyond a mere property-related crime. Rural areas are very difficult to police as they are geographically isolated from policing resources in comparison to urban areas (Doorewaard, 2016:30). When a case of livestock theft gets reported, a farmer's first line of enquiry is the SAPS whose duty it is then to inform the local STU (Pillay, 2016:1). Depending on the circumstances, a considerable amount of time can lapse between the reporting and the actual response. Victims also do not know whether their cases receive the attention they deserve. A typical case is that of a farmer from Kokstad who claimed to report incidents of livestock theft. A case was opened and transferred to the STU in the area of Mataliele but, beyond that, he was not informed what happened thereafter (Ngubane, 2015:1).

The theft of livestock is no longer confined to stealing for survival purposes as previously perceived nor is it just an opportunistic crime (Doorewaard et al., 2015:37). Prior cases, where only one or two animals were taken for sustenance, have escalated into a lucrative organised crime where a network of criminals often steal a number of livestock at a time (Rondganger, 2016:3). According to Hofmeyr (2013:11), farmers have, for years, wanted livestock theft to be seen as an organised crime and not placed in the same category as cases where stock is stolen for the pot.

As with rural crime in general, perpetrators of livestock theft are not a homogenous group, but differ in terms of class (socio-economic circumstances), status, gender, age and even in terms of modus operandi (Doorewaard, 2015a:53). Therefore, a need exists for research on these perpetrators that does not solely rely upon anecdotal evidence from indirectly affected parties (i.e. victims, law enforcement officials and community members), but focuses on direct information derived from the perpetrators themselves regarding their motives for committing the crimes.

Prior studies undertaking research on the profile of offenders have contributed to crime intelligence. For example, Zinn's (2002:iii) study on sentenced motor vehicle hijackers, as a source of crime intelligence, has shown that researchers who are able to extract information from incarcerated offenders can extend both policing and correctional management's understanding of the perpetrators. Smith (2013:128) also attests that a working typology of rural criminals would be beneficial to both academics and those working in the field (i.e. police officers).

The present study adds to existing knowledge about livestock perpetrators by exploring, describing and explaining the perpetration of livestock theft from a criminological point of view. The aim of this study was to compile a criminological profile from a sample of the population of offenders sentenced for livestock theft. This study's findings also contribute to the field of criminology by adding knowledge about livestock theft perpetrators, whilst the criminal justice system can benefit from the new substantive knowledge on livestock offenders by using it for the prevention of the crime and the rehabilitation of offenders. This study's findings about the nature, extent and the impact of this crime emphasise its importance as a lucrative and organised crime.

1.5. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Having established that livestock theft, as a rural crime, is under researched, this study addresses the effects that this crime has on society, individual farmers and on the livestock. Only a few empirical studies have been conducted on livestock theft, both nationally and internationally. Most of these studies were conducted from a policing, financial and economic perspective (Abbas, Muhammad, Raza, Nazir & Höreth-Böntgen, 2014:10; Bunei, et al., 2013:75; Bunei et al., 2016: 46; Dzimba & Matoane, 2005:xi; Kaprom, 2013:v; Khoabane & Black, 2009:1; Khoabane & Black, 2014:142; Nyahongo & Røskaft, 2012:155; Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014:109 Clack, 2014c:101; Eloff, 1988:119; Kynoch, Ulicki, Cekwane, Mohapi, Mohapi, Phakisi & Seithleko, 2001:1; KZNDCSL, 2008:3; Lombard, 2015:x; Maluleke, 2014:8; Ogunkoya, 2014:4; Rafolatsane, 2013:l; Scholtz & Bester, 2010:15; Zwane et al., 2013:36).

In October 2013, the researcher met with the NSTPF chairperson and livestock theft expert, Mr Willie Clack, to discuss the seriousness of livestock theft and the shortage of research on the topic. During this discussion, he mentioned that there was a specific need for research to address the profile of livestock perpetrators (Clack, 2013b). Upon further review of the aforementioned literature, it was clear that few of the studies focused on the profile of the livestock perpetrator, as Bunei et al. (2016:46) state that "there has been a tendency to concentrate on the nature and extent of cattle rustling (livestock theft) and not on the profiles of the perpetrators". Smith (2013:127) comments on the limited research available on rural criminals by drawing attention to the noticeable gap in literature where rural criminality and rural criminals are concerned.

Although some of the literature does acknowledge information on livestock theft perpetrators, research to this effect is, for the most part, only speculation on those involved in this particular crime (KZNDCSL, 2008:8). Very little is known about the identity and operations of these offenders (Clack, 2014a:57; Maluleke & Dlamini, 2019:125) even though a significant increase in the involvement of organised criminal networks in the theft of livestock has been noted (Clack, 2013a:80; Bunei et al., 2016:46; Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:10; Doorewaard, et al., 2015:38; Dzimba & Matoane, 2005: 22; Hofmeyr, 2013:11; KZNDCSL, 2008:14; Maluleke & Dlamini, 2019:125; Saner, 2014:4). Perpetrators are often portrayed as emanating from diverse socio-economic and cultural backgrounds that range from the unemployed who are motivated by the need to feed themselves to those mainly driven by the need for self-enrichment (Doorewaard et al., 2015:37-49).

Three court cases on livestock theft that were heard by the Supreme Court of Appeal, corroborate these findings. The first of these court cases is *Truyens v S 2012 (1) SACR 79 (SCA) (1 June 2011)*. The appellant, a foreman on a cattle farm, was convicted of stealing 48 cattle from his employer. The court *a quo* found that the motive for the theft was to pay for the medical expenses of his terminally ill children. It was also found that the money was not spent on luxuries and the court accepted the criminologist, Dr Irma Labuschagne's assessment that the crime was not one of greed, but of need [par 10].

In contrast, the trial court in *S v Nkosi 2012 (1) SACR 87 (GNP) (21 October 2010)* heard how the accused, a registered police informer connected to the Stock Theft Unit of the Davel SAPS, used his inside knowledge to plan and commit livestock theft. Lastly, the court *a quo* in *Van der Vyver v S (A161/2011) [2012] ZAFSHC 121 (21 June 2012)* found the accused guilty of stealing about 1 318 (approximately worth R4 million) cattle from nine different complainants with whom the accused formed a trusting relationship. It was also submitted that the accused knew that one of the complainants had serious financial difficulties and needed to sell his livestock. The accused nevertheless continued to steal the complainant's livestock. The court found his misconduct to be sly, calculated and relentless [par 5]. These three cases not only confirm the above views – that livestock theft offenders are not a homogenous group – but they also refute the previous misconception that perpetrators who are solely responsible for rural crimes, such as livestock theft, come from low-socio economic backgrounds (Smith, 2013:127). It also refutes the belief that these perpetrators' main purpose is to steal meat for slaughtering (Lebeya, 2012:319).

The Kwazulu-Natal Department of Community Safety and Liaison's (KZNDCSL, 2008:14) report on the investigation of livestock theft in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa explains that the chain perpetrators of livestock theft mainly starts with community members and ends with individuals who assist in the final sale of the stolen livestock. This report further says that livestock traders have people who regularly steal for them, known as "runners" (KZNDCSL, 2008:14). The lucrative nature of the crime, unemployment, poverty, unattended grazing, unmarked livestock and even linkages with marijuana and firearms are just some of the factors cited in relation to the causes and contributory factors of livestock theft (Dzimba & Matooane, 2005:52; KZNDCSL, 2008:12-13).

That being said, no empirical research yet exists that attempted to explore the causes and motives from the perpetrator's perspective. Clack (2014a:57) affirms that, "we cannot with surety say what motivates the offender [as] no research has ever been done on the profile of the livestock thief or cattle rustler". The closest study to compile a profile of livestock theft offenders within the African continent was conducted in Lesotho by Dzimba and Matooane (2005:59). These researchers analysed case dockets of known livestock thieves and found that most of the offenders were unemployed individuals or livestock owners who steal from other livestock owners. The motives and causes of the crimes, including the modus operandi and the time of day when the crime was committed, were not established (Dzimba & Matooane, 2005:59-60).

This apparent void in the research on the profile of the perpetrators is an important part in finding ways to curb and understand livestock theft. To effectively address criminal cases, such as livestock theft, it is important to know who these perpetrators are, where they come from, what motivates them to commit these crimes and how they go about executing their crimes (Hofmeyr, 2011:71). The solution therefore lies in establishing a usable profile of the perpetrator. Consequently, the current study focused on redressing this problem by utilising sentenced livestock offenders as a source of information to compile a sample-specific criminological profile.

1.6. AIM, PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study was to compile a sample-specific criminological profile of offenders sentenced for livestock theft to provide a better understanding that would lead to the prevention of the crime and the rehabilitation of the offenders. The purpose was to explore, describe and

explain the criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft from a criminological point of view. In this regard, sentenced livestock offenders were interviewed to compile a sample-specific criminological profile. Interviews were also conducted with the SAPS STUs members and victims of livestock theft. Police case dockets of perpetrators sentenced for livestock theft were examined.

The objectives of this study were to:

- determine and describe the modus operandi used by the perpetrators to commit livestock theft;
- identify and explore the motives and causes related to the crime; and
- apply criminological theories to explain the crime and criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft.

1.7. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions were addressed:

- When and where do these thefts occur?
- What methods do the perpetrators use to commit the thefts?
- Are the thefts committed spontaneously or are they planned?
- Are there different types of perpetrators?
- Do the perpetrators work in groups or individually?
- What shortcomings (i.e. loopholes) exist that make it easier for the perpetrators to steal livestock?
- Do cultural factors play a role in the commission of the thefts?
- What other motives and causes guide the perpetrators to commit the thefts?
- Which criminological theories best explain the crime of livestock theft and the associated criminal behaviour?

1.8. RESEARCH GOAL

Following a qualitative approach, a researcher can utilise newly acquired knowledge on a theoretical and practical basis, the outcome of which can be either applied or basic. Basic research refers to a need to expand existing knowledge, whereas in applied research, the goal is to produce knowledge to improve a situation (O’Leary, 2017:177). For the purpose of this study, an applied research goal was selected for the practical application of this study. This means that the research on livestock theft intends to utilise the acquired knowledge (i.e. causes and motives) to guide law enforcement in their investigation of livestock theft and to aid the Department of Correctional Services in its aim to rehabilitate the offenders. The theoretical basis is achieved through the criminological analysis, explanation and discussion of the criminal behaviour.

1.9. CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

The contribution of this study is two-fold. Firstly, it will strive to answer the questions that surround livestock theft such as the “who”, “what”, “why” and “where”. Clack (2012:57) purports that, since no profile has yet been conducted on the livestock theft perpetrator, there is limited knowledge on what motivates the offender. Since little or no research has been done that interviews offenders sentenced for livestock theft and a sample-specific profile of the perpetrators has not been compiled, this research study will attempt to address these issues. Secondly, in dealing with the incarceration of offenders, the DCS’s responsibility is to correct offending behaviour to achieve rehabilitation and avoid offender recidivism (Department of Correctional Services, South Africa, 2015:37). Criminologists, such as Herbig and Hesselink (2012:29), have voiced their concern about needs-based offender treatment in South Africa. This study will contribute both towards criminological research and the criminal justice system by providing a better understanding and explanation of the criminal behaviour and the associated motives and causes of the crime, which can then be used as a guide in the prevention of livestock theft and in the rehabilitation of the offenders.

1.10 METHODOLOGICAL LAYOUT

The methodology of a research project sets out the process and procedures taken in carrying out the research (O’Leary, 20187:115). The following section briefly outlines the methodology

layout of the steps taken to conduct the research on the assessment and profiling of livestock theft perpetrators. This includes a plan of the design, goal, aim and purpose of the research, including a brief description of the unit of analysis, sampling, data collection and analysis and ethical procedures to consider before the research project could commence. More detail as to how the research was carried out is further discussed in Chapter 4 of this study.

1.10.1. Research design

This research study followed a qualitative approach to explore, describe and explain the criminality of livestock theft perpetrators from a criminological perspective (Flick, 2018:6). This study was further guided by a case study design, enabling an in-depth examination into each offender's criminal behaviour and life history (Frey, 2018:237).

1.10.2. Unit of analysis

In order to compile a sample-specific profile of livestock perpetrators, the primary unit of analysis consisted of offenders sentenced for livestock theft in the provinces of Gauteng (GP), KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and the Eastern Cape (EC). In addition to gaining insight into the phenomenon of livestock theft and the criminal behaviour of livestock offenders, a secondary unit of analysis formed part of this study. This included an analysis of police case dockets of offenders convicted for livestock theft, in addition to the interviews conducted with members of the STUs (in GP and KZN) and livestock owners who have been victims of livestock theft.

1.10.3. Sampling

This study was based on the non-probability sampling method. This means that a selected group of sentenced livestock offenders were interviewed in GP, KZN and the EC. Interviews were also conducted with livestock owners (victims of livestock theft) and with members of the SAPS STUs (i.e. investigators, station commanders and the KZN Provincial Coordinator).

Lastly, a sample of police case dockets of perpetrators sentenced for livestock theft was obtained for analysis purposes. A more detailed description of the sampling size and methods are discussed in section 4.5. in Chapter 4 of this study.

1.10.4. Data collection

In-depth, face-to-face interviews were conducted with selected research participants (i.e. sentenced offenders, the SAPS STUs members and victims of livestock theft), while police case dockets formed part of the case docket analysis. Interviews with both the offenders, the SAPS STUs members and livestock owners were semi-structured in nature. The use of this method allowed for further examination and insight into motives, causes and criminal behaviour of the livestock theft perpetrators (Wincup, 2017:100). Secondly, the case study analysis of police case dockets pertaining to relevant livestock perpetrators supplemented the richness of the in-depth interviews and allowed for verification of the information derived from some of the interviews (Frey, 2018:239).

1.10.5. Data analysis

A content analysis approach was followed to analyse causes, motives and the nature of criminal behaviour of the livestock theft perpetrators derived from the gathered data. Patterns as to the perpetrators' modus operandi, motives, causes and characteristics were identified. This entailed the generating of codes or themes derived from the data, for example, by looking at the occurrence of a particular crime event and how much livestock was taken during each crime (Frey, 2018:393). The data analysis process further analysed the criminological theory application in explaining criminal behaviour as a form of data interpretation.

1.10.6. Ethical considerations

Ethics are an integral and essential part of any rigorous research study (O'Leary, 2017:68). Research ethics involve ethical norms, codes and regulations that govern research practices (Anderson & Corneli, 2018:2). This study sought to uphold a code of ethics by:

- respecting the participants involved by acknowledging their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds;
- treating the participants fairly in not being biased towards the participants' race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, customs or beliefs;
- ensuring beneficence by giving each participant a chance to have a "say" and have their voices heard;
- avoiding harm to participants by refraining from probing them to elaborate on questions that

they may find distressing, for instance, on past experiences, such as childhood abuse, or by referring them to psychological services if needed;

- being trustworthy in nature by providing the participants with peace of mind and by using consent forms to obtain their consent to participate in the research; and
- respecting participants' rights to privacy, confidentiality, anonymity and avoiding deception and harm (Anderson & Corneli, 2018:37; Farrimond, 2013:25-28; O'Leary, 2017:70-71).

This research study took the ethical considerations into account in line with the University of South Africa's (UNISA) policy on research ethics, including those enshrined in the Constitution of Criminological and Victimological Society of Southern Africa (CRIMSA). In order to ensure that no harm came to any participants involved, ethical codes and principles were adhered to. These ethical codes and principles are discussed in detail in Chapter 4 of this study.

1.10.7. Funding of research

The Criminological and Victimological Society of Southern Africa's (2012:13) code of ethics state that, if financial support for the research project is to be received, the researcher is obliged to fully report and acknowledge such sources. The researcher applied for and received a bursary from the Red Meat Research and Development South Africa (RMRDSA) in 2015 for travel expenses (refer to section 1.10.9 of this Chapter). No conflict of interest was foreseen but a condition that is required of the researcher is to publish the research findings in one of the Red Meat Research and Development magazines.

1.10.8. Time frame and budget

Although the interviews were conducted in 2015, the nature of this study prolonged the final analysis and submission of the project in order to reach saturation and ensure the trustworthiness of the data, coupled with high academic demands.

The researcher also transcribed the interviews herself. Although this was a time-consuming process, it ensured the quality of the data. The bursary from the RMRDSA was approved for R32 029 and is subject to their terms and conditions, such as that only half of the approved amount (R15 000) was rendered to the researcher while the remaining funds would be released on the submission of the completed research project (i.e. the final dissertation).

1.10.9. Breakdown of travel expenses

The bursary from the RMRDSA funded the travel expenses to the provinces of KZN and the EC. Table 1 below depicts the accommodation, tollgate and fuel expenses captured by the researcher.

Table 1: Breakdown of travel expenses

Province visited	Time frame	Accommodation	Tollgate Expenses	Fuel Expenses	Total
KwaZulu-Natal	22-26 March 2015	R2 434.90	R369.00	R2 055.80	R4 858.90
KwaZulu-Natal	26-31 July 2015	R4 355.00	R430.00	R1 545.00	R6 330.00
Eastern Cape	11-15 October 2015	R3 600.00	-	R1 773.75	R5 373.75
Total expenses					R16 562.45

(researcher's illustration, 2015)

A total of R16 562.45 was used to carry out the research project during the period of 22-26 March 2015, 26-31 March 2015 and again from 11 to 15 October 2015. This amount included accommodation, tollgate and fuel expenses. Costs not forming part of Table 1 and personally paid for included the costs for all refreshments (meals and drinks) and tollgate expenses for traveling to and from the EC. Since the researcher resides in the province of GP, all travel and fuel expenses incurred, such as visiting correctional centres within the area of GP, were also excluded.

1.11. CONCLUSION

This chapter highlights the importance of why the research on livestock theft perpetrators is needed. Livestock theft is a persistent crime that has debilitating financial and emotional consequences for the livestock owner and the economy. Prior studies on livestock theft originated from a policing, financial and economic perspective. As a result, a need arose for empirical research to be conducted that focussed specifically on the perpetrators of livestock theft. Hence, the aim was to compile a sample-specific criminological profile of offenders sentenced for livestock theft.

The purpose of this study was to explore, describe and explain the associated criminal behaviour from a criminological perspective. The objectives of this study were to ascertain how these offenders operate, in addition to evaluating the motives and causes related to the crime and to explain it by applying criminology theory. The research questions emanating from these study objectives that needed to be addressed relate to the occurrence of the crimes (i.e. when and where it occurs), what methods they employ to commit the thefts and whether the perpetrators commit their crimes spontaneously or plan them. It was also necessary to determine if there are different types of perpetrators involved in livestock theft, whether these perpetrators work in groups or on an individual basis, the loopholes that make it easier for livestock to get stolen, whether cultural factors play a part in these thefts, what other motives exist that cause the perpetrators to commit the thefts and which criminological theories best explain livestock theft and the associated criminal behaviour.

To achieve the aim, purpose and objectives of this study, the research was qualitative in nature. This study was guided by descriptive, explanatory and exploratory research objectives, coupled with a case study design, which allowed for an in-depth analysis into each offender's background and criminal behaviour. The units of analysis were separated into two elements, the primary unit of analysis and the secondary unit of analysis. The primary unit of analysis consisted of the offenders sentenced for livestock theft (situated in the provinces of GP, KZN and EC). The secondary unit of analysis included members of the SAPS STUs, livestock owners that have fallen victim to livestock theft and police case dockets of perpetrators sentenced for livestock theft. To gather additional insight into the crime and criminal behaviour of the livestock theft perpetrators, interviews were conducted with the SAPS STUs members and victims (i.e. livestock owners).

The police case dockets were analysed to supplement the profile findings. A content analysis approach was applied to analyse the findings of this study. The approach allowed for the identification of patterns and the generation of themes into which the gathered data were grouped. The methodology approach further outlined the ethical considerations that were undertaken during and after the course of this study.

Lastly, the value and contribution of this study is foreseen in its contribution to criminology as a science – adding to the existing knowledge on livestock theft from a criminological perspective by applying criminological theories (i.e. routine activity theory, rational choice theory, crime

pattern theory, general strain theory, social learning theory, techniques of neutralisation and general theory of crime). It is anticipated that the information gathered in this study will guide the criminal justice system in its task of preventing and controlling the theft of livestock and the rehabilitation of the perpetrators.

CHAPTER 2

A LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE PAST AND CURRENT TRENDS IN LIVESTOCK THEFT

2.1. INTRODUCTION

To provide an in-depth analysis and discussion on the criminological assessment and sample-specific profile of livestock theft perpetrators, it is important to place this study into perspective and demonstrate its relation to the existing body of knowledge on livestock theft. In achieving this essential part of the research process, a review was conducted of the available literature on the topic. Previous studies, findings and the identification of the main principles and theories relevant to the criminological assessment and sample-specific profile of livestock theft perpetrators are unpacked, discussed and compared. It also serves as a means to identify and clarify the research problem and to contextualise the findings (Allen, 2017:876; Kumar, 2019:59).

The selection of literature relevant to the criminological assessment and sample-specific profile of livestock theft perpetrators was organised according to themes in relation to the trends and findings that relate to the profile and criminological assessment of livestock theft perpetrators. This includes research literature on both international and national findings.

Cognisance was taken that relatively few studies on livestock theft (Bunei, 2018:41; Bunei et al., 2016:46; Bunei et al., 2013: 75; Kaprom, 2013: v; Khoabane & Black, 2009:2; KZNDCSL, 2008:8; 2014: 142; Lombard, 2015: x; Maluleke, 2014: 2; Rafolatsane, 2013:l; Scholtz & Bester, 2010:15) focused specifically on the perpetrators of livestock theft, with the exception of a small number of articles on rural criminality and rural criminals (see for example, Smith, 2013:126; Smith & McElwee, 2013:112). As a result, the review departs with a broader scope on agricultural crime studies and media report findings to augment the knowledge on livestock theft perpetration as a whole.

The focus of this chapter commences with research gaps within the literature on livestock theft and the perpetrators of livestock theft. The importance of recognising livestock theft as a serious crime is further scrutinised by discussing the extent and nature of this crime. A meta-analysis search was conducted on both known trends and patterns related to livestock theft (and in some

instances, cattle raiding). This includes the modus operandi, the characteristics of the perpetrators and the associated driving factors (motives and causes) behind the crimes. This chapter concludes with a discussion on the value of a criminological approach in the formulation of a criminological assessment and profile of the livestock theft perpetrator.

2.2. A NEGLECTED RESEARCH TOPIC

Chapter 1, the introduction, briefly noted that there is a dearth of literature about rural crime in the research field. This topic, which is not exclusive to South Africa or even the African continent (Donnermeyer, 2016:116), also exists in other countries, for example, Australia, Great Britain, the United States and even Asian countries, such as India and Pakistan (Abbas et al., 2014:10; Barclay, Donnermeyer, Doyle & Talary, 2001:57; Chism, 2012:1033; Ghosh, 2014:1; Smith, 2017:105; Smith & McElwee, 2013:119).

Rural crime researchers (Carrington, Donnermeyer & DeKeseredy, 2014:463; Jones, 2010:36; Minnaar, 2016:i) have specifically singled out the criminological discipline as being devoid of rural crime knowledge because it focuses on the prevalence of urban crime. Rural areas have their share of crime, just as urban areas do. Ceccato and Dolmen (2011:119) proclaim that rural areas have become more criminogenic in the last ten years and researchers, such as Ďurkovičová, Lazíková, Taláč and Rumanovská (2014:13) attest to this. These researchers purport that Slovakian rural areas are starting to show high levels of criminality. The lack of research on crime committed within, and against these agricultural settings, coupled with the view that such areas are crime free zones, creates major social problems, such as a reduction in potential development of these regions (Michálek, 2010:344). Lazíková, Rumanovská, Takáč and Lazíková (2015:138) report that, in Slovakia, clearing up other people's waste (also considered a rural crime) costs a single farm an estimated £300 (or R4 710) a year. In the United States, Donnermeyer and Barclay (2005:4) suggest that a relatively small cluster of studies (see Cleland, 1990; Deeds, Frese, Hitchner & Solomon, 1992; Donnermeyer, 1987; Dunkelberger, Clayton, Myrick & Lyles; 1992, Farmer & Voth, 1989; Peale, 1989 in Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:4) were conducted on agricultural crime in the 1980s and early 1990s. Subsequent research is however sorely lacking, apart from Swanson et al.'s (2000 cited in Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:4) revised text book on criminal investigation, which provides relevant information on agricultural crime derived from magazines and newspaper reports. Dated research (see Cleland, 1990; Deeds et al., 1992; Donnermeyer, 1987; Dunkelberger et

al., 1989; Peale, 1989 in Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:4) on agricultural crime in the United States shows that most of the research was of a property-related nature, but that the offences varied. In these cases, the theft of farm supplies, equipment, machinery, malicious damage and defacement were most frequently recorded (Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:4).

As a rural-specific crime, the availability of empirical research on livestock theft is no different. Some contemporary South African research conducted on the effects and impact of livestock theft emanated from the studies of Clack (2014c:101), Lombard (2015: x), Maluleke (2014:8), Scholtz and Bester (2010:15) and KwaZulu-Natal's Department of Community Safety and Liaison (KZNDCSL, 2008:3). However, none of the aforementioned studies conducted research from a purely criminological background or on the profile of the perpetrator. Clack (2014a:57) concedes that there is no research on the profile of the livestock perpetrator, both in South Africa and around the world. Moreover, research that attempts to explain the rural crime from a criminological vantage point does so on the basis of the prevalence of crime prevention and security (see for example, Carrington et al., 2014:463; Jones & Phipps, 2012:3; Mears, Scott & Bhati, 2007:151; Sidebottom, 2013:195) rather than on the perpetrator. Since the writing of Clack's article, authors, such as Bunei et al. (2016:46), Manning, Smith and Soon (2016:46) and Smith (2017:106), have attempted to provide a typology of the so-called "food" criminal and cattle rustler through analysing existing literature, not by means of empirical research (i.e. interviewing offenders sentenced for livestock theft).

2.3. A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF LIVESTOCK THEFT

Livestock theft is not an isolated problem limited to one region or country. While agricultural crime per se is a global phenomenon, Bunei et al. (2013:79) believe that the type of farm crimes committed in third world countries, such as Kenya, is misunderstood and presents a major problem to the economies of these countries. Many African countries, such as South Sudan, Kenya and Nigeria, not only experience the loss of livestock due to theft, but also the loss of human life. News reports frequently emerge of cattle rustlers raiding villages, leaving many people either dead or injured after taking their livestock. In 2017, the news agency, Aljazeera reported that, since South Sudan gained independence in 2011, more than 5 000 people have been killed in cattle raids (Morgan, 2017:1). In July 2018, at least 32 people in Nigeria were killed and approximately 200 people left homeless after violent cattle raids (Agence France-

Presse [AFP], 2018:1). Cattle rustlers are also known to abduct children and women during such raids. Cattle rustlers in Kenya stole 700 cattle and abducted a 12-year-old girl a day after an explosive device was thrown into a children's home (Standard Digital, 2018:1).

Cattle rustling, or cattle raiding, is pervasive in countries such as Kenya and Nigeria due to the demand for meat and political violence (Bashir, 2014:1; The New Humanitarian, 2014:1). Traditionally, cattle rustling is viewed as a communal survival mechanism to replenish herds lost due to drought. Osama (2000:16) notes that cattle raiding is historically seen as a response to natural disasters such as drought. He explains that it was common for the people of Pokot (Kenya) to increase their livestock in more affluent seasons to counter the unfavourable seasons. Kaprom (2013:21) further attests that the practice of cattle raiding also served as a marital dowry payment (also known as lobola), to gain a rite of passage (for example, marriage or a passage to elder hood), to show heroism (i.e. courage/bravery) or for social status and prestige (i.e. success and wealth) (Bunei et al., 2016:51; Cheserek, Omondi & Odenyo, 2012:176; Mutsotso, Kimaiyo, Gaciuki, 2014:498). As a cultural practice, cattle raiding was exercised within the accepted rules of engagement, a practice considered acceptable among participating communities (Kaprom, 2013:21). Kaprom (2013:3), in his study on the effects of cattle rustling on the economic development in the West of Pokot, hypothesised that no relationship exists between cultural practices and cattle rustling. He found that 72% of the respondents dispelled this hypothesis and believed that the practice of celebrating and blessing of warriors as a cultural ritual encourage cattle rustling (Kaprom, 2013; 44).

Cultural practices, such as the payment of bride prices, still persist in some African countries. In South Sudan, men feel that they have no other way to pay for prospective brides and therefore resort to stealing cattle (Aleu & Mach, 2016:1). Within the urban areas, some men take out loans, but they then become burdened with repaying the debt (Aleu & Mach, 2016:2). Cattle are traditionally seen as a great source of wealth. Kaprom (2013:20) explains that owning a large herd of cattle is a sign of prestige and of a secure livelihood. As noted by a young Sudanese man in verbatim:

“we risk our lives to raid other communities so that we can pay bride prices. If you can't afford many cows that will hurt your pride and you will move in public with your head bent. If I pay 70, 90 or 100 cows for a woman, it will definitely demonstrate that I'm rich and a first-class person” (Aleu & Mach, 2016:1).

2.3.1. The changing nature of cattle raiding in Africa

The traditional practice of cattle raiding has become commercialised and the perpetrators more organised (Donnermeyer, 2016:120; *The New Humanitarian*, 2014:1; Kaprom, 2013:12). The lucrative nature of this crime enables perpetrators to make a quick profit and, in turn, lessen the impact for those perpetrators who are unemployed or those who have to pay high bride prices, while others have resorted to this practice purely for its profitability and for their own self-interest (Aleu & Mach, 2016:1; Donnermeyer, 2018:14; Khoabane & Black, 2009:7; Osama, 2000:23; Tshili, 2016:1).

Kaprom (2013:15) notes that the increase in small arms and light weapons that originated from African countries experiencing internal conflict, such as Uganda, Somali and Ethiopia, resulted in heavily armed, militarised groups. This gave rise to criminal gangs whose motive is to raid cattle for purely commercial reasons. According to the *New Humanitarian* (2014:1), cattle raids are conducted to acquire money to buy arms, while businessmen “cash-in” on the growing population’s demand for meat. What has been a traditional custom for many Africans has now turned into political warfare that includes killing and destruction of property (Bunei et al., 2016:51). Greiner (2013:233) relates that, in East Pokot, many of the politicians are former herd boys who are accustomed to violence. The author further mentions that a politician admitted to making a profit from raiding cattle which was used to fund political campaigns during the 1990s, and he adds that, in modern times, raiding serves as a means to push individuals out of their territories which, according to the person that he interviewed, are perceived to have economic benefits.

Greiner (2013:233-234) states that the raiding of livestock is an excellent strategy for stock thieves for three reasons: firstly, political enemies’ livelihoods are undermined, which may result in large-scale displacement; secondly, the appropriation of livestock provides a substantial profit in itself; and thirdly, politicians can very easily blame cattle raiding on factors beyond their control. Terrorist groups, such as Boko Haram, also engage in cattle raiding. Obaji (2017:1) reports that Boko Haram fighters invaded a town in north Cameroon in early January 2016 and that a total of 150 sheep and goats were taken, among other property items. During this raid, six people were kidnapped to assist the rebel group to lead the animals back to Nigeria. For these terrorists, raiding the villages of their livestock and selling it on the open market replaces lost territories (claim to land), valuables and funds (Obaji, 2017: 2). Consequently, villagers not only lose their livestock, but many also lose their lives in the process. Obaji (2017:2) confirms that

the militants do not go to the market themselves to sell the cattle due to the risk of being caught by security forces. Instead, they have what he calls, “unscrupulous agents” selling the livestock on their behalf. This trade yielded a large amount of money. Authorities found that a corrupt leader of the Civilian Joint Task Force, that was part of the syndicate, had more than 60 million nairas in his bank account at the time of his arrest (Obaji, 2017:2). This illustrates the profitable nature of livestock theft and the interrelatedness of criminal networks associated with the crime of livestock theft.

2.3.2. The nature of livestock theft beyond the African continent

The crime of livestock theft is not limited to the African content, but is a global occurrence. The following sections highlight the trend of livestock theft in countries not on the African continent. Livestock theft in developed countries, such as America, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand (NZ) and the United Kingdom (UK), differs from African countries due to the cultural value of livestock in Africa. The emergence of livestock theft in the United States of America (USA) is recorded prior to the 19th century. Theft and raiding of livestock peaked in times of war when militaries conducted raids in order to replenish their food supply. In the 19th century, livestock theft crimes were redefined and the rebranding, altering of brands and the slaughtering of stolen animals was criminalised (Chism, 2012:1033). Chism (2012:1034) notes that, in the 20th and 21st centuries, both livestock and cattle crimes were mostly limited to theft. However, the prevalence of these thefts is escalating causing concern among the farming community. Oklahoma and Texas are amongst the states that are worst affected by the theft of livestock, which is believed to be driven by a rise in meat prices and drug habits (McClelland, 2015:1).

In Australia, Fitzgerald (2016:1) relates that a farmer was prepared to sell his cattle due to ongoing thefts within the region. For many farmers, it is not only the financial loss of livestock, but also the loss of breeding stock generated over a lifetime. Barclay (2018:31) confirms that victims of livestock theft suffer both financial and emotional loss leading to either selling their farms or no longer keeping livestock. In Australia, goats are also gaining popularity among livestock thieves as their value is equal to that of sheep (Smith, 2016:1).

In 2016, there were two shocking cases of livestock theft in NZ on a massive scale. Firstly, a farmer had 500 of his cows stolen (Associated Press, 2016) and, secondly, in November of that year, 1 400 lambs were taken from a property in Whanganui, NZ (Roy, 2017:2).

The Federated Farmers security survey of 2016 found that 26% of the respondents had livestock stolen in the previous five years but that 60% of the respondents had not reported the crime to the police (Roy, 2017:3). Seventy percent of rural crime in the UK is attributed to livestock thefts in parts of Northern Ireland, north-east England, and the West Country. According to rural specialist, Tim Price from the National Farmers Union (NFU) Mutual, Northern Ireland is experiencing thefts of hundreds of sheep from farms instead of the usual handful (Tasker, 2016:1). Case (2017:1) notes that farmers in Northern Ireland reported approximately 11 crimes per week in 2016. Agricultural crime in Northern Ireland, especially of expensive machinery and livestock, is on the increase. Reports reveal that the Police Service of Northern Ireland's statistics showed a 9% increase in agricultural crime in early 2017 and the theft of livestock is reported to be a daily problem. More concerning is that rural thefts account for between a third and a half of these crimes (Case, 2017:1).

In Ireland, the type of livestock stolen mainly consists of sheep. These animals are easy to transport and are often found outside in remote areas. However, the stealing of cattle is also becoming a worrying trend in this country (Saner, 2014:2). According to the Chief Claims Manager at the National Farmers Union Mutual, livestock theft has escalated from very few incidents to hundreds of sheep stolen from farms since 2010 (FG Insight, 2016:1). Animals, such as cattle and sheep, are frequently stolen because of their high market value.

Livestock theft also extends to countries such as India. It is reported that cattle raids and smuggling occur on the border between India and Bangladesh (Anon, 2018:1). Ghosh (2014:1) believes that these raids are often carried out by criminal gangs who make large sums of money from this profitable illegal trade that often leads to the deaths of perpetrators and innocent bystanders. People from the villages may take the law into their own hands by beating suspected thieves who may also be killed by rival cattle smugglers. It is estimated that up to 25 000 cows from India enter Bangladesh from West Bengal illegally on a daily basis (Ghosh, 2014:1). This trade between India and Bangladesh is not legal nor is it normalised but it is believed that, if this trade is legalised between these borders, the volatile nature of this crime would subside. Smuggling cattle from India over the border to Bangladesh is not without risk. Perpetrators often bribe corrupt border guards. The Border Security Force is very aggressive towards perpetrators in these incidents and often innocent people get caught up in the firing line when crossing the border and end up being killed in the process (Ghosh, 2014:3).

Pakistan is also severely affected by the impact of livestock theft. Findings of a study conducted by Abbas et al. (2014:13) in Punjab province of Pakistan reveals that the stealing of adult bovines (cattle) with a high sale value was not uncommon. Nabi (2011:35) confirms that cattle theft has occurred for over 100 years in the colonial region of Sindh. As in other parts of the world, vigilante attacks are also prevalent in Asian countries such as India. For example, two Muslim men in Pakistan who were suspected of stealing cows were attacked because the slaughter of cows is a punishable offence as Hindus believe that they are sacred (News Week, 2017:1).

2.4. THE EXTENT OF LIVESTOCK THEFT IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the SAPS's Annual Crime Report for 2017/2018 (SAPS, 2018:1), a total of 2 154 more stock theft cases were reported for that financial year, an increase of 7,2% compared to the previous financial year (SAPS, 2018:41). According to BusinessTech (2018:2), stock theft was amongst the seven biggest increases in crimes during 2018. The NSTPF (2018:1) furthermore indicated that livestock theft increased across all nine provinces of South Africa for the 2017/2018 financial year. The highest increase in livestock theft during this period occurred in the Northern Cape (NC) (14,9%) and the Free State (FS) (9,7%), with Mpumalanga (MP) (9,3%) following a close third. Limpopo (LIM) (11,8%), North West (NW) (7,7%), the Western Cape (WC) (7,7%) and KZN (6,1%) also experienced significant increases. Provinces with lowest rate of increases in livestock theft included the EC with 3.2%, followed by GP with 1.1% of reported thefts (SAPS, 2018:1).

In comparison to the previous financial year, livestock theft increased by 2.9% for 2018/2019, with 823 more cases reported. This shows that livestock theft has increased across all nine provinces for a third year in a row (Van der Walt, 2019b:15). The province with the highest number of reported livestock theft cases in 2018/2019 was the EC with 6 736 cases. This shows an 8.3% increase in reported cases in comparison to the previous financial year. The second highest number of reported cases was in KZN (6 380), followed by the FS (4 066), NW (3 557), LIM (2 396), MP (3 255) and the NC (1 313). The provinces with the lowest number of reported livestock theft cases were GP (994) and the WC (975) (SAPS, 2019a:151).

The Chairperson of the NSTPF (Phillips, 2018:2) pointed out that, based on the annual stock theft statistics from 2013/2014 to 2017/2018, an average of 251 sheep, 182 cattle and 117 goats were being stolen on a daily basis. For the 2018/2019 financial period, more cattle were stolen (44%), followed by sheep (27%) and goats (18%) (SAPS, 2019a:156).

In relation to other serious crimes in South Africa, it can be argued that thefts of livestock are insignificant. According to Clack (2016:3), when comparing all serious crimes, livestock theft makes up only 1.3% of all serious crimes in South Africa. This may give the impression that livestock theft is insignificant, but it has adverse economic consequences on the value of livestock in rural areas that are not included in such assessments. Statistics are nonetheless important to provide a wider picture of the problem that should not be viewed in isolation, nor should a conclusion be made that livestock theft is not as serious as it is often made out to be (Clack, 2013a:78).

2.4.1. Challenges facing the prevention of livestock theft

Echoing the above sentiments, the NSTPF (Red Meat Producers Organisation, 2017:2) notes that crime statistics (especially property-related crime) cannot be viewed in a vacuum. Variables, such as non-reported cases, should also be considered, regarding the various challenges experienced in the prevention of livestock theft. These challenges are:

2.4.1.1. The underreporting of livestock theft cases

The Victims of Crime Survey (VOCS) 2015/2016 (in Statistics South Africa – Stats SA, 2017:8) shows that livestock theft ranks just below 10 of the most feared crimes in the country. The most feared crime, housebreaking/burglary, in South Africa stood at 49.2% for all crimes reported, while the least feared crime (crop theft) accounted for only 3.0% of the reported crimes. Livestock theft, at just below 11%, was perceived to be one of the top 10 experienced crimes (Statistics South Africa - Stats SA, 2017:8). Among the victimisation rates for 2015/2016, the theft of livestock decreased by 0.5% over a five-year period but it was also the most underreported crime (70%) among respondents. Furthermore, 90.3% of the respondents experienced this crime at least once, and another 9.7% of the respondents were victims of livestock theft at least twice or more (Statistics South Africa - Stats SA, 2017:66). Reporting rates furthermore revealed that only 29.3% of the respondents reported the crime to police, compared to 40.9% of victims who reported cases to the police in 2012.

The most popular reason given for not reporting such crimes was that the police could not do anything (39.5%) or that the police would not do anything about it (18.9%) (Statistics South Africa - Stats SA, 2017:67, 70). Despite the uncertainties, livestock owners and members of the public are continuously reminded to report cases (George, 2015:1; RNews, 2018:2). Crimes that go unreported cannot be policed. The NSTPF categorically states that the police in each region is allocated an amount of resources, such as STUs, the number of staff members, vehicles and equipment, depending on the number of reported crimes (The Cattle Site News Desk, 2015:1). Research studies (Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:12; Doorewaard, 2014:6) confirm this view. Donnermeyer and Barclay (2005:12) remark that one of the biggest challenges faced by law enforcement is the underreporting of crime incidents, while criminal justice experts in Doorewaard's (2014:6) study on the dark figure of crime and its impact on the criminal justice system stated that it is important to report crime for the effective functioning of the criminal justice process. Adding to this, Maluleke et al. (2016:266) agree that the under-reporting of livestock theft cases places law enforcement in a position where they are obliged to act on unverifiable and inaccurate reports.

On the other hand, some cases that are reported appear not to be taken seriously enough by law enforcement. This is especially a problem for emerging farmers (Pillay, 2015:2). A cattle farmer from the province of MP professed that cases reported to the police by emerging and communal farmers are neither documented nor followed up. The following case illustrates this concern. An elderly woman attempted to open a case of livestock theft at the police station. The police told her that they would visit her at her house but they did not do so (George, 2015:2). According to a farmer who frequently contacted the police on behalf of the emerging and communal farmers, this is the norm for everyone. Other livestock producers from the same province also mentioned that, if a case does get opened, "it often takes forever to obtain a case number" (George, 2015:4).

Maluleke, Obioha and Mofokeng's (2015:118) study on *Stock theft crime in a rural community in Limpopo, South Africa* found that cases go unreported due to misconceptions regarding the operational conduct of the SAPS, amongst other reasons. The underreporting of livestock cases is not only limited to South Africa. In NZ, 60% of victims did not report livestock theft cases. The respondents thought that the police would not be interested in the crimes, while some only discovered the thefts days or weeks after they occurred. Results also revealed that 70% of farmers did not report the crimes because they thought the police would not be interested (The

Country, 2016a:1; 2016b:1). In other countries, such as Australia, farmers are reluctant to report theft because they fear they might know the perpetrator, that it may be someone from within the community, whereas some farmers were apprehensive in reporting the crimes because they were uncertain if the livestock could be recovered (Miller, 2014:1).

2.4.1.2 Cross-border livestock theft

Another challenge that both law enforcement and livestock producers must deal with is theft of livestock across borders. Provinces, such as the EC, the FS, KZN and MP that share a border other regions or countries, as in the case of the FS which borders on Lesotho, are more vulnerable and affected by livestock theft (SAPS, 2016:64). Rafolatsane (2013:15) advocates that there is a lack of physical structures between bordering countries. The border between Lesotho and South Africa provides free movement between the two countries leaving it easily accessible for perpetrators to move livestock across the border. This author's findings also reveal that the village Dalewe, which borders Mount Fletcher (a town in the Eastern Cape) is only accessible on horseback or foot. Likewise, cattle posts of both small-scale farmers from South Africa and Lesotho lack the necessary boundaries. Larger farms from South Africa are also accessible to thieves on foot (Rafolatsane, 2013:56-57).

The reality of cross-border livestock theft is seen in reports on farmers who have lost a considerable number of livestock stolen by Lesotho residents. In 2014, Carte Blanche aired a story on Lesotho Border Raids (Carte Blanche, 2014:1). According to this report, a fourth-generation cattle and sheep farmer who had 65 of his sheep stolen by Basotho farmers explained that he went on a three-day mission into the Lesotho Mountains to recover his stolen livestock. He eventually found his sheep in the small town of Tshehlanyane and herded them back with the help of the Lesotho military to the border. The border remains a challenge for law enforcement due to the very mountainous area, especially when the river between South Africa and Lesotho is very low, making it easy for people to cross the river on foot, but difficult for law enforcement to police. Law enforcement also lacks the necessary heavy-duty vehicles to drive on these rural the roads (Carte Blanche, 2014:2). Maluleke and Dlamini (2019:125) maintain that livestock theft is a market-based criminal activity where perpetrators sell meat either to butcheries or for ceremonial purposes. This, according to Maluleke and Dlamini (2019), present an operational problem for law enforcement.

For instance, it becomes difficult for law enforcement to establish the frequency of offences if the activities of those individuals who are part of a wider operational network cease to exist. In 2019, the South African and Lesotho police's joint Operation Servamus seized a number of stolen livestock including 117 cattle, 107 goats, four sheep and seven horses (Chelin, 2019:1).

Cross-border livestock theft also occurs between the borders of Swaziland, South Africa, and Mozambique. Maluleke and Dlamini (2019:125) add that a major impact on livestock theft is the informal traders who smuggle meat to the meat wholesalers near the Mozambican-Swaziland border. The authors attribute the price difference of beef between Mozambique and Swaziland as a major cause of cattle rustling and livestock theft offences.

Abner (2015:2) highlights that the Royal Swaziland Police (RSP) recovered 888 cattle between January 2014 and January 2015. Two-hundred and fourteen of the missing livestock were recovered in South Africa and 15 recovered in Mozambique. The media report further reveals that the RSP strengthened its cooperation with the SAPS to prevent livestock theft in a joint operation code named "Sondeza" that was conducted in the province of MP. Investigating officers also regularly traveled to South Africa to investigate cases of stolen livestock and to attend livestock auctions (Abner, 2015:2).

2.5. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LIVESTOCK THEFT TRENDS

The following section illustrates the nature of livestock trends in relation to how this crime has evolved, which is characterised more by perpetrators' self-interests than survival (Dzimba & Matookane, 2005:25; KZNDCSL, 2008:11). The theft of livestock has developed into a successful, profitable and lucrative crime, seemingly executed in a planned and organised manner (Clack, 2013a:83; Jones, 2010:38). The financial motive is evident in the amount of money made from these thefts. The KZNCSL's (2008:11) research revealed that a perpetrator can yield approximately R2 500 for one head of cattle within a day. Considering that the value of the animals is annually determined, this figure would naturally increase from year to year. The profitability of this crime further lies in the fact that livestock does not lose its value over time as with other stolen goods (Clack, 2013a:83). Advances in technology, weak border control and various other factors allow criminals to pursue this type of crime.

2.5.1. Various forms of Modus Operandi

The methods utilised by the perpetrators to carry out acts of livestock theft depend on a number of factors that may differ from one country to another. The purpose of this section is to identify the various trends by describing the nature of the theft and the offender's method of operation. It is evident from the literature, debates and discussions on livestock theft that perpetrators have shifted their motives from survival to reasons that go beyond culture, religion and traditions (Doorewaard, 2015a:52). In Kenya, cattle theft or rustling was viewed as a cultural practice, a common and marginal occurrence. As times have changed, so too has the practice of cattle rustling and livestock theft. The commercialisation of livestock has brought forth a diversity of new trends which transcend borders (Osama, 2000:12).

The theft of livestock is no longer confined to small communities but dominated by organised crime groups. Offenders make use equipment, such as trucks, to transport the animals from one location to another, and they make use of sophisticated weapons, such as firearms, to steal livestock during cattle raids (Donnermeyer, 2016:121). Cattle raiders are known to storm the villages of local communities, taking entire herds of livestock and killing some of the villagers in the process (Langat, 2016:1). Oundoh (2017:1) relates that several people were killed and over 800 animals stolen in one incident that occurred along the Samburu-Baringo border in the Kenya Rift Valley during March 2017. The violence that surrounds cattle raiding practices in places, such as Kenya, is further illustrated by herders having to carry rifles while driving their cattle across the landscape, while children are forced to suspend their education due to their parents' fear that they will be caught in the crossfire (Kushner, 2017:1).

In some countries, illegal firearms, tranquiliser darts and even cross-bows are used to steal livestock. In Malaysia, cattle thieves are known to use tranquiliser darts to disable the cattle before loading them onto trucks or even into the back of their cars (FMT Reporters, 2015:2). *Free Malaysia Today* (2015:2) reported several cases which involve the use of tranquiliser darts have emerged, one where over 20 cows were shot in the Malaysian village of Kampung Gentam in 2015. In NZ, a report was made about cows that were shot with a crossbow on a farm (Radio New Zealand, 2015:1).

In South Africa, trends show that livestock thieves take advantage of farms adjacent to national roads. Sometimes, fence wires are cut to allow the transport truck to drive through and load the animals (Louw-Carstens, 2015:1). Other perpetrators have brazenly and openly slaughtered livestock next to the road to load the meat as quick as possible (Viljoen, 2015:1). Livestock thieves are also known to sell stolen livestock at auctions across the country.

Livestock theft also takes place beyond the rural setting. Advances in technology make it possible for a criminal to commit a crime with relative ease, including livestock theft. In such cases, perpetrators may forge electronic ear-tags instead of altering livestock brands and sell stolen livestock fraudulently as their own (Austin, 2014:1). A case that appeared before the Magistrate's Court in 2017 was "believed to be the biggest case of sheep theft in the Eastern Cape". The perpetrator used social media platforms to advertise that he wanted to lease sheep for farming purposes. Details of the case specify that an agreement was reached between the accused and another party whereby the accused could sell the sheep's wool and their offspring, but it was agreed that the sheep remained on the property of the original owner. Contrary to the agreement, the accused sold the sheep and continued to lease the sheep from the new buyers. The case amounted to R10 million worth of stolen sheep (Kimberley, 2017:1). Media reports from the United States also suggest that fraud is a common occurrence in livestock theft cases. In 2015, a man and woman were arrested for writing fraudulent cheques for 298 cows valued at \$42 010. The investigators learned that these perpetrators wrote worthless checks at auctions to purchase cattle only to resell the livestock later (Tennessee (TN), 2015:1).

The abovementioned are only some of the cases that demonstrate the diversity of livestock theft offenders in carrying out their crimes, from the physical setting to the utilisation of technology. Cutting of wire fences, hacking livestock to pieces or swindling unsuspected livestock owners out of their income show that this is no more an ordinary offence, but has become a sophisticated crime.

2.5.2. The different "faces" of the livestock theft perpetrator

As with the varying methods in which perpetrators conduct their crimes, the perpetrators also differ in socio-economic status and other associated factors, such as age and gender (Dzimba & Matooane, 2005:59). Research on the rural criminal is also, if not more, understudied than rural crime.

The reported involvement of perpetrators in livestock theft include delinquents, unemployed individuals, police officers, farm employees and even extend to those who farm for a living (Bunei et al., 2016:52; Smith, Laing & McElwee, 2013:186). Inasmuch as the profiles of the perpetrators differ, they also give different reasons for their involvement in livestock theft.

Taking cattle raiding as an example, Bunei et al. (2016:50) outline the dimensions of cattle rustling by categorising it into three parts. The first category comprises cattle rustling that is localised and carried out for the purpose of obtaining food. Cattle rustling in this category is described as being “mostly petty” and often an opportunistic crime usually committed by local people. The second category is when cattle rustling is carried out for purposes of “capital accumulation”, in other words, for financial gain. Perpetrators within this category usually include locals and their allies. The third category is when cattle raids are carried out by syndicates, which include locals, cartels of agents, merchants and foreign accomplices. These emerging raids/thefts are carried out for monetary reward.

Former Head of the SAPS National Stock Theft Unit (NSTU), Col Oosthuizen (2014) believes that the perpetrators of livestock theft fall into four groups: those that steal and slaughter livestock for their own consumption; opportunists who financially benefit from the crime; individuals who kill livestock out of revenge; and individuals who form part of organised crime syndicates.

Manning et al. (2016:44) support the view that the stealing and slaughtering of animals is an organised activity where the sole purpose is to make a profit. The concern here is that many of these illegally slaughtered animals end up in the supply chain and are frequently used as a substitute for more expensive animal meat (Manning et al., 2016:45). The authors furthermore pose the question as to whether “food fraud” and “food crime” is committed by single individuals within a business setting or rather driven through organised criminal networks (Manning et al., 2016:45). They however suggest that a modeled typology should encompass both these individuals (within a business setting) and the broader organised criminal networks, since one model is not a “one size fits all” approach.

The notion that rural criminals are diverse in terms of their means and motives in perpetrating acts of crime that are related to the food chain industry is further supported in attempts to develop a working typology of rural criminality. Smith (2013:139) for instance, developed a working typology of rural criminal types specific to the UK. His findings reveal that rural

criminality is heterogeneous in nature and therefore it would be wrong to assume that rural offenders will follow the same patterns as they do in urban crime. Smith (2013) avers that criminals have more freedom in rural settings where police resources are scarce. This provides an opportunity for livestock thieves to continue their criminal operations without the fear of detection (Smith, 2013:139). Manning et al. (2016:46) posit that food crime is committed by groups and individuals that display different criminal and business *modi operandi*. They describe such perpetrators as “clandestine, stealthy, and actively seeking to avoid detection”.

The view exists that crimes on farms are mostly perpetrated by urban criminals rather than dishonest farmers. Limited research is available on the livestock owner or on the rural dweller as the criminal (Smith & McElwee, 2013:115, 129). Botes (2013:8) claims that the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations (UN) released a media statement in 2009 in which it referred to livestock theft as being perpetrated mostly by urban dwellers in the rural areas. The FAO is of the view that urban dwellers frequently have access to markets and can sell the meat relatively quickly to abattoirs. A study conducted in New South Wales, Australia, (Barclay et al. 2001:1) on property crime and victimisation on farms, revealed that there are community members who believe that crimes on farms are committed by outsiders – non-locals passing through the area. However, most of the findings indicate that the majority of the respondents believe that local persons who have the knowledge to commit the crime are to blame. Six percent of the respondents even believed their neighbours to be the perpetrators (Barclay et al., 2001:105-106).

Barclay et al. (2001:125) contend that many lower socio-economic groups who move to the rural communities are unemployed and, with limited job opportunities in these areas, often take advantage of the lower cost of living together. This criminogenic propensity is then supported by becoming involved in organised crime. In this study by Barclay et al. (2001), community members were asked to describe the profile of the offenders in their area. Forty percent of the respondents confirmed that the thefts were organised. The police officers who also participated in this study concurred, stating that large livestock and large machinery thefts are perpetrated by professional and organised criminals (Barclay et al., 2001:124). Consequently, further research into the farmer as a perpetrator is necessary if a broader profile of the perpetrator is sought.

“Insider” knowledge into the workings of the farming industry should not be ruled out. It is those individuals with the knowledge and skills on how to herd, slaughter and sell the animals and know where or to whom to sell their product that needs to be looked into (Bunei, et al., 2016:47). Exploring the involvement of females and the youth in acts of livestock theft is also a necessity. Findings from Bunei et al.’s (2013:83) study on the opinions and experiences of farmers on factors that influence farm crime in Kenya revealed that 58% of the respondents agreed that the role of gender plays an essential part in crime. Furthermore, the respondents perceived youth unemployment and those that drop out of school as contributory factors to farm crime (Bunei et al., 2013:83).

2.6. THE MOTIVES AND CAUSES

Developing a profile of the livestock theft perpetrator is important for several reasons. These include uncovering the perpetrators’ true motives and the causes of livestock theft. Some of these motives (i.e. profit, revenge, own consumption) and causes (i.e. limited job opportunities and unemployment) have been alluded to in section 2.5.2 of this Chapter. The possible motives and causes of livestock theft are further explored below.

2.6.1. Internal and external factors

In his study on the financial impact of sheep theft in the FS Province of South Africa, Lombard (2015:14) classified factors that affect livestock theft into internal and external factors. Internal factors refer to practices in preventing or detecting livestock theft, such as branding of livestock, keeping and maintaining a livestock register, community and police patrols, employee vetting, use of security guards, security measures taken on the farm, the utilisation of technology in the prevention of livestock theft and livestock theft insurance (Lombard, 2015:17-20). On the other hand, external factors encompass those variables that are difficult to exert control over. These include demographical factors (such as the ratio of men versus women) and topographical factors, such as the size of the farm and the distance from the nearest town (Lombard 2015:14). Using the abovementioned internal and external factors as a framework, the following known causes and motives of livestock are identified from the literature:

2.6.2. Substance abuse linked to unemployment as a social ill

Related crimes, such as drug abuse and unemployment, also increase the likelihood of livestock theft (Barclay et al., 2001:26; Lombard, 2015:15; Bunei et al., 2013:79). Barclay et al.'s (2001:26) review on international rural crime research points out that between 30 and 40% of cattle thefts in California are drug related.

Barclay et al.'s (2001:104) study also revealed that respondents cited unemployment (13%) and drugs (11%) as the underlying causes of crime on farms. US news articles suggest that perpetrators often steal cattle to feed their drug additions (Brandes, 2015:1; Porter, 2015:1; Stecklein, 2014:2). Brandes (2015:1) attests that the Oklahoma authorities often find the drug methamphetamine common among individuals who steal livestock. Arrest rates reveal that three out of four perpetrators are addicted. One group of suspects arrested included individuals as young as 16 to 22 years old. This group reportedly sold thousands of cattle over several months and made \$27 000 in one sale alone (Brandes, 2015:1). The link between livestock theft and drug crime is also evident in countries, such as Botswana, where drug and alcohol abuse is widespread among youth. Molefhi (2015:1) explains that unemployed youths from Botswana often collude with friends from South Africa to steal livestock and sell it for drug money. It is often the ease with which perpetrators can yield rewards from stolen livestock and exchange them to buy drugs and other substances (Kynoch et al., 2001:11) that encourage the youth to perpetrate these crimes.

2.6.3. Poverty linked to unemployment as economic factors

Poverty and unemployment are commonly cited as the leading causes of livestock theft. Kynoch et al. (2001:11) list unemployment and poverty as the most rated reasons for livestock theft among respondents in Lesotho. They also found that the level of livestock theft increases after poor harvests and in regions where unemployment is high. In regions where the prospect of youth employment is relatively low, livestock theft tends to be high. Dzimba and Matooane (2005:65) confirm that unemployment is the main cause of livestock theft. They contend that young unemployed men steal livestock, not out of hunger, but as a matter of pride.

As traditional providers for their families, these men are in danger of losing their pride as a result of unemployment and thus they resort to thieving of livestock to regain their status (Dzimba & Matoane, 2005:65). According to Bunei et al. (2013:85), findings suggest that the low wages of farm workers that cause their financial difficulties also increases the likelihood of livestock theft.

2.6.4. Geographical factors

The ease with which perpetrators have access to or dispose of the livestock also plays a part in livestock theft. The relative portability of livestock and rural properties that are easily accessible but isolated, are opportunities for offenders to commit livestock theft (Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:3; Smith et al., 2013:186). Barclay et al. (2001:105) also found that farms bordering main roads were the most vulnerable to farm crime. Focusing on the layout of properties and the geographical terrain, farmers were asked to describe the terrain of their properties. Those that described the terrain as “hilly” were more likely to experience livestock theft. Similarly, farmers whose farms were densely covered with vegetation also experienced a higher degree of livestock theft (Barclay & Donnermeyer, 2011:9).

2.6.5. Jealousy and revenge

Kynoch et al. (2001:12) found that livestock theft is also attributed to jealousy. People from Lesotho often steal livestock from their more affluent neighbours. Kynoch et al.’s (2001:12) study revealed that the poor often resent those that have accumulated a number of livestock. As previously alluded to by the former Head of the Provincial Stock Theft Unit in Gauteng, there are individuals who not only steal livestock for their own consumption or to enrich themselves financially, but who steal and kill livestock out of revenge (Oosthuizen, 2014).

Although not as prominent, such cases have been reported, even though the motive (i.e. jealousy and revenge) is not as clear as in other cases. The following case illustrates this: on 29 October 2016, a farmer witnessed 91 of his cattle as they lay dying after being poisoned. At first, the farmer thought the animals died of an illness but, after testing their fodder, he found compounds of zinc sulphide poisons. The farmer suspected he knew who was behind the poisoning but still had to prove it (Schormann, 2016:[sa]).

2.6.6. Financial enrichment

Considering the quick yield of cash derived from selling livestock, some perpetrators are known to utilise the opportunity for self-enrichment (Doorewaard et al., 2015:38). Perpetrators may utilise the money gained from the thefts in other ways than to enrich themselves. Gericke (2015:7) related how a syndicate that scammed farmers out of millions of Rands used some of the money to pay for its incarcerated accomplices' legal fees and to financially support the families of those who were breadwinners.

2.6.7. Other related factors

Other factors attributed to livestock theft include the proliferation of illegal firearms, marketing channels, owner negligence and competition for resources. Marketing channels refer to those channels, such as a demand for cheaper meat, that encourage the trade in stolen livestock. This includes events such as funerals, weddings and other communal celebrations that increase the demand for cheaper meat (Dzimba & Matooane, 2005:52). The accessibility of markets is also evident in countries such as Australia where it was found that stolen livestock are often disposed of via abattoirs, sale yards and feedlots (Barclay & Donnermeyer, 2011:7).

2.6.8. Shortcomings within the criminal justice system

Corruption within the criminal justice system is a growing trend in South Africa and the African continent (Davis, 2018:1; The Economist, 2017:2). Findings indicate that police officials are working together with criminals to steal property from farms (Donnermeyer, 2016:122). Donnermeyer (2016:122) states that the criminal justice systems within Africa are failing to support victims of livestock theft. Farmers are frustrated when perpetrators of rural crimes appear before the courts only to find that the sentences meted out fail to reflect the impact of the offenders' crimes (Case, 2017:1).

Proving cases in court remains a challenge as well. As discussed in Chapter 1, animal identification is difficult to prove if the animal is not branded. The court refutes owners calling animals by name or recognising them by colour. Some prosecutors also lack the necessary knowledge of the different technical terms (Pillay, 2016:1). In terms of sentencing, individuals found guilty of livestock theft in a district court are usually sentenced to a minimum of six months and a maximum of three years. In cases where the value is high, a regional court may

impose a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding 15 years, whereas a high court has no limit on sentencing, but only hears trials of such a nature in extreme cases. The highest sentence imposed thus far in South Africa for the offence of livestock theft was 80 years (Lombard, 2015:9; Louw-Carstens, 2015:1). However, in judiciary terms, this sentence equated to an effective 16 years term of imprisonment. Elsewhere, a man from East Texas, US was sentenced to 99 years in prison after defrauding his victims out of their cattle. Testimonies revealed that he had stolen approximately 2 097 head of cattle with an estimated worth of almost \$1 million (i.e. R18 million) over a period of four years (Blane, 2011:1-2).

The above-mentioned cases are, however in the extreme. Rarely do courts impose such high imprisonment sentences for livestock theft cases. Lombard (2015:9) suggests that factors, such as the number of livestock stolen, the worth of the animals, whether the offender has any previous convictions and whether the animals were recovered or not, affect the length of the sentence received. In 2014, an appeal case was heard by the High Court of South Africa where three appellants convicted of seven counts of stock theft by the Regional Court in Kirkwood, EC, appealed against their convictions. The court found that the appellants stole a total of 168 sheep from several farmers within the Kirkwood district over a period of two months. The first two appellants were sentenced to nine years imprisonment for five counts of stock theft and another five years imprisonment for the remaining two counts of stock theft. An effective sentence of 23 years was imposed. The third appellant, who also had a previous relevant offence, received a nine-year sentence of imprisonment for four counts of stock theft and another nine years imprisonment and two sentences of five years imprisonment. The sentences were to run consecutively, which meant that the appellant received an effective 28-year prison sentence. The High Court judge agreed that the theft was committed on a “grand-scale” and furthermore concurred with the Lower Court Magistrate that a lot of planning and preparation went into the commission of the crime. It is because of these features that the High Court judge found it difficult to find comparable cases on sentences involving stock theft, or for that matter, any other benchmark against which an appropriate sentence can be measured (*S v Maties and S v Pieterse* (130050, 130048) [2014] ZAECGHC 2 (23 October 2013)).

The problem is further exacerbated by the lack of legislation in sentencing perpetrators found guilty of livestock offences. Section 14 of the Stock Theft Act 57 of 1959 (DoJ & CD, 1959) provides that a court that is not a regional division may impose a fine or imprisonment for a period not exceeding three years. If a court is of a regional division, such a court may impose a

fine or imprisonment not exceeding 15 years. The High Court Judge in *S v Maties and S v Pieterse* (130050, 130048) [2014] ZAECGHC 2 (23 October 2013) found this troublesome. He stated that the Act does not allow for the district or regional courts to impose sentences for livestock theft over and above their normal sentencing jurisdiction. In order to resolve this issue, the High Court Judge focused his attention on applying the Zinn triad – considering the personal circumstances of the offender(s), the nature and seriousness of the offense(s) and the interests of society. In such cases, the value of a criminological assessment and profile of the individual offender (in the form of a pre-sentence report, for example) can assist the courts, law enforcement and correctional management.

2.7. A CRIMINOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT AND PROFILING OF LIVESTOCK THEFT

Criminologists' roles and functions extend beyond merely explaining crime, criminality and victimisation and the prevention thereof. Hesselink (2012a:196) asserts that criminologists are "multi-dimensional behavioural specialists, forecasters and scientists". As educated professionals in crime and criminality, they are able to analyse, explain and understand what influences criminal tendencies and under what conditions crime is likely to thrive. Further, when profiling known or unknown criminals, criminologists evaluate the offenders' steps and the process and choices made in the commission of the crime. Criminologists are therefore able to predict the likelihood of future offences and their levels of danger, are skilled in interpreting research findings to prevent crime and examining various methods to reduce future risk (Hesselink, 2012a:197). Such findings are based on empirical research conducted by the criminologist through the assessment and profiling of the offender's risks, needs and behavioural characteristics.

Doorewaard et al. (2015:37) emphasise the importance of criminological profiling and assessment of offenders as a valuable tool in the prediction and rehabilitation of criminal behaviour. Such assessments are not only limited to explaining violent crimes, such as rape or murder, but can also apply to economic offences such as livestock theft. The main function of a criminological assessment lies in the identification, analysis and examination of the following factors (Doorewaard, 2017:55; Hesselink, 2012a:202):

- criminal behaviour (such as criminal history);
- the offenders' involvement in the crime (i.e. instigator of theft or transporter of livestock);

- the motives (i.e. financial greed) and causes (i.e. unemployment) that lead to the commission of the crime;
- the precursors/triggers (i.e. frustration) that instigated the offender's reason for committing the crime;
- the modus operandi (i.e. planning of the offence and use of weapons);
- victim selection (such as the offender-victim relationship and characteristics of the victim);
- identifying the conditions (i.e. unemployment and substance abuse) that lead to the crime; and
- under what circumstances the offender is likely to re-offend (high-risk situations).

Based on a literature review and the analysis of three documented court cases on livestock theft, Doorewaard et al. (2015:40) show the potential in the assessment (and criminological profiling) of offenders found guilty of livestock theft offences. The authors portray the motives, causes and contributory factors specific to each of the three individuals and conclude that livestock theft is an economically viable crime, irrespective of whether it is committed out of need or greed. The potential of such assessments (conducted on livestock theft offenders) is further accentuated in its contributory value to law enforcement by identifying known and unknown offence-specific (i.e. livestock theft) and offender-specific (i.e. male characteristics), the judicial system (i.e. pre-sentencing reports) and corrections (the management and rehabilitation of the sentenced offenders).

2.8. CONCLUSION

In reviewing the literature on livestock theft, cognisance is taken of the relatively few studies written on the perpetrators. To identify the gaps within the research on livestock theft, it is necessary to identify the different trends, patterns and findings in relation to this crime. In this case, attention was focused on livestock theft and cattle raiding, not as an isolated occurrence specific to certain countries, but as a global phenomenon.

Findings indicate that, in the traditional sense, cattle raiding is linked to cultural practices where cattle are viewed as a source of wealth. Yet, in so-called modern times, cattle raiding has become commercialised due to the increase in small arms and internal conflict.

It has also become an opportunity for businessmen to make money from the growing populations' demand for meat. The raiding of cattle in these regions is characterised by political warfare, killing and destruction of property. Similarly, cattle raids and smuggling are also found in countries such as India, the UK, NZ, Australia and the USA. Although the dynamics may differ from one country to another, livestock theft remains a concern for many of these countries. The nature of this crime has also escalated into organised crime tendencies.

In South Africa, the picture is no different. It is clear from the literature that there is room for more research. Information on the livestock theft perpetrators is specifically lacking. Examining research on rural crime and livestock theft as well as media reports on livestock theft cases, findings reveal that these perpetrators come from different socio-economic backgrounds. They also differ in terms of age, race and gender. There are also different viewpoints on whether the rural crime offender is more likely to be an urban dweller, an outsider passing through the area, or residing within the rural community.

Likewise, there are various causes and motives attributed to livestock theft. Perpetrators use varying methods in conducting crimes of livestock theft that range from physical taking of livestock to defrauding unsuspecting owners. More concerning is the challenges and shortcomings within the criminal justice system in combating livestock theft. Law enforcement finds it difficult to reach certain geographical areas where the terrain is rugged and almost inaccessible. The courts, on the other hand, have very little to go by in meting out appropriate sentences for offenders found guilty of livestock theft, as no definite benchmark exists, and the Stock Theft Act 57 of 1959 fails as a guideline. This can further impede the correctional management and rehabilitation of these offenders.

CHAPTER 3

A CRIMINOLOGICAL EXPOSITION OF LIVESTOCK THEFT

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of theory is to provide an explanation for the occurrence of a phenomenon, such as livestock theft and, in addition, to develop and test possible solutions to problems that emanate from this crime (Van der Westhuizen, 2011:122; Case, Johnson, Manlow, Smith & William, 2017:318; Williams & McShane, 2014:2). According to Williams and McShane (2014:10), theory is a logical starting point in the search for strategies to improve the criminal justice system (for example, detecting, apprehending and convicting perpetrators of livestock theft). Criminological theories are based on scientific (valid and tested) research. Their goal is to accurately explain the causes of crime (i.e. livestock theft) and criminal behaviour (i.e. modus operandi of the perpetrator) (Siegel, 2018:99). The objective of this chapter is to give an exposition of relevant criminological theories that can be applied to explain how and why livestock theft occurs.

3.2. GROUPING OF THEORIES

Criminological theories can be grouped in a variety of ways, depending on whether they explain crime and criminal behaviour by focusing on individual traits (i.e. impulsivity, hyperactivity), sociological explanations (i.e. social class, inequality), the environment (i.e. disorganised neighbourhoods) or a combination of these (Cullen & Agnew, 2011:4; Tibbetts, 2019:[sa]). To explain livestock theft from a criminological perspective, a selected number of theories have been identified that deal with environmental and social perspectives. The environmental dimension focuses on how livestock theft occurs and the sociological theoretical approach explains why individuals commit livestock theft and what predisposes this behaviour. Rather than explaining each of the theories in its entirety, each theory presented in this chapter will be discussed by focusing on the core beliefs and elements of the theory. These theories should not be viewed as separate entities therefore each theory will be discussed within its respective paradigm (i.e. environment and sociological dimensions). They will then be combined to formulate a core explanation (matrix) as it pertains to the findings of this study to explain livestock theft (refer to Chapter 7 of this study).

3.3. THE ENVIRONMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

Clack (2015b:95) points out that livestock theft occurs within a specific rural environment (i.e. grazing fields and kraals) that are geographically isolated places that are removed from assistive prevention resources (i.e. policing services). In turn, it is the isolated nature of some of these agricultural properties that make them an easy target for perpetrators (Doorewaard, 2016:30).

Environmental criminology, which contends that there must be an opportunity for a person to commit a crime, is described by Wortley and Townsley (2016:1) as a “family of theories that share a common interest in criminal events and the immediate circumstances in which they occur”. Environmental criminology, in other words, is a theoretical framework consisting of a set of contemporary criminological perspectives (such as the routine activity, crime pattern, rational choice and social disorganisation theories) to understand the spatial and temporal dimensions of crime (Andresen, 2016:1). This ecology of crime dates back to the earliest works of spatial criminology contributors such as Andre-Michel Guerry (1833), Adolphe Quetelet (1842), John Glyde (1856) and Ernest Burgess (1916) (Andresen, 2014:6-8). According to Hass, Moloney and Chambliss (2017:[sa]), environmental criminology was established to address communities’ deteriorating conditions as they contribute to high crime rates.

Environmental criminology theorists study the occurrence of crime within a particular area or location by means of crime mapping and identifying spatial crime patterns. The proponents of environmental criminology study both crime and criminals by focusing on the specific places where crime is most likely to occur and by looking at the ways in which individuals or groups respond to the probable or actual threats at such locations (Winfree & Abadinsky, 2017:102).

Wortley and Townsley (2016:2) aver that the environmental perspective rests on three perspectives, namely, that the criminal behaviour is influenced by the nature of its immediate environment, that the distribution of crime in time and space does not occur randomly and that understanding the role of criminogenic environments and being aware of the way crime occurs (patterns) are essential in the investigation, control and prevention of crime. This perspective believes that the relationship between crime and place occurs on a macro (between countries or provinces within a country), meso- (sub-areas of a city) and micro-levels (specific crime areas such as buildings) (Wortley & Townsley, 2016:3-6).

Thus, a crime, such as livestock theft, does not occur randomly, but occurs between countries or provinces, sub-areas (rural) and within a particular place (i.e. a farm). Crime and place theories can be further divided into those that focus on the development of the offender and those that explain the development of criminal events (Clack, 2015b:94). Focusing on the development of criminal events to explain how livestock theft occurs within the environmental context, three environmental criminology theories explain agricultural crime (Barclay & Donnermeyer, 2011:2; Clack, 2015b:94; 2019:3). These are routine activity, rational choice and crime pattern theories.

3.3.1. Routine Activity Theory

The routine activity theory or lifestyle theory is a contemporary theory that emerged from the Classical School of Thought. Developed in the late 1970s by Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson in an attempt to put together a number of theoretical ideas and empirical findings to gain a clearer insight into the fate of crime victims (Winfree & Abadinsky, 2017:31), routine activity theory explains how structural changes in routine activity patterns influence crime rates when three elements of predatory acts become intertwined in time and space (Newburn, 2017:70; Tibbetts, 2019:[sa]). These elements are: suitable targets, absent guardians and a motivated offender. When these three elements, suitable targets (i.e. livestock), absent guardians (such as owners or herdsman) and a motivated offender (the livestock perpetrator) come together in time and space, the likelihood of a crime, such as livestock theft, to occur is increased. This is explained as follows:

3.3.1.1. The motivated offender

The livestock theft perpetrator may be motivated by numerous related factors to steal livestock (see Figure 1 on page 55). The main reason for the occurrence of livestock theft is the crime's lucrative nature (Ghosh, 2014:2; Içli, Seydioğullari, Tatlıdil, Çoban, Sever & Süeroğlu, 2010:647; KZNDCSL, 2008:11; Nyahongo & Røskoft, 2012:155). As indicated in Figure 1, the financial incentive that livestock theft yields is used to treat other needs, for example, feeding a drug habit, buying ammunition or alleviating poverty and unemployment (Dzimba & Matooane, 2005:57; Eller, 2015:3). Other than stealing livestock for personal use or own consumption (Clack, 2013a:82), livestock are more than a source of food.

They signify wealth and self-respect, and influence and forge negotiations (Impumelelo, 2008:33; Osama, 2000:20). In addition to the financial element that theft provides, perpetrators may also steal to overcome boredom and instil a sense of excitement and adventure into their lives (Içli et al., 2010:642).

3.3.1.2 A suitable target

The second element of the theoretical perspective of routine activity is that there must be a suitable target for the motivated offender, in this case, livestock. The suitability of a target is based on four criteria, namely, value, inertia, visibility and access. When applied to livestock theft, the following questions emerge: What is the value of the livestock to the perpetrator? Can the livestock be taken? How visible and how accessible are the livestock to the perpetrator? (Newburn, 2017:307). The answers to these are below.

Livestock is a commodity that does not lose value hence, the monetary value of livestock, as a suitable target, is what attracts most perpetrators. In 2013, Clack (2015b:98) studied 10 reported livestock theft cases. Within the period that he studied, a total of 181 cattle were stolen, which estimated to a total monetary value of R2 311 600. This is indicative of the value that livestock holds for the perpetrators. Secondly, the ease with which some of the livestock can be taken, that is, how accessible and moveable the suitable target is to the perpetrator, is illustrated by the way in which the perpetrators operate. Doorewaard (2015b:52) reveals that there are various methods employed by perpetrators to appropriate livestock. For instance, fences adjacent to main roads will often be cut to allow a truck direct access to the livestock (Louw-Carstens, 2015:1). Perpetrators will also hide on farms and set up wire traps to ensnare moving cattle or use mobile kraals and ramps to gather livestock (Schlechter, 2014:1). In terms of the visibility of the suitable target, livestock are often seen grazing along main roads. The KZNDCSL (2008:11) reports that some farmers allow their livestock to wander (often unattended) in search of sufficient grazing land which makes the animals susceptible to theft. Furthermore, the geographical layout and the lack of security on some farms make livestock easily accessible for perpetrators. Lombard (2015:16) discloses a positive correlation between the size of a farm and the level of livestock theft. He explains that large farms, farms with hills and farms that have densely covered areas experience more livestock theft.

This enables perpetrators to hide and avoid detection more easily and, when coupled with the absence of a capable guardian, the theft of livestock is more probable. Thus, livestock is considered a suitable target for its high financial incentive (value), and the ease with which the animals can be taken.

3.3.1.3 An absent guardian

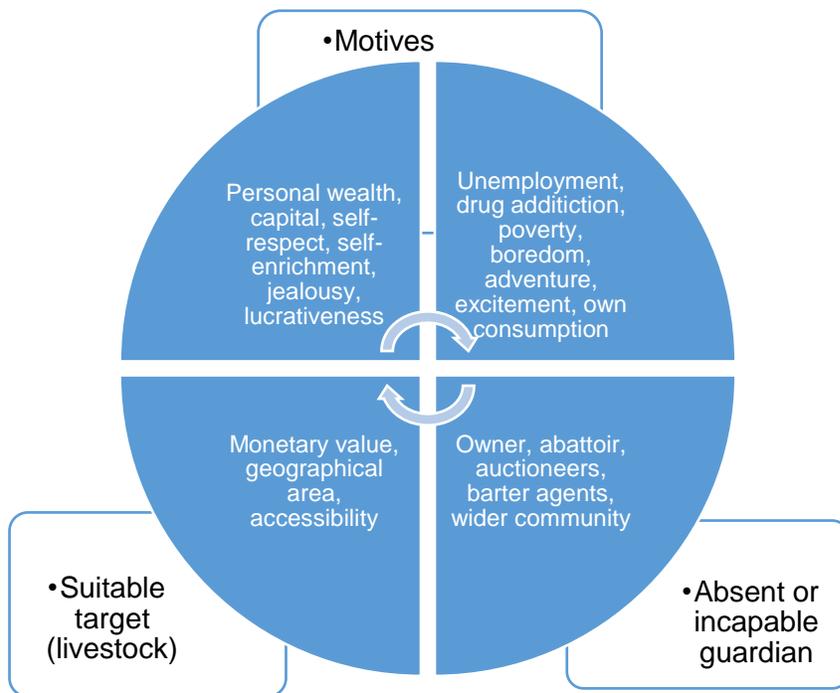
The guardian of the target does not only refer to the owners or victims, but can include the police or neighbours. In the case of livestock theft, Clack (2015b:102) mentions that there are a number of other role players, other than the owner, that are required to perform a function of guardianship. These role players (guardians) include abattoirs, auctioneers and barter agents. According to Siegel (2016:77), if valuable targets are properly guarded, even the most motivated offender will be deterred from pursuing the target. In terms of livestock theft, findings from Clack's (2015b:102) study show that none of the owners lived on the farms from where the cattle were taken, they were all either part-time farmers or communal farmers. Secondly, abattoirs and auctioneers, and even livestock traders, either directly or indirectly allow livestock theft to occur when they can act as a barrier to such commissions. Where community members are concerned, the KZNDCSL (2008:14) believes that, in some instances, perpetration of livestock theft begins with community members and ends with individuals who aid in the final sale and purchase of stolen livestock. The KZNDCSL (2008:14) further suggests that abattoirs assist in the slaughtering of stolen livestock, either knowingly or after being presented with false documentation. In more organised cases, perpetrators will sell stolen livestock at auctions or other ready markets (Jones, 2010:38; KZNDCSL, 2008:15).

Thus, the lack of a formal livestock regulating system, which also acts as an absent guardian, further impedes livestock theft prevention. On the other hand, Dzimba and Matookane (2005:22) purport that auctions that are also guardians of livestock, are experiencing less support from buyers and sellers. Criminals are attracted by such informal channels where owners are eager to part with the livestock (Gericke, 2015:7; Van Zyl, 2015:12). One such case, is the suicide of a man exposed to a Ponzi type scheme in the Eastern Cape. The perpetrator, instead of allowing the owners' cattle to graze and reproduce on his land, sold them to a businessman resulting in livestock owners losing millions of Rands (Carlisle, 2016:1).

Hence, if the role players that are supposed to act as guardians of livestock do not abide by the law in terms of the Stock Theft Act No. 57 of 1959, the Agricultural Produce Agents Act No. 12 of 1992, the Animal Identification Act No. 6 of 2002 (Clack, 2015b:102) or side step formal channels, nothing will prevent the motivated perpetrator from stealing an already easy accessible and highly valued target.

Figure 1 illustrates the interconnection between each element of the routine activity theory:

Figure 1: Routine activity elements



(Sources: Barclay, et al., 2001:125; Dzimba & Matoane, 2005:57; Khoabane & Black, 2009:7; Kynoch et al., 2001:12; Osama, 2000:15, 20)

Examples of what can motivate a livestock theft perpetrator to steal livestock are under “motives” in Figure 1. To prevent livestock theft from occurring, each of these elements need to be addressed. Following the routine activity theories’ explanation of how livestock theft occurs, the next theory, rational choice, further addresses the offender’s decision-making process in carrying out criminal acts.

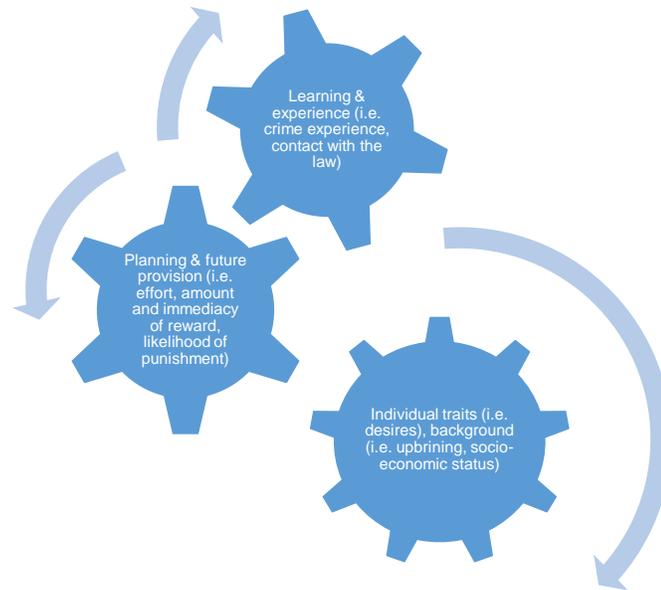
3.3.2. Rational Choice Theory

Another theory to emerge from the Classic School of Thought is rational choice theory. Promoted by Derek Cornish and Ronald Clark in their work on the reasoning criminal in 1986, rational choice theory explains how criminals make decisions about their involvement in crime (Taylor, 2016:2016). These theorists purport that offenders seek to personally gain maximum utility (i.e. seek pleasure and avoid pain) from their criminal behaviour by weighing up the costs and benefits of committing the crime (Winfrey & Abadinsky, 2017:29). So, crime manifests as a result of the perpetrator's decision of whether or not to commit a crime. This decision is influenced by the costs (i.e. getting caught) and benefits (i.e. earning money), as well as the offender's personal (i.e. moral view) and situational (i.e. poverty) factors (Cullen & Agnew, 2011:400; Siegel, 2016:99). According to the rational choice perspective, the offender's decision-making process occurs in two phases, namely, the initial involvement and event stage (Taylor, 2016:216). These phases are discussed below.

3.3.2.1 The initial involvement

The offender's decision as to whether to engage in crime takes place within the initial involvement stage, which is dependent on a range of factors and motivations. As illustrated in Figure 2 overleaf, factors that have a bearing on the offender's decision to engage in crime include the offender's learning and past experience (i.e. previous committed crimes and contact with the law), planning (such as time constraints) and future provision (i.e. a need for money), as well as individual traits, such as impulsiveness, and a number of background factors, for example, childhood upbringing and socio-economic status (Taylor, 2016:217).

Figure 2: The initial involvement phase



(researcher's illustration, 2019)

To demonstrate, a livestock theft perpetrator may decide to commit the crime based on his/her learning and experiences, such as the risks involved (i.e. probability of punishment), whether he or she has previously committed such a crime or the perpetrator's personal need to satisfy, for example, a need for money or to take revenge (Siegel, 2018:106). In this regard, Siegel (2018:106) conveys that, for some people, choosing to commit crime can alleviate a desire for social (i.e. prestige of owning livestock), economic (i.e. financial wealth) and psychological (i.e. alleviate poverty) benefits. Greiner (2013:234) suggests that livestock theft perpetrators are motivated by factors such as poverty, marginalisation, revenge and a desire for prestige and quick money. Further findings on property crime believe that such crimes tend to occur as a result of offenders' low education, lack of occupational skills and alcohol or drug addiction (Içli et al., 2010:640). Once the offender has decided to commit a crime, he or she then moves onto the criminal event.

3.3.2.2 The criminal event phase

The criminal event is based on weighing the potential pitfalls (i.e. punishment) and the potential value (i.e. financial incentive) of committing the crime (Siegel, 2018:106). When the offender has made the decision to commit a crime, he or she must choose which type of crime to commit (i.e. livestock theft). This decision is influenced by the offender's immediate situation. For example, having a desperate need for money or being out with friends who suggest stealing cattle. The offender then selects a target (for example, a specific farm) based on the costs of being sighted and apprehended in relation to the benefits, for example, easy access to the farm (Wortley & Townsley, 2016:27). Williams and McShane (2014:200) and Case et al. (2017:332) explain that the criminal event comprises tactics and demands placed on the offender to carry out the crime. They state that, if the tactics are easy (such as having easy access to the farm), the potential benefit of stealing the livestock increases, while carrying out the crime is more difficult when there are more risks involved (for example, getting caught). Hence, the decision to get involved in the crime loses its benefits. For example, livestock theft perpetrators may base their decision to steal certain types of livestock, such as cattle or sheep, which might be determined by their value, demand, portability and saleability (Dzimba & Matoane, 2005:22; KZNDCSL, 2008:11). In Lesotho, it was found that sheep are much more preferred by livestock perpetrators due to the sheer number of sheep available and because it is easier to sell them at a lower price range (Dzimba & Matoane, 2005:43), whereas cattle has a higher monetary value, making it a lucrative attraction for financially driven perpetrators (Clack, 2015b:98; Doorewaard et al., 2015:38).

3.3.2.3 Evaluating Rational Choice Theory and Routine Activity Theory

Rational choice and routine activity theories have illustrated the occurrence of livestock theft however, Weisburd, Eck, Braga, Telep and Cave (2016:44) aver that the rational choice perspective, on its own, is not strong enough to explain crime, especially when trying to answer the question of how offenders select targets within a geographical area. It is furthermore proposed that theories, such as rational choice, fail to explain offender motivation and that these theories do not place much emphasis on the structural conditions (i.e. education, poverty or greed) within which the decision-making occurs (Newburn, 2017:315). In defence, Wortley and Townsley (2016:39) contend that these theories' main aim was not to set out a complete explanation of criminal behaviour, but rather to prevent criminal behaviour.

The theories have provided practical and policy-relevant suggestions to curb crime by introducing, for example, the concept of “choice-structuring” properties. The term suggests that crimes vary in terms of features and requirements, such as availability and accessibility of targets, knowledge needed to carry out the crime and skills and resources required (Wortley & Townsley, 2016:40). Thus, understanding the different choice-structuring properties of crimes (i.e. livestock theft versus burglary), situational measures (such as target-hardening) can be introduced to limit offenders’ continuity (or displacement) in committing a particular crime such as livestock theft (Natarajan, 2016:942; Wortley & Townsley, 2016:40).

3.3.3. Crime Pattern Theory

The crime pattern theory was developed by environmental crime theorists Paul and Patricia Brantingham (1993 cited in Clark & Felson, 2017:259) from multidisciplinary approaches in order to interpret patterns formed by the complexities of crime events. Eloff and Prinsloo (2009:25) emphasise that the crime pattern theory is a combination of a number of concepts within the movement of criminology that focus on the criminal event, patterns of crime and the behaviour of the criminal. This theory forms a comprehensive meta-theory of crime by combining both routine activity and rational choice theories (Andresen, 2014:87; Wortley & Townsley, 2016:79). The focus is on the interaction between the offender and his or her social and physical environment and how this interaction influences the pattern of criminal events over time and space (Clack, 2015b:95). Wortley and Mazerolle (2008:79) contend that patterns of crime are guided by rules, namely,

- as individuals move through a series of activities (i.e. looking for work), decisions are made;
- people do not function as individuals, but have a network of family and friends;
- when individuals make decisions independently, decision processes and crime templates can be treated in a summative fashion (i.e. decision to commit crime in a particular area);
- individuals or networks of individuals commit crimes when there is a triggering event (i.e. opportunity) and a process (i.e. gathering of information) by which an individual can locate a target;
- individuals have a range of daily activities;
- people who commit crimes have normal spatio-temporal movement patterns (i.e. visiting friends) like everyone else;

- potential targets and victims have passive or active locations (i.e. farms) that intersect the activity spaces of the potential offenders; and
- the prior seven rules operate within the built urban form.

These rules apply to individual offenders, networks of offenders and aggregations of individual offenders and are explained below.

3.3.3.1 Activity nodes and pathways

Offenders, just like non-criminals, follow routines that guide them to and from destinations along certain paths (Weisburd et al., 2016:45). The crime pattern theory avers that the offender has a range of daily routines (i.e. going to work or a mall) that occur between different nodes (i.e. places) of activity and paths (i.e. walkways and transit systems). This repetitive travel pattern is learned on a continuous basis until it becomes entrenched and requires little thought (Wortley & Mozerolle, 2008:80). The location of the crime can then intersect with the normal activity space of the offender, as in the case where a potential offender works on the farm (see for example, Katongomara, 2014:1). The potential target (i.e. cattle) then becomes the actual target when the potential offender is willing to commit a crime that has been triggered by an event (i.e. such as becoming unemployed) and when the potential target fits in with the offender's crime template (Wortley & Mozerolle, 2008:84). Wortley and Mozerolle (2008:89) purport that offenders are likely to commit their initial crimes near their learned path, especially repeat offenders. They also contend that crime can either be committed by outsiders or those living nearby. Willing offenders will travel relatively long distances to target a known location. Despite research (see Lammers, Menting, Ruiters & Bernasco, 2015:311) showing that, for example, repeat burglary offenders chose to commit their crimes at places near each other (because their initial crime provided them with the knowledge of the area), the targets were easily accessible, and the pathways of livestock theft perpetrators differed. As Clack (2015b:97) explains, some livestock theft perpetrators are commuters (who travel distances to commit crimes) because livestock are not available in urban areas as they are in rural areas. Livestock offenders have been known to travel long distances to steal livestock, where they load the animals onto trucks and drive them to auctions or to other buyers several kilometres from the location of the crime (Schlechter, 2014:1; Phillips, 2019:1). Rural perpetrators are also known to be familiar with the operations of the rural industry and have the necessary skills (i.e. how to transport livestock) and knowledge of the market (i.e. value of livestock) (Eller, 2015:2; Smith & McElwee, 2013:115).

3.3.3.2 Target selection

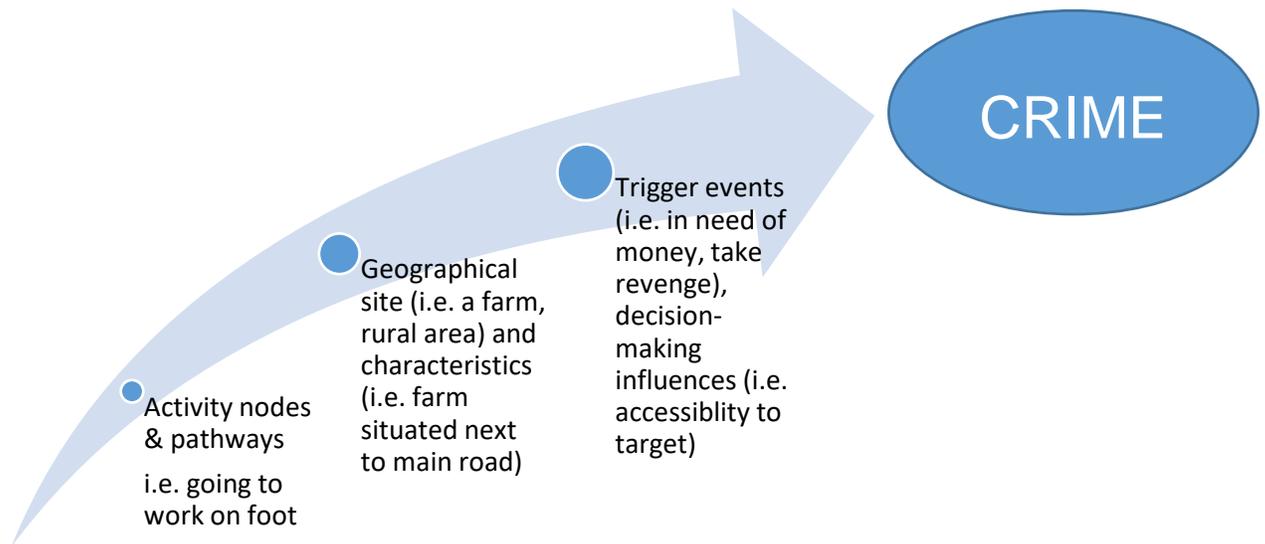
Having established that offenders move through a series of routines along pathways that may lead them to a potential target, the potential target can become the actual target based on the geographical explanation of the site and situational characteristics of the place itself (Weisburd et al., 2016:38). Weisburd et al. (2016:38) add another explanation that some places are more easily targeted than others, known as the “boost” explanation. They state that an offender may come across a place (such as a house or farm) without having a criminal intent at first, but then realise that there are potential things to steal, hence, there is an incentive for the criminal to return. Thus, the site and its situational characteristics can attract a potential offender and be flagged as a potential target. Examples may include the accessibility of a place or being densely covered with bushes which will make detection difficult for any witness, such as a bystander or an owner. The geographical situations of farms make them an attractive target due to their remoteness (Ceccato, 2016:260). Barclay et al. (2001:91) notes that, the greater the distance (for example from a town), the higher the likelihood that livestock theft will occur. Also, farms described as having a more “hilly” terrain, as opposed to a flat terrain were more likely to be victims of livestock theft.

3.3.3.3 The triggering event and deciding factor

The relationship between the offender’s actions and an opportunity for a crime to occur is dependent on what is known as the “triggering event”. Andresen (2014:87) explains that the triggering event (the motivation) to commit a crime can be either simple or complex. It can be spawned out of anger, revenge or to fulfil an economic or emotional need, for example, desperation or greed and can occur when the offender is alone or in a group. It can have an immediate effect (committing the crime spontaneously) or give rise to another decision, for example, committing the crime at a later stage (planning). Thus, a crime, such as livestock theft, is committed as a result of a trigger event (i.e. need for money, survival or revenge) and when the located target (i.e. easy access to a farm on the offender’s path) fits in with the decision to engage in crime. If the crime is successful, the crime template (decision) is reinforced, and if unsuccessful, the criminal will adapt his or her method to overcome the failure or difficulty previously experienced during the commission of the crime (Wortley & Mozerolle, 2008:81). Livestock perpetrators are known to hide stolen livestock while waiting for transport or to keep them out of sight (Guy, 2016:2; Viljoen, 2014:6). This is indicative of the perpetrators’

consciously making a decision and knowing how to adapt their modus operandi to execute the crime successfully. The relevance of the crime pattern theory to explain how livestock theft occurs within a geographical area is illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Crime pattern theory relevance



(researcher's illustration, 2019)

To summarise figure 3, the perpetrator moves through a series of activity nodes and pathways. The process becomes instilled in the perpetrator's daily routine (i.e. visiting friends or looking for work). The perpetrator might also be familiar with a farm that has promising characteristics (i.e. being situated close to a main road where livestock are clearly visible). The potential target becomes part of the perpetrator's awareness space. Borrowing from the rational choice perspective, the crime pattern theory avers that perpetrators go through a process of decision-making, which is based on a number of attributes and influences (such as past learning experiences and motives). This, together with the potential opportunity that the geographical site provides, creates conditions conducive for the occurrence of livestock theft.

3.3.3.4 Evaluating Crime Pattern Theory

As with routine activity and rational choice theories, the crime pattern theory does not place emphasis on why offenders commit crime but focuses more on the spatial movement of offenders (Gialopsos & Carter, 2015:54). According to Van Sleeuwen, Ruiters and Menting

(2018:539), by focusing on the spatial movement and choices of offenders, the crime pattern theory does not address the timing of these choices. Nonetheless, the crime pattern theory is an explanation of how crime patterns dominate in both urban and rural areas. It contributes towards crime reduction interventions and designs by looking at crime locations and considering both the offender and his or her network of friends and their routine activity spaces and how they intersect with the activity spaces of victims and targets as in the case of livestock theft (Eloff & Prinsloo, 2009:25; Wortley & Townsley, 2016:91).

3.4. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

As with the environmental explanation on “how” livestock theft occurs, the sociological context focuses on “why” livestock theft occurs. The sociological perspective believes that crime occurs as a result of societal conditions (i.e. socio-economic deprivation) that push or pull a person to unlawful behaviour. The sociological criminological perspective emerged during the 19th century when theorists started to use social data to scientifically study changes taking place within society (Siegel, 2016:181). In other words, the root of crime lies within societal structures rather than the individual (Hass et al., 2017:[sa]). Examples of theories that fall within this perspective are strain and social theories, such as the general strain theory, social learning theory and control theory, with techniques of neutralisation (Cullen & Agnew, 2011:7; Henry & Lanier, 2018:87, 109). Strain and learning theories respectively believe that a person is pressured or pulled into crime, whereas control theories focus on the person’s motivation and self-control or lack thereof, such as a person’s inability to regulate his/her impulse to give into the temptations of crime. For instance, if a person is unemployed (pressure), crime acts as an attractive (pull) opportunity as a means to acquire money (Agnew, 2016:181; Britt & Gottfredson, 2017:2; Henry & Lanier, 2018:110).

3.4.1. General Strain Theory

In 1992, Robert Agnew expanded and revised prior strain theories that included the works of Merton (1938), Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) (in Brezina, 2017:1). The idea behind the concept is that strain leads to frustration and resentment, which leads to different reactions in people, for example, to either conform to social rules and continue with their daily lives or turn to unconventional avenues, such as crime, to pursue their desires (Hass et al., 2017:[sa]). The general strain theory contends that social-psychological and individual-level

influences create strain, for example, a person's inability to achieve his/her desired goals (i.e. failure to find employment), losing something of value (i.e. theft of valued property or loss of parental love) or being mistreated by others (i.e. negative relations with parents or teachers) (Brezina, 2017:2; Henry & Lanier, 2018:155). In contrast to other strain theories, such as Merton's theory of anomie, which explains how lower-class strain is produced within interclass socio-economic differences, such as poverty and wealth, the general strain theory views strain as an individual phenomenon (Siegel, 2016:201).

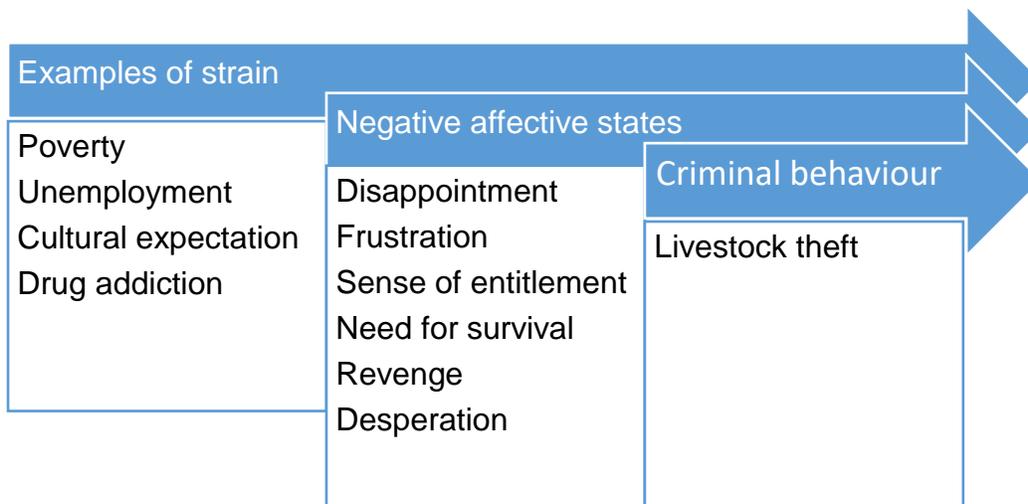
Simply stated, the general strain theory purports that people commit crime as a result of the strain or stressors that they experience, such as a need for money or because of a perceived wrong against them (i.e. revenge). Thus, crime is seen as a way to cope with or to relieve strain (Cullen & Agnew, 2011:190; Henry & Lanier, 2018:155). The more intense and frequent the strain (i.e. poverty and unemployment), the greater the impact and the more likely the person will engage in crime. According to Cullen and Agnew (2011:192), such strains are likely to result in crime when they are of a high magnitude, seen as unjust, associated with low social control and if they create pressure or an incentive to engage in criminal action. Examples include factors such as parental rejection, harsh or abusive discipline, negative school experiences, chronic unemployment, poorly paid work, unpleasant jobs, marital problems, homelessness, money, masculine status and an inability to achieve certain goals (Henry & Lanier, 2018:156). In other words, as these types of strains increase, strong negative feelings, such as disappointment, anger and frustration, are elicited and, as a result, a person's ability to cope legally is decreased. A disposition to crime is incited when a person's ability to perceive the consequences (i.e. punishment) of engaging in crime is reduced as a result of the increased strain (Siegel, 2016:201).

The theory further proposes that, if more crime is committed among lower class citizens, it is a result of strain as a product of a lower-class lifestyle (i.e. poverty) (Siegel, 2016:201). Those who are unable to cope with the strain may turn to criminal acts to relieve pressures caused by negative affective states, such as disappointment, frustration or anger (Siegel, 2016:203). Strain refers to certain events (i.e. losing one's job) and conditions (i.e. being chronically unemployed) that are disliked by the person. Agnew (2016:185) states that these events and conditions fall into three groups: the inability to achieve valued goals (i.e. aspirations for wealth), the loss of positively valued stimuli (i.e. divorce) and the presentation of negative stimuli (i.e. stressful life events such as unemployment).

Siegel (2016:203) adds that, if a person is impulsive, lacks positive attachments, such as law-abiding friends and family, and has low constraints (i.e. the ability to resist the temptation of crime), such a person is more likely to react to such strain by engaging in crime as a means to cope.

Livestock theft is committed for survival or to satisfy a need for financial accumulation (Clack, 2013a:80), revenge, status or prestige (Doorewaard et al., 2015:38; Osama, 2000:15). The strain that these perpetrators experience – whether it is related to poverty or a need to get rich quickly – propels them to find ways to relieve the strain through criminal coping mechanisms. This also applies to livestock theft that becomes a means to cope with such strains. Figure 4 provides an exposition of how certain strains can lead to affected states which result in the offender engaging in livestock theft.

Figure 4: General strain theory exposition related to livestock theft



(Source: Researcher’s own illustration adapted from Siegel, 2018:211)

A number of news reports (see for example Aleu & Mach, 2016:1; Molefhi, 2015:1; Nkambule, 2014:1; Zanamwe, 2016:1) and studies (Barclay et al., 2001:125; Dzimba & Matoona, 2005:42; Greiner, 2013:234; Kynoch et al., 2001:12; KZNDCSL, 2008:11; Osama, 2000:23) highlight various motives for the occurrence of livestock theft. These reasons reveal several potential strains experienced by the perpetrators. Within the African culture, this includes traditional bride payments (known as lobola). South Sudan men feel that they have no other option to

accumulate wealth other than stealing cattle (Aleu & Mach, 2016:1). Other factors such as poverty, unemployment and drug addiction (Barclay et al., 2001:125; Dzimba & Matoona, 2005:65; Greiner, 2013:234; Khoabane & Black, 2009:7) are also potential sources of strain experienced by perpetrators. These sources of strain can lead to feelings of disappointment, frustration, a need for survival, revenge and desperation (Siegel, 2016:203) which, in turn, may lead to livestock theft to alleviate these and other strains. Smith and McElwee (2013:127) concur that economic crime is often committed by offenders to alleviate or prevent deterioration of their economic and social standing. Other motives, such as drug addiction, may force users to get involved in theft to attain quick money to buy drugs (Ceccato, 2016:95). Livestock theft, with a reputation of yielding quick cash, is seen as a way to sustain such a habit. A case in point is where the authorities in Botswana were concerned that the rate of alcohol and drug abuse among unemployed youth leads to the collaboration with their peers from South Africa to steal livestock from South Africa and sell it in Botswana to feed their substance addiction (Molefhi, 2015:1).

The relevance of the general strain theory can also be seen in Doorewaard et al.'s (2015:43) presentation of a case study, where a perpetrator stole livestock from his employer in order to pay for his children's constant medical care. Factors, such as desperation, a need for survival and frustration, together with stressful life events and criminal decision-making choices, drove the individual to engage in the theft. This clearly illustrates that livestock theft is not a crime driven purely by wealth, but that the perpetrator experienced strain, together with negative affective states, such as a need for survival, desperation and frustration, and a propensity toward criminal thinking. In support of this, Botchkovar and Broidy (2010:846) found that anger and other negative emotions increase the likelihood of property theft. They also contend that the crime is likely to be a coping strategy for the person suffering from an initial strain (i.e. a need to put food on the table), that could lead to more and concurrent strain events (i.e. chronic unemployment or limited financial resources).

3.4.1.1 Evaluating General Strain Theory

The general strain theory addresses criminal behaviour by looking at the levels of strain and how they influence a person's behaviour to engage in criminal activity such as livestock theft (Siegel, 2016:203). However, Brezina (2017:10) purports that most tests on the general strain theory have used simple measures of strain, while Huck, Spraitz, Bowers and Morris

(2017:1011) are of the view that the model is incomplete and does not fully explain crime. They therefore argue that it is important to add and measure variables, such as opportunity, together with the existing variables (i.e. frustration and anger) of the theory (Huck et al., 2017:1010). These authors have tested the relationship between opportunity and strain to better understand deviant behaviour. Their findings reveal that the strongest predictor for crime is the perceived opportunity for, and peer involvement in crime. The more strain that was felt, together with an increase in negative emotional and coping responses, the more likely deviance was regarded as an option. This supported the idea that, when integrated with other theories, the predictability of the theory is strengthened (Huck et al., 2017:1021). Another study (Craig, Cardwell & Piquero, 2017:1673) also found positive correlations between strains, such as victimisation and the propensity to offend, confirming the general strain theory's assumption that strains are more likely to lead an individual into committing crime, especially if characteristics, such as low self-control, associations with criminal peers and beliefs favourable to crime, are present (Craig et al., 2017:1658; Huck et al., 2017:1010).

3.4.2. Social Learning Theory

The social learning theory proposes that criminal behaviour is learned like any other behaviour. The theory builds upon Sutherland's theory of differential association (Hass et al., 2017:426). According to Akers (2017:2), Sutherland purported that learned criminal behaviour involves the same processes and mechanisms as conforming behaviour, but he did not elaborate on what these processes and mechanisms are. As a result, in 1966, Roland Akers together with Robert Burgess expanded on Sutherland's theory of differential association by adding elements of psychological learning theories, namely, operant and conditioning behaviour, to form an integrated theory known as the differential-reinforcement theory to explain crime as a type of learning behaviour (Winfree & Abadinsky, 2017:200; Siegel 2018:243).

The social learning theory rests upon four major elements, namely, differential association, definitions, differential reinforcement and imitation. Differential association refers to a process where individuals are exposed to definitions (attitudes or meanings attached to a given behaviour) that are either favourable or unfavourable to criminal or law-abiding behaviour (Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2019:52). Exposure to definitions can be either direct (i.e. seeing friends daily) or indirect (i.e. awareness of other criminal groups) by associating with others such as family, friends, neighbours or co-workers (Henry & Lanier, 2018:90). Akers and Sellers (2009:93)

contend that most learned criminal behaviour is the result of social exchanges in the form of words, responses and presence, but that behaviour can also be learned without direct or indirect contact. It can include a range of actual (i.e. taking of livestock) and anticipated (i.e. consuming or selling stolen livestock), tangible (i.e. livestock) or intangible (i.e. cultural acceptance) rewards that are valued in society or sub-groups, as is the case with livestock among African cultures (Bunei, 2018:46; Osama, 2000:15).

Secondly, definitions are a person's own attitude that define the criminal act as either wrong or right, or justified or unjustified (Henry & Lanier, 2018:90). Lilly et al. (2019:52) explain that the more a person's definitions approve of the criminal act, the greater the likelihood that the criminal act will be committed. Moreover, definitions can be general (i.e. religious values of right or wrong) and specific (i.e. stealing as either wrong or permissible). Siegel (2018:244) affirms that criminal acts, depending on whether criminal behaviour has been initiated or will persist, rests upon the degree (i.e. intensity) to which the behaviour has been punished (i.e. incarceration) or rewarded (i.e. obtaining the materialistic goods). This is known as "differential reinforcement", which strikes a balance between reward and punishment that follow the behaviour (Newburn, 2017:206). If criminal behaviour is rewarded, for example, by obtaining money from stolen goods and the person can avoid arrest, the greater the probability that the behaviour will be repeated (Cullen & Agnew 2011:133; Hass et al., 2017:427). Lastly, imitation occurs when behaviour is modelled (i.e. stealing cattle) after it has been observed. According to Akers and Sellers (2009:93), whether a person imitates the observed behaviour of others depends on the characteristics (i.e. good or bad behaviour) of the model and the consequences of the observed behaviour. For example, if an individual observes the behaviour (i.e. stealing cattle) of a person who has meaning to him or her (i.e. a friend) being reinforced without any adverse consequences (i.e. apprehension), the likelihood of the imitation of such behaviour is increased (Cochran, Maskaly, Jones & Sellers, 2017:42; Henry & Lanier, 2018:90).

The social learning theory contends that criminal knowledge is not only learned but gained through experience. A person will consider what they have learned from their past experiences and decide whether to engage in a certain criminal act and if there are any dangers to consider. Seeing that conviction rates of livestock theft perpetrators are low (LiN Media, 2015:1), coupled with strained police resources and a lack of adequate prevention methods (Oellermann, 2016:1; Van Zyl, 2015:7), offenders learn that they can repeat their crimes without any adverse consequences. This is substantiated by a report from LiN Media (2015:1) where farmers stated

that the crimes (livestock theft) were mostly committed by well-known repeat offenders. Potential criminals also learn from each other that livestock theft is a lucrative venture. This is illustrated in a report by Ghosh (2014:13) on the profitable trade of cattle smuggling between India and Bangladesh. In the report, a 19-year-old Indian boy admitted that he saw some of his friends making money from smuggling cattle between the borders and claimed that is why he decided to get into this illegal trade. In other words, the boy was directly and indirectly exposed to the influences of his peers. Examining several social learning theory elements on a sample of 1,674 students, Yarbrough, Jones, Sullivan, Sellers and Cochran (2012:195) found a strong correlation of antisocial behaviour between peers and definitions. This means that participants who had definitions favourable to antisocial behaviour and those who had more antisocial peers, were more likely to engage in antisocial behaviour (Yarbrough et al., 2012:197).

3.4.2.1 Evaluating Social Learning Theory

Support for the social learning theory is evidenced in many empirical studies of the social learning model (Henry & Lanier, 2018:91). Lilly et al. (2019:55) demonstrate that, when the theory is put to full use, that is, fully operationalising the components of the theory, its potential to comprehensively explain criminal behaviour is significantly increased. Yet, the theory's capacity to explain all types of offenders, that is, the generality of social learning theory, has come into question (Yarbrough et al., 2012:191). Yarbrough et al. (2012:192) aver that not all the components of the theory have been shown to interact with criminal propensity and have not been tested, for example, the component of opportunity. Despite such criticism, Henry and Lanier (2018:97) assert that, when the theory is tested against other theories, the measure of social learning concepts often has the strongest main and net effects (i.e. final results). They further believe that the theory is embedded in a "sociological, symbolic-interactionist framework that situates humans within social contexts through their associations with a variety of groups" (Henry & Lanier, 2018:97). More importantly, Siegel (2018:249) has found that the theory complements other theories, such as rational choice, because both theories claim that individuals learn techniques and attitudes that are required to commit a crime.

3.4.3. Techniques of Neutralisation Theory

Techniques of neutralisation (known as the neutralisation theory) were created by Gresham Sykes and David Matza (1975) (Clark and Felson, 2017) in response to Albert Cohen's (1955)

work on delinquent boys (Henri & Lanier, 2018:100). As a social process theory, the neutralisation theory purports that criminals do not only learn how to become criminals, but they also learn how to master certain techniques (i.e. rationalisation) to help them to neutralise conventional values (i.e. morals of right and wrong) and drift back and forth between illegal and law-abiding behaviour. In other words, criminals learn how to react to their unlawful acts, for example, by defending their actions (i.e. stealing) and rationalising them (i.e. "I stole because I was hungry") (Siegel, 2016:299, 233).

The theory further proposes that, for criminals to be able to continue with the decision to commit crimes, they need to be able to convince themselves that what they are doing is not wrong (Newburn, 2017:211). Thus, criminals justify their acts or behaviour through techniques of neutralisation, which include denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of the condemners and appeals to higher loyalties (Vito & Maahs, 2017:149). Such techniques form part of a person's cognitive deficit or individual thinking patterns to defend their wrong behaviour. According to Morgan, Batastini, Murray, Serna and Porras (2015:1046), persons who were raised in an environment where antisocial behaviour was reinforced are more likely to incorporate criminal thinking and attitudes into their cognitive behaviour. The techniques of neutralisation, as proposed by the neutralisation theory, are described below.

Criminals may deny responsibility for the crime, by claiming that it was not their fault or that they were forced to commit the crime. For instance, where a perpetrator believes he or she has been wronged and takes revenge by killing or stealing the cattle of the person he or she has a grudge against. Secondly, criminals may deny the wrongfulness of the act through denial of injury. An example of a response from the offender may be that the victims have insurance or that they are rich enough to cover the cost or that it was not really a crime because no one got hurt. Denial of the victim is another technique used by offenders to rationalise their wrongdoing by claiming that the victim "deserved" it (Newburn, 2017:211). Siegel (2018:245) claims that the offender may also deny the victim by ignoring the rights or absence of the victim, for example stealing from an owner in his or her absence. The condemnation of the condemners is a technique employed by offenders who view the world as a corrupt place. The offender will withdraw focus from his or her own wrongful actions and shift blame onto others, for example, by stating that police are corrupt or that judges show favouritism towards those accused that have money (Siegel, 2018:245).

The last technique, namely, appeal to higher loyalties, may occur when the offender sees him or herself as being caught up in a dilemma which must be rectified, irrespective of whether it is against the law, for example, where an offender argues that he or she had to provide for his or her family (Newburn, 2017:211).

In summary, the neutralisation theory explains the readiness of a person to engage in criminal behaviour. According to the theory, once the person uses neutralisations, the individual is in a mode that makes the criminal act permissible. The person can then either re-conform to law-abiding behaviour or engage in crime (Siegel, 2018:245; Williams & McShane, 2014:169). This theory explains the rationalisations and motives of livestock theft perpetrators regarding their level of responsibility for the crime (see Chapter 5 of this study). A study conducted by Willot, Griffin and Torrance (2001:441) on economic crime found that criminals justified their crimes by stating that they were the “breadwinner” of the family, that they felt “trapped” in their social standing, that they were “not really criminal” compared to their fellow inmates (i.e. rapists and murderers) and represented themselves as “intellectually and morally superior” to the individuals who accused them of the crime and the so-called “real” criminals (Willot et al., 2001:460-461).

3.4.3.1 Evaluating Techniques of Neutralisation Theory

The neutralisation theory not only explains criminal behaviour but, more importantly, addresses such criminal behaviour by looking at ways in which prevention programmes can counteract criminal thinking. According to Henry and Lanier (2018:88), for interventions, such as behaviour alternatives, group therapy and counselling, to work, offenders need to be made aware of the effects (i.e. harm) of crime as this involves this involves “exposing the reasons, rationalisations or neutralizations for crime as incorrect, inaccurate or misguided” (Henry & Lanier, 2018:88). The significance of the neutralisation theory is further seen in its contribution to the knowledge on crime and delinquency. As noted by Siegel (2018:246), the theory explains how individuals drift back into conventional behaviour as they mature. A major critique of the theory is that criminals can also use techniques of neutralisation before they commit a crime as they would after the commission of a crime (Schram & Tibbetts, 2018:[sa]). Secondly, most empirical research methodologies that used neutralisation have been brought into question. According to Henri and Lanier (2018:103), these studies failed to make a connection between neutralisation as a cause leading to crime or deviant behaviour.

3.4.4. General Theory of Crime

Influenced by their own work on victimisation and social control, Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi developed a general theory of crime in 1990 to explain that individuals with low levels of self-control are more likely to commit crime than those with higher levels of self-control (Jenkins, 2017: 5, 10, 45). Central to the theory's belief is that a personality trait, such as impulsiveness, coupled with a lack of self-control heightens an individual's propensity to commit crime (Siegel, 2016:305). The proponents of the general theory of crime aver that criminal actions are generally risk-taking acts and are easy to commit (i.e. require little skill or planning) and provide immediate gratification (i.e. money) while, at the same time, cause pain or discomfort to the victim. Criminals are therefore perceived as risk-takers who tend to be impulsive and short-sighted individuals who want immediate gratification (hedonistic nature) and who give little thought to the pain they cause their victims (Vito & Maahs, 2017:155).

The theory supports the notion that crime is a short-term resolution to goals that require long-term investment such as work and family. Individuals with low self-control tend to find that crime requires little expertise and planning, and low education and cognitive skills (Newburn, 2017:254). Such individuals lack diligence, tenacity and the persistence to pursue conventional means to meet their goals. For example, the act of livestock theft provides immediate gratification to the perpetrators' desires (i.e. making profit without working for or having to purchase meat). These perpetrators' self-centredness and indifference to the feelings of the victims are further evident in the financial and emotional impact of this type of crime (see for example, Hitchcock, 2016:1). Examining three court case studies of livestock theft offenders, Doorewaard et al. (2015:37, 44) also affirmed that the individuals displayed opportunistic and callous behaviour, a sense of entitlement, a void in victim empathy, limited self-control and a lack of integrity. Therefore, in explaining livestock theft, attention should also focus on the perpetrators themselves, their characteristics and traits.

3.4.4.1 Evaluating General Theory of Crime

The general theory of crime has received considerable support as one of the most cited criminology theories among researchers (Henry & Lanier, 2018:112), while consensus continues to grow for self-control as being an important component in explaining crime. However, the notion of self-control has been criticised in some respects. Questions have been asked as to the legitimacy of the measurability of the concept "self-control" – whether it is a

single entity or whether it consists of several components – and that this theory is more applicable to explaining certain crimes, such as opportunistic theft, rather than all types of crimes (Newburn, 2017:255). The theory has also come under scrutiny for being circular, in that if crime is committed as a result of low self-control, all criminals should be impulsive because they commit crimes (Siegel, 2016:308).

3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter applied a number of theories to explain the causes of, and motivation for the occurrence of livestock theft. Although, there may be other theories that can explain livestock theft, the most notable environmental theories applicable to both rural and economic crime, proposed by Barclay and Donnermeyer (2011:2) and Clack (2015b:94), were applied. These theories were further categorised to explain how livestock theft occurs within an environmental context by using the routine activity, rational choice and crime pattern theories, whereas, to explain why livestock theft occurs, a sociological perspective was sought, employing criminological theories of general strain, social learning, neutralisation and the general theory of crime.

Individually, each theory explains the occurrence of livestock theft. The routine activity and rational choice theories assume that crime is opportunistic, while the crime pattern theory focuses on the offender's awareness of space. Within the sociological context, emphasis is placed on the perpetrator and what leads (pushes or pulls) the individual to engage in livestock theft. During the analysis of each theory, a number of causes, motives and contributory factors were identified. These were specific to the perpetrator (strains such as poverty, unemployment, wealth, prestige and status), but also included the opportunistic nature of the crime, referring to the profitableness of the livestock, coupled with the vulnerability of the geographical area and ease with which the animals can be taken, especially if they are not properly guarded (i.e. brand marked and protected) against criminal elements.

On its own, each theory explains livestock theft to a significant degree. However, in order to design a possible prevention model, the theories can be combined to formulate a criminological matrix of livestock theft, which will be applied in Chapter 7 of this study. This will include the rational choice theory as the basis or central part of the explanation. It asserts that the decision to engage in crime is a rational choice that involves a decision-making process. The matrix will

also illustrate that the decision process is further influenced by a series of attributes and influences that is guided by the main elements of each theory. By connecting the elements of each theory, a comprehensive theoretical explanation of livestock theft, from a criminological perspective, is provided.

CHAPTER 4

THE DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL PROCESSES OF THE STUDY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The preliminary phase of any research study contains a research design that is a detailed plan that sets out the methods, techniques, goals and approaches to be used when undertaking a research project. The purpose of this is to know how the aim and objectives of a study will be achieved (Kumar, 2019:122). The research design is known as the “blueprint” of the study – a “model for the research that will be built” (Loseke, 2017:5). When undertaking a research study, the researcher should account for the methodological approach followed in carrying out the project. Babbie (2016: 113) adds that the research design also includes all the steps taken in the aftermath of the study. This refers to giving a description of the research procedures by discussing the practicalities of the methodology, specifying what was done, how it was done and why it was done (Holiday, 2016: 53) to give a transparent account of how the research study’s aims and objectives were achieved. To understand how, why, where and when livestock theft manifests, and to explore, describe and explain the criminal behaviour of livestock theft offenders from a criminological perspective, this chapter describes, explains and justifies the methods that were chosen to address and answer the aims, objectives and research questions of this study on the criminological assessment and sample-specific profile of livestock theft perpetrators.

4.2. RESEARCH RATIONALE

As stated in Chapter 1 (section 1.5 of this study), the importance of conducting research on livestock theft lies in the exigency for more information on the subject. Because this is an under-researched topic, it resulted in speculation on the identity of the perpetrators of this crime, including their modus operandi and what motivates them to persist in this type of transgression (Clack, 2014a:57; KZNDCSL, 2008:8). The anticipated findings on conducting face-to-face interviews with offenders sentenced for livestock theft, as a primary source of information, further attest to this study’s contribution to knowledge within criminological research and the criminal justice system, as justified in section 1.9 in Chapter 1 of this study.

4.3. RESEARCH AIM, PURPOSE, OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

In light of the rationale for research on the livestock theft perpetrator, this study aimed to compile a criminological profile of offenders sentenced for livestock theft for crime prevention purposes and the rehabilitation of the offenders. For the aim to be achieved, the objectives of this study, as discussed in section 1.6, need to be achieved. These objectives were to determine and describe the modi operandi used by the perpetrators to commit livestock theft, identify and explore the motives and causes related to the crime and to apply criminological theories that best explain the crime and criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft. To address these objectives, the following research questions guided this study:

- When and where do these thefts occur?
- What methods do the perpetrators use to commit the thefts?
- Are the thefts committed spontaneously or are they planned?
- Are there different types of perpetrators?
- Do the perpetrators work in groups or individually?
- What shortcomings (i.e. loopholes) exist that make it easier for the perpetrators to steal livestock?
- Do cultural factors play a role in the commission of the thefts?
- What other motives and causes guide the perpetrators to commit the thefts?
- Which criminological theories best explain livestock theft and the associated criminal behaviour?

The research design and methodological approach followed to answer the above research is described below.

4.4. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The methodological approach refers to the means and methods used to collect and analyse data (Habib, Pathik & Maryam, 2014:16; Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:84). The following design and methodological approach were applied in the research of the criminological assessment and sample-specific profile of livestock theft perpetrators.

4.4.1. Research type and approach

The purpose of this study was to explore, describe and explain the criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft from a criminological point of view. The goal of the research can be applied or basic in nature. As mentioned in section 1.8 of Chapter 1 of this study, the purpose of research is to add to an existing body of knowledge (O'Leary, 2017:177). Applied research, on the other hand, refers to research methods and procedures that are applied to resolve a problem (Kumar, 2019:13). This study has a practical application and therefore an applied research approach was followed. The newly acquired information on livestock theft perpetrators is intended to serve as a guide for the criminal justice system in respect of livestock theft investigation and the rehabilitation of the offenders. As a result, this study followed a qualitative research approach.

A qualitative research approach explores the meaning individuals give to social phenomena as it tries to understand the nature of these meanings (Creswell, 2014:4; Kumar, 2019:16). The unstructured nature of a qualitative research approach allows for flexibility in the research process, such as changeability in the research design. For example, by adding or following up on research questions posed during the interviews with the members of the STUs, by sending an email (i.e. electronic communication) or to conduct a follow up interview with one of the livestock theft perpetrators (Babbie, 2016:317; Creswell & Poth, 2018:163). This approach furthermore enabled the researcher to explore the nature of the problem, in this case, questions were posed specific to the occurrence of the crime, which enabled the livestock perpetrators to provide their own accounts of their involvement in crime (Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:264; Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault, 2016:7).

Key features of a qualitative research approach included the ability of the researcher to explore the role of the individual livestock theft perpetrator and what meaning he/she attaches to the nature of this crime. The approach further enabled the researcher to understand the person's point of view (i.e. why the theft was committed), while emphasising the importance of uncovering meaning and depth of understanding, that is, to comprehend why and how these thefts take place (Wincup, 2017:4).

Creswell (2016:7) states that qualitative research approach is suited for studying persons who are not often studied. In this regard, no research had been conducted where perpetrators of livestock theft have been formally interviewed from a criminological point of view and this

justifies the use of a qualitative approach (Bunei et al., 2016:46; Clack, 2014a:57).

A qualitative methodological approach therefore assisted the researcher to make interpretations as to what was seen, heard and observed by each livestock theft perpetrator before, during and after the commission of their crimes (Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:264; De Vos et al., 2011:65).

4.4.2. Case study design

To reach the aim and objectives of this study, a case study design directed the research questions. A case study design is a method that studies certain social phenomena within a social system (such as a group of livestock perpetrators) in order to provide an in-depth understanding into the manifestation, processes and the persons involved (Gagnon, 2010:2; Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:191). A case study is seen as representative of similar cases and can therefore provide insight into the events and situations that are prevalent in the group from which the case emanates. For instance, knowledge can be obtained on the operations of livestock theft offenders from the descriptions and explanations derived from each case study of the livestock theft perpetrators. Considering that this study was based on a selected sample of individual offenders sentenced for livestock theft, the use of this design was appropriate to understand the processes and procedures followed by livestock theft perpetrators in the perpetration of their crimes. The perpetrators provided first-hand descriptions of their experiences (i.e. their involvement in the crime) and the methods (i.e. the modus operandi) used in committing livestock theft (Schutt, 2017:122).

Additionally, this approach enabled the researcher to focus on the description and explanation of the social processes (i.e. the modus operandi, causes and nature of the crime) related by the participants of this study. It also provided for flexible and open-ended data collection techniques, such as case docket analysis (i.e. studying available documents of sentenced offenders) and in-depth interviewing, to obtain information on livestock theft perpetration and the perpetrators (Creswell, 2014:14; Kumar, 2019:196).

4.5. SAMPLING STRATEGY

A sample refers to a sub-set of the population that consists of individual members, often known as elementary units or units of analysis. Schutt (2017:63) explains that the purpose of such a sample is to generate a set of individuals who will be able to give a true picture of all individuals

involved. In other words, the set of individuals who are part of the study act as representatives for the wider population or group. In this study, on the criminological assessment and profiling of livestock theft perpetrators, the unit of analysis also included members of the SAPS STUs and victims of livestock theft. The perpetrators of livestock theft, the members and the victims acted as representatives of the wider population or group bounded to the crime of livestock theft. The following section describes the sample or unit of analysis of this study. The techniques or methods used to obtain the samples follow the description of the unit of analysis.

4.5.1. Description of the unit of analysis

The unit of analysis in a research study refers to who or what is being studied. This typically involves individuals, but may also include organisations or groups (Babbie, 2016:97; Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:93-94). Patton (2015:263) purports that documents (i.e. case dockets) can also form part of the unit of analysis. The unit of analysis of this study was twofold and was divided into primary and secondary units of analysis. The primary unit of analysis consisted of 35 offenders sentenced for livestock theft (i.e. 34 males and one female). Additionally, 28 case dockets (inclusive of 49 perpetrators) obtained from the SAPS STUs in GP (Cullinan) and KZN (Bergville, Kokstad, Ladysmith, Utrecht, Pietermaritzburg and Vryheid) were examined to corroborate the facts and modi operandi of the livestock theft offenders. Not all the case dockets received were related to an interviewed offender, but they nonetheless provided valuable insight into the commission of each theft that could be used to further validate the information obtained from the interviews.

To acquire additional insight into the phenomenon of livestock theft and the behaviour of livestock theft perpetrators, both the SAPS STUs members and victims of such thefts were interviewed as the secondary unit of analysis. Ten members (six Station Commanders, three Warrant Officers and the SAPS STU Provincial Coordinator of KZN) from the SAPS STU in GP (Cullinan) and KZN (Bergville, Kokstad, Ladysmith, Utrecht, Pietermaritzburg) were interviewed. The areas in KZN were selected based on the severity and frequency of livestock theft taking place in these areas as identified by the Chairman of the KZN RPO. The SAPS STU in Cullinan represented the GP region. With regards to the victims of livestock theft, three owners (one case from KZN and two cases from GP) were also interviewed as part of this study. Two of the victims were selected (the one from KZN and the other from GP) based on the frequency and experience of livestock theft, whereas the third (also from GP) demonstrated the loss and

emotional side of this crime. Although four livestock farmers from the EC, who have also experienced livestock theft, were identified by the Chairperson of the RPO in the EC, none of them were available for interviews at the time. The reason for selecting these specific provinces rested on two premises. Firstly, KZN and the EC have the highest occurrence of livestock theft cases in the country (SAPS, 2019b:154) and secondly, the researcher resides in GP which made travelling easier and less expensive.

4.5.2. Sampling techniques

A distinction can be made between two sampling methods, namely, probability sampling and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling involves the selection of participants at random, whereas, with non-probability sampling, participants are deliberately selected to represent certain features or groups within the population (i.e. sentenced livestock perpetrators) (Kumar, 2019:302; Schutt, 2017: 65). The profiling and assessment of livestock theft perpetrators was based on a non-probability sampling technique that was designed in such a way that the researcher was able to select any individuals within the targeted population to be part of this study (Jensen & Laurie, 2016:93; Kumar, 2019:302). This sampling technique suited this study since a random sample of offenders could be selected from a list of offenders that were serving their sentences at the time of the interviews without being limited to a selected group of offenders who may or may not be available for interviews. The same applied to the members and the victims. If a participant was not available for interviews, another participant with the same expertise or experience could be approached.

4.5.3. Sampling procedure

The sampling methods utilised in this study included purposive, snowball and expert sampling. Purposive sampling allowed the researcher to select the units based on common features (i.e. offender, law enforcement officer and victim) and characteristics (i.e. committed the crime and investigated or experienced the crime) (Kumar, 2019:307; Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton Nicholls & Ormston, 2014:113). Babbie (2016:187) states that this enables the researcher to select those units which she feels will be most useful or representative.

It was proposed that a sample which best represents the perpetrators of livestock theft would be selected from approximately 50 to 60 police case dockets. However, the case dockets were not received all at once from the SAPS STUs, nor was it known if these offenders were still

incarcerated and, if so, in which correctional centres they were detained. Twenty case dockets from KZN and nine case dockets from GP were obtained and used in this study. The selection of geographical areas is discussed in detail under section 4.7. Since the research process is not a rigid set of rules, but a process that allows for flexibility (De Vos et al., 2011:324), the researcher was able to select a sample of offenders based on a list received from the DCS of incarcerated offenders sentenced for livestock theft. The list contained a total of 425 offenders sentenced for livestock theft. Two-hundred and eighteen of these offenders were detained in the EC Region, followed by a 175 offenders in KZN, while 32 offenders were housed in GP. The selection of areas within the regions is further discussed in section 4.7.1.

Expert sampling assisted the researcher in identifying the experts within the field of livestock theft, namely, the investigators (i.e. warrant officers), Station Commanders of the SAPS STUs and the STU Provincial Coordinator of KZN. The experts provided relevant and first-hand experience (i.e. regarding the nature and motives of the crime) in the investigation into livestock theft perpetration. The second set of research participants, namely, the victims, were able to provide in-depth information on their personal experiences (i.e. the nature and impact of the theft) of livestock theft. These individuals were approached through the snowball sampling process (Kumar, 2019:308). How the participants were reached is discussed under section 4.8.3.

4.6. GAINING ACCESS TO RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

To gain access to research participants and data, certain processes need to be followed. The first step in this process is to obtain permission to conduct research. If a researcher is affiliated with an institution, such as a university, permission should be obtained from the institution's ethics committee. Once the committee approves the research study, permission is granted to proceed with it. Secondly, if the research needs to be conducted beyond the public domain (i.e. at a correctional centre) permission also needs to be obtained from such institutions (Jensen & Laurie, 2016:53; Singh & Wassenaar, 2016:42; Wincup, 2017:61).

After this study was approved by the University of South Africa's (UNISA) College of Law Ethical Research Committee (see Annexure A), the necessary applications to conduct research were sent out to both the DCS and the SAPS. According to Peticca-Harris, DeGama and Elias (2016:377), gaining access to participants is not without challenges.

4.6.1. Research application processes and challenges

What follows is a brief account on the steps taken to apply for approval to conduct research within the SAPS and the DCS and the challenges experienced.

4.6.2. Application to the South African Police Service

No formal application process was listed on the SAPS website. Schutt (2017:126) mentions that approaching a gatekeeper who could grant access to the research setting or the participants can be time consuming. He suggests that the process can be made easier if the researcher has social contacts that can assist in this regard. Schlosser (2008:1509) confirms this view by stating that liaising with individuals who have connections with those in charge of access can facilitate the process. In this case, assistance was obtained from a retired police officer (of the GP SAPS STU). This person was introduced by the NSTPF chairperson who is known to the researcher. The necessary documents were emailed to the researcher and the completed application was sent to the Head Office of the SAPS.

The application contained a request to have access to case docket information on sentenced livestock theft offenders and to conduct interviews with members of the SAPS STUs situated in GP, KZN and the EC (refer to section 4.7.1 of this Chapter). Confirmation was received approximately a month after the application was submitted. A letter was sent by the SAPS' Strategic Management Component informing both the researcher and the SAPS Divisional Commissioner of Detective Services, including the SAPS Provincial Commissioners of KZN, GP and the EC that this study had been approved (See Annexure B). The SAPS Strategic Management Component further recommended that permission be granted for the research, subject to the final approval of, and further arrangements made with the offices of the SAPS Provincial Commissioners of KZN, GP and the EC. Subsequent to this, the researcher received a letter of approval from the SAPS Provincial Commissioner of KZN (see Annexure C) and the SAPS Provincial Commissioner of GP (see Annexure D).

As far as the EC was concerned, no response had been received from the SAPS Provincial Commissioner of the EC at the time of conducting the research. There were also no details of any contact information of the EC SAPS division to be able to follow up on the matter. After a

month or two, the researcher contacted both the National Chairperson and the EC Chairperson of the RPO to enquire whether they knew of someone within the SAPS that the researcher could contact. From this, two station commanders working within the SAPS were contacted however neither could provide information on who could be contacted to inquire about the approval to conduct research within the EC.

In this regard, contact was made with the SAPS Head Office and the number for the office of the SAPS Provincial Commissioner in the EC was obtained. After communicating with the secretary, the application was resent to the SAPS Provincial Commissioner. The secretary could not estimate how long the SAPS Provincial Commissioner would take to provide feedback. After a month, the researcher followed up on the matter and contacted the Strategic Management Component of the SAPS (who sent out the approval letter) to explain the situation. They provided the contact details of the liaison officer from the EC who could be of assistance. The liaison officer informed the researcher that he was on sick leave and was not aware of any research or notification that had been approved and he gave the contact details of a colleague to whom the application and approval could be sent. On numerous occasions, the researcher followed up on this matter. Calls were not answered and, despite having received an automatic reply that the sent emails were read, no acknowledgement was given. About four weeks later, another follow up was made. The EC contact stated that the relevant forms were sent to the “relevant persons to sign”. This was the last time any information was received on the status of the application until approximately one and a half years later. After the researcher spoke with the National Chairperson of the RPO about the situation, the researcher received a text message from a Colonel of a SAPS STU in the EC who asked that all the information should be sent to him. The researcher emailed him all the necessary information, documents and approval letters. Once again, nothing came of it and the research had to be finalised without the data from the EC’s SAPS STU.

4.6.3. Application to the Department of Correctional Services

In contrast to the SAPS, the DCS application process and forms are available on their website. Yet, the turnaround time in receiving confirmation on the outcome of the application took longer. Schlosser (2008:1509) warns that is not uncommon for the process to conduct research within a prison to take several months. In this instance, the researcher was informed only two to three months after the committee’s proposed meeting date that the application was successful (see

Annexure E).

A liaison officer within the DCS was assigned to facilitate the process between the researcher and the gatekeepers (correctional centres). A list of all the Area Commissioners and Heads of the correctional centres' contact details was obtained from the liaison officer. The list however was outdated. Some of the individuals were retired or were no longer the Head of a specific correctional centre.

The Area Commissioners and Heads of the correctional centres were contacted either by telephone or email, depending on whether there was a response, as numerous attempts to contact them by telephone or email went unanswered. Both the approval letter from the DCS Head Office and the details of the relevant offenders to be interviewed were emailed to the prospective Heads of the correctional centres. After the Area Commissioners were informed of the research study, a meeting was set up with the Heads of the relevant correctional centres, or an alternative contact person at the correctional centre was provided if the Head was unavailable. Upon arrival, the researcher explained the purpose of this study and provided the approval letter together with the details of the specific offenders. This was not without challenges.

Some of the correctional centres first required an approval letter from the Area Commissioner which, in some cases, was more difficult to obtain than others. For example, when the Kgoši Mampuru II Correctional Centre (in Pretoria, Gauteng) was contacted to arrange a time and date for the interviews with the offenders, the researcher was advised that an appointment had to be made with the Area Commissioner first, who will then direct the researcher to the centre. On numerous occasions, the researcher attempted to contact the Area Commissioner's office, both telephonically and through email to arrange a meeting yet these communications remained unanswered. After several weeks, the researcher was able to get hold of the secretary of the Area Commissioner who informed the researcher that an approval letter was ready for collection (see Annexure F).

Similarly, access to Kokstad Medium Correctional Centre (in the KZN Province) also proved to be problematic. When the Area Commissioner was not reachable by telephone, an email was sent. Following up on the matter several days later, the secretary of the Area Commissioner

informed the researcher that the email was received and that the Area Commissioner was aware of it. On several occasions, the Area Commissioner was unavailable to confirm whether the researcher could proceed. On numerous occasions, the researcher tried to contact the Acting Head of the correctional centre, but reception was unable to connect the researcher to him. They were also unable to provide his direct office contact details. The difficulty of accessing participants within the correctional environment is not an isolated incident. Several researchers (Field, Archer & Bowman, 2019:136; Sivakumar, 2018:3; Schlosser, 2008:1509; Thobane & Herbig, 2014:17) have expressed their concerns with securing permission to conduct research within a correctional facility. Thobane and Herbig (2014:17) also disclosed their frustration when telephone calls and emails to the correctional facility gatekeepers would go unanswered. In the view of Field et al. (2019:136), access to the participants within the correctional environment is the most difficult challenge of conducting prison research. Schlosser (2008:1509) states that, to gain access to the facility requires tenacity and persistence and that it is best to contact the gatekeepers as early as possible in the research process.

In this case, the researcher persevered and managed to elicit a response from the Head of Kokstad Medium Correctional Centre. The Acting Head confirmed that all the offenders on the list provided were detained at the Kokstad Medium Correctional Centre and that the researcher should rather contact the Head of the correctional centre. Again, despite making numerous telephone calls and sending emails, no response was received. The Acting Head telephoned back later that day and said that an approval letter was needed from the DCS's KZN Regional Office Research Coordinator. After contacting the Head Office Research Directorate of the DCS, the approval letter (as authorised by the Head Office Research Directorate) was resent to all the areas relevant to the research study to inform them of the approval. From there, the researcher was informed by Kokstad Medium Correctional Centre that the approval letter was received and that the researcher could proceed to make the necessary arrangements.

4.7. LOCATION OF THE STUDY

To ensure that the non-probability sample is diverse and within the boundaries of the defined population, this study set out to include research in GP, KZN and the EC (Kumar, 2019:306). The reasons for the selection of these regions are as follows:

4.7.1. The South African Police Service

According to a report conducted by the KZNCSL (2008:3), certain towns within the province of KZN are amongst the more prominent “hotspots” targeted by livestock theft. The report explains that some organised livestock theft syndicates operate from Lesotho and within the EC.

The report suggests that more crime intelligence work is necessary to uncover the extent of these syndicates (KZNDCSL, 2008:14). In 2014, Clack (2014b:62) outlined that the EC and KZN experienced the highest number of livestock stolen in South Africa. The RPO state that the EC and KZN are among the provinces with the highest number of reported cases and that “the need for research on this matter cannot any longer be delayed” (Red Meat Producers Organisation, 2017:2).

The researcher received a request from the offices of the SAPS Provincial Commissioner of GP and the SAPS Provincial Commissioner of KZN to provide a list of relevant police stations where the research was to be conducted. In this regard, the researcher contacted the chairpersons of the RPO of GP, KZN and the EC to enquire which areas are the main concerns for livestock theft.

The GP area included the Cullinan and Vereeniging SAPS STUs as both serviced the area of Gauteng. The chairperson of the RPO for KwaZulu-Natal recommended the following areas due to the high activity of livestock thefts in these regions: Utrecht, Bergville, Ladysmith, Vryheid, Kokstad and Pietermaritzburg (Chairperson of the RPO KZN, 2014). Concerning the EC, the following key areas were suggested: Maluti, Qumbu, Mathatha, Aliwal-North, Cradock and King Williams Town. The first three areas are considered national hotspots for livestock theft where livestock theft is “getting out of control”. The last mentioned three areas are main commercial farming areas, but nonetheless also experience problems with livestock theft (Chairperson of the RPO EC, 2014).

4.7.2. The Department of Correctional Services

The DCS also requested a list of the selected correctional centres where the research was to be conducted. As it was not yet known where the relevant offenders would be detained, the following correctional centres were chosen based on the areas where the interviews with the SAPS STUs members would most probably be conducted:

GP:

- Baviaanspoort Correctional Centre (Cullinan)
- Zonderwater Correctional Centre (Cullinan)
- Kgoši Mampuru II Correctional Centre (Pretoria)
- Modderbee Correctional Centre (Johannesburg)
- Vereeniging Correctional Centre (Pretoria)
- Leeuwkop Correctional Centre (Johannesburg)
- Krugersdorp Correctional Centre (West Rand)
- ODI Correctional Centre (Johannesburg)
- Nigel Correctional Centre (East Rand)

KZN:

- Glencoe Correctional Centre (Ladysmith/Bergville)
- Port Shepstone Correctional Centre
- Kokstad Correctional Centre
- Waterval Ncome Correctional Centre (Newcastle)
- Pietermaritzburg Correctional Centre
- Durban Correctional Centre

EC:

- Mount Frere Correctional Centre
- Mthatha Correctional Centre
- Goedemoed Correctional Centre
- Cradock Correctional Centre
- Kings William Town Correctional Centre
- Middleburg Correctional Centre

4.8. SELECTION PROCESS

The next section depicts the process taken in selecting suitable participants to represent each unit of analysis (i.e. members of the SAPS STUs, livestock theft perpetrators and victims of livestock theft).

4.8.1. Members of the Stock Theft Units and case dockets

After an introductory meeting was held at the SAPS office in Johannesburg, a subsequent meeting was held with representatives of the Cullinan SAPS STU in Pretoria to discuss what was required for the research to commence. The researcher requested access to at least 20 police case dockets of sentenced offenders for livestock theft (closed cases), preferably the most recent ones. The intended purpose was for the researcher to be able to identify potential offenders to be interviewed at a later stage within the respective correctional settings. It was agreed that the researcher will receive copies of the relevant case dockets to peruse whenever necessary. Not all case dockets were collected at once but were received as they became available. In the end, the researcher was only able to obtain nine case dockets from the GP SAPS STUs.

Regarding KZN, the researcher contacted the SAPS STU Provincial Coordinator of KZN, who forwarded an email to the relevant Station Commanders informing them to ensure that court-related case dockets which best represented the livestock theft situation in the province should be made available and copied for the research. The following number of case dockets were collected at each relevant SAPS STUs in KZN: Bergville (three); Kokstad (three); Ladysmith (four); Utrecht (Newcastle) (three); Pietermaritzburg (three); and Vryheid (four).

4.8.2. The livestock theft perpetrators

Since it was not known where the offenders were detained, the researcher contacted the liaison officer assigned by the DCS to request (and received) a list of offenders sentenced for livestock theft in GP, KZN and the EC. This list contained the identifying details of the offenders (age, gender, nationality and sentence period i.e. two to five years imprisonment) and the names of the correctional centres where they were housed. From this list, offenders were selected based on:

- whether the researcher had additional information on the offender (SAPS case docket information);
- the number of offenders detained in a correctional centre.

The reason for the use of this last criterion was because travelling to and from each province had to be considered. During these trips, the researcher only had five days (due to accommodation costs and time constraints) to conduct interviews before returning to GP. Correctional centres, such as Kokstad and Middleburg (EC), were selected based on the number of detained offenders (sentenced for livestock theft) to ensure the journey would be worthwhile in allowing the researcher to obtain as much data as possible. If one or two offenders decided not to participate in this study, the risk of not having enough respondents to interview was minimised.

The following list specifies the correctional centres visited and the number of offenders interviewed at each centre:

- Zonderwater Correctional Centre Medium B (Cullinan, GP), four adult male offenders;
- Zonderwater Correctional Centre Medium A (Cullinan, GP), one adult male offender;
- Nigel Correctional Centre (East Rand, GP), two adult male offenders;
- Kokstad Correctional Centre Medium (KZN), 11 adult male offenders;
- Durban Female Correctional Centre (KZN), one adult female offender;
- Kgoši Mampuru II Correctional Centre (Pretoria, GP), five adult male offenders;
- ODI Correctional Centre (Johannesburg, GP), one adult male offender;
- Middleburg Correctional Centre (EC), 10 adult male offenders.

4.8.3. The victims of stock theft

Chairpersons of the RPO in GP, KZN and the EC were contacted and asked whether they could suggest any individuals who had been victims of livestock theft and might be interested in being interviewed for the purpose of gathering in-depth information on livestock theft. The contact details of two farmers from KZN and another two farmers from GP were provided. In the EC,

four farmers were identified. Only three out of the eight victims were able and willing to be interviewed. Five out of eight farmers did not form part of this study since they either declined to be part of this study or were unavailable at the time.

4.9. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The purpose of data collection methods is to capture the essence of the experiences of individuals. Qualitative data methods refer to types of research techniques that have certain characteristics in common (i.e. interviews and case docket examination) that enables the researcher to collect information for analysis (Schutt, 2017: 9, 121). This study used in-depth interviewing and case docket analysis to collect information on livestock theft and the perpetrators. The following section describes and justifies the reasons for selecting the latter data collection methods.

4.9.1. In-depth Interviewing

In-depth interviewing involves asking questions to find out about people's experiences, thoughts and feelings (Schutt, 2017:129). According to Jensen and Laurie (2016:172), the interview method is well suited to research exploring new or under-researched topics, such as livestock theft, and is particularly useful in gathering information from small populations or individuals (i.e. sentenced offenders) that are difficult to access. This method enabled the researcher to ask questions and probe participants to gain insight into their views on the reasons, meaning and the impact of livestock theft (Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:268).

4.9.2. Semi-structured interview schedule

The use of a semi-structure interview schedule in this study allowed for flexibility and enabled the researcher to clarify any questions or answers that may have been misunderstood. Ritchie et al. (2014: 183) contend that, no matter how unstructured an interview may be, there is still some organisation. This interviewing technique is based on a guide that sets out the key topics and issues to be addressed. The questions however do not need to be asked in a particular order. This minimises any restrictions on the flow of the conversation and participants are free to give their version of events (Jensen & Laurie, 2016:173).

The interview process was therefore guided by a predetermined set of themes, while the researcher had the flexibility to rephrase questions or return to certain topics that may have been misinterpreted by the participants (Flick, 2018:234; Liamputtong, 2014:71). For the purpose of this study, three sets of interview schedules were utilised to address questions to the offenders (see Annexure G), the SAPS STUs members (see Annexure H) and victims of livestock theft (see Annexure I).

4.9.3. Documentation analysis

Another type of qualitative data collection method is from documents. This consists of written materials from organisations, official publications and reports, to name a few (Patton, 2015:14). Schutt (2017:150) refers to the analysis of documentation as an unobtrusive method in collecting data. Unobtrusive methods are research methods where data are collected without the knowledge of the participant. In analysing the police case dockets of offenders that were apprehended for livestock theft, additional information on the modus operandi, biographical details and victim selection could be established. According to Van Graan and Van der Watt (2014:145), case docket analysis is an “information-driven product” from which more can be learned about the perpetrators, the crime and the victims.

4.10. INTERVIEWING PROCESS AND DURATION

Since some of the correctional centres were quite a distance away, it was necessary to determine whether the offenders would be willing, or at least consider partaking in this study before official arrangements were made to travel to the correctional centres. In this case, the Head of the relevant correctional centre was asked to inform the offenders of this study prior to the researcher’s visit by explaining the nature and purpose of this study.

4.10.1. Informing participants

All participants were required to sign a consent form. The content of the consent form was explained to each participant to avoid any misinterpretations or misconceptions of what was expected from the parties involved (Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:70). The consent form informed the participants of what this study was about, its purpose and what was required or expected from them (i.e. responding to the researcher’s question during an interview) to achieve the purpose of the research. More importantly, the form set out the foreseeable benefits or

contributions to all involved in this study (i.e. SAPS, DCS, the offenders, community and criminology as a whole) (see Annexure J and Annexure K). This involves the outcome of the research findings benefiting the SAPS in guiding their investigations into livestock theft and providing the DCS with a profile of the offenders. The offenders themselves had the opportunity to tell their side of the story. It was therefore anticipated that the findings of this study will add to knowledge about the nature of livestock theft in all its facets (Donnermeyer & DeKeseredy, 2014:2; Herbig & Hesselink, 2012:29; Hesselink-Louw & Joubert, 2003:104-105; Maluleke & Dlamini, 2019:125, 140; Maluleke, Mokwena & Olofinbiyi, 2019:105). Participants were also informed that no remuneration or compensation in any form would be provided for their participation in this study. Emphasis was given to the importance of the respondents' voluntary participation in this study and that they may withdraw from this study at any time, if they so wish (Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:59). Thus, no one was compelled and had free will to choose if they wanted to participate. It was also emphasised that, should the participants consent to be interviewed, their participation would have no influence on their sentences or any future parole hearings.

After consent was obtained, rapport was established with the offender at the start of the interview. This consisted of exchanging greetings and starting with questions that were non-threatening (Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:281), for example, how old the participant was. The researcher maintained rapport throughout the interview by listening attentively to what the offender had to say, probing for more information where needed, paying attention to meaning, showing respect and ending the interview on a positive note (i.e. thanking the offender for his/her time and willingness to be interviewed) (Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:282).

4.10.2. Duration of the interviews

The longest interviews with the offenders lasted about two to three hours. The duration of such interviews is not uncommon. Jensen and Laurie (2016:173) caution that the collection of qualitative data can take a long time. Due to the in-depth nature of the interviews, it often happened that only one offender was interviewed per day and this depended on how long the interview lasted (and how talkative the offender was), since the researcher only had time between 9 am and 12 pm to interview the offenders. The offenders had to report for lunch by 12 pm after which the offenders would be locked up for the night from 3 pm.

However, both the Kokstad and Middleburg (EC) Correctional Centres accommodated the researcher since the interviews had to be completed within a specific time frame. Where interviews were still in session by lunch time, the correctional officers arranged for those offenders to have lunch after the interviews ended. The correctional officers also made sure that the offenders were ready by 9 am each morning for the interviews to commence. This made it possible to interview at least three offenders a day. Sandberg and Copes (2012:178) view the opportunity to interview offenders within institutions as an advantage for several interviews can be conducted within a day.

Each face-to-face interview with the 10 members of the SAPS STUs lasted for about one to two hours, while a follow-up telephonic interview with the Station Commander of the Cullinan SAPS STU lasted approximately 10 minutes. The interviews consisted of the following SAPS STUs members related to each area/SAPS STU:

- Bergville (KZN): SAPS STU Station Commander;
- The Provincial Co-ordinator SAPS STU of KZN;
- Pietermaritzburg (KZN): SAPS STU Station Commander and one investigating officer;
- Bergville (KZN): SAPS STU Station Commander;
- Utrecht (KZN): SAPS STU Station Commander;
- Cullinan (GP): SAPS STU Station Commander and two investigating officers;
- Vryheid (KZN): A meeting was scheduled with the SAPS STU Commander of Vryheid, however a day before the interview, the researcher was informed that, due to an unforeseen police operation, the Station Commander would not be available to be interviewed the next day. When copies of the dockets at the Vryheid SAPS STU were collected, it was confirmed that the Station Commander was out on the police operation and that no investigating officer was present with whom an interview could be conducted. It was arranged with the secretary of the SAPS STU that the researcher would email a questionnaire to the Station Commander which he could complete in his own time. However, the semi-structured interview schedule was never sent back despite following up on two occasions. Lastly, interviews with the victims also took between one and two hours with each victim.

4.10.3. Interview setting

The interviews were conducted in vacant offices within the correctional centres, except for Kgoši Mampuru II (Pretoria) and Durban correctional centres. At Kgoši Mampuru II, the interviews were conducted in the area where consultations are usually held between the offenders' and their legal representatives while, in Durban, the interview with the offender took place in a meeting/board room. During the majority of the interviews with the offenders, the researcher was left alone to proceed with the interview without a correctional officer however, they were nearby and frequently checked up on proceedings.

The researcher met and interviewed members of the SAPS STUs at their offices. Some of the offices were open plan. During one of the interviews, there was quite a distance between the interviewee and interviewer. This resulted in the tape recorder not capturing the sound very clearly. This made it difficult to detect some of the interviewees' responses or words during the analysis phase. Where the researcher met with only the station commanders in their respective offices, the quality of the interview was much clearer. To overcome the difficulty in detecting some of the responses during the analysis process, headphones were used to listen to the responses, which improved the clarity of the sound.

Each interview with the livestock farmers (victims) from GP was individually conducted on separate dates. The interviews took place at the office of the researcher, while the interview with the farmer from KZN was conducted at the victim's residence.

4.10.4. Translation of responses

From the outset of this study, it was important to consider that factors, such as language differences, may arise when interviewing sentenced offenders (Liamputtong, 2014:80). According to Brämberg and Dahlberg (2013:241), a researcher can approach the challenge of language barriers between him or herself and the participant by using interpreters. However, interpreters within correctional settings are scarce. Considering that South Africa has 11 official languages, a person conducting research within the correctional setting with an already diverse ethnic group population is bound to be met with a language discordance (Elkington & Talbot, 2016:367-368).

During the interviews with the livestock theft perpetrators, five of the offenders were unable to understand or relate the information in English. To overcome this, informed consent and permission to use a translator (i.e. a correctional officer or, when unavailable, a fellow inmate of the participant) was obtained from the participant to assist with facilitating the interpretation process. Two correctional officers and three fellow inmates aided with interpreting for five participants who required assistance. Since, there were no professional interpreters available in the correctional facility, Martínez-Gómez (2014:237a), explains that it is therefore common for interpreting practices to be carried out by correctional staff members or fellow inmates out of “good will”. However, ensuring the confidentiality, anonymity and privacy (refer to section 4.11 of this Chapter) of the participants remained of utmost importance. Elkington and Talbot (2016:371) warn that it is crucial to negotiate these elements when making use of interpreters. All interpreters who assisted in this study were fully informed on the rights of the participants pertaining to confidentiality, anonymity and privacy. The participants were also informed of their rights and informed that they were not compelled to participate if they felt uncomfortable divulging information to a third person. All the offenders agreed to proceed with the interviews in this regard.

The duration of some of these interviews lasted less than one and a half hours compared to those interviewed who did not require any form of translation. This could be ascribed to the language barrier itself or due to trust issues with having another person in the room (Bernasco, 2010:297). Furthermore, Brämberg and Dahlberg (2013:241) explain that it is not always possible to translate information exactly word-for-word and that the interpreter’s involvement in the research process and findings need to be considered to strengthen the validity of the study. In this case, emphasis was placed on follow-up questions and prompts to capture the essence of the information that the participant was conveying (Brämberg & Dahlberg, 2013:244).

4.10.5. Offenders who declined to be interviewed

During the research phase, only five offenders declined to partake in this study. Three of the offenders (from Kokstad Medium Correctional Centre) declined to partake in this study as soon as they had to sign the consent form. These offenders also denied guilt in the crime and the impression was left that they may have felt if they signed the consent forms that they were admitting to being guilty in spite of being sentenced for the crimes.

The fourth offender (from Zonderwater Correctional Centre in Cullinan) only stated that he would not be able to help. The fifth offender who declined was detained at the Leeuwkop Maximum Correctional Centre in Johannesburg. His sentence spanned between 15 and 20 years imprisonment. Before meeting with the offender, the same process was followed as described in section 4.8.2. The correctional officials at the centre were contacted and asked to inform the inmate of this study and whether or not he would be willing to meet or partake in this study. The researcher was informed by the correctional officer that the inmate verbally agreed to be interviewed. At that time, the Acting Head of the correctional centre was off duty and an alternative date had to be set for the interview to take place, which occurred a week later.

A day before the meeting was scheduled, the researcher contacted the centre to confirm the appointment. The correctional officer that was in charge of accompanying the researcher during the visit stated that he would be unavailable the following day and the meeting had to be rescheduled for the following week. When the researcher was finally able to meet with the offender at the correctional centre and, after explaining the purpose of the research and why signing the consent form was important, the offender declined to partake in this study. Since the offender was not conversant in English, an interpreter (correctional officer) assisted with the translation. The offender spoke to the interpreter, but the researcher could see from his body language (i.e. expression on his face and the way he conducted himself) that he seemed apprehensive. The interpreter stated that the offender felt that he would not be able to help or give the information that was needed since he was only the truck driver of the livestock theft incident. According to him, he only drove the cattle from one place to another and did what the people whom he worked for told him to do.

The researcher once again explained to him that it did not matter whether he does not know much about the crime and that any information he would be willing to provide would be helpful. The correctional officers also asked him why, when they spoke to him before, he had agreed to participate in this study? He said that he had a lot of time to think about it afterwards and he then decided that he would not be able to help.

In research, it is normal for offenders to subsequently decline to be interviewed after they have initially agreed to do so, especially when a considerable amount of time has passed between the initial agreement and the actual meeting. Offenders may be intimidated by other offenders not to participate or provide information. It could also be that the offender was concerned about

giving information in front of the correctional officer, owing to privacy and confidentiality issues. These experiences are not unique. Thobane and Herbig (2014:19) similarly report that offenders declined to provide information out of fear that the authorities might learn of their admissions and that it may result in further charges against them or even prolong their sentences. Other reasons include fear of betraying their fellow inmates or getting their undetected accomplices into trouble (Thobane & Herbig, 2014:21).

4.11. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Working and having direct contact with research participants raises ethical concerns. Anderson and Corneli (2018:33) and Babbie (2016:320) illustrate that asking persons to describe their thoughts and feelings may open them up to having to recall traumatic experiences. It is therefore essential that certain ethical standards need to be adhere to. The minimising of risks and avoiding harm, respect of persons and cultural differences, informed consent, voluntary participation, confidentiality, anonymity as well as the right to privacy are some of the ethical standards that guided this research study.

Schutt (2017:34) purports that professional associations of social scientists expect their members to adhere to a certain code of ethics in carrying out their research. In this case, the researcher also took into account the UNISA policy on research ethics and the code of conduct enshrined in the Constitution of the Criminological and Victimological Society of South Africa (CRIMSA, 2012). The steps taken to uphold the aforementioned code of conduct and ethical standards are described below.

4.11.1. Minimising risks and avoiding harm

Farrimond (2013:83-84), supported by Anderson and Corneli (2018:8), states that researchers often find it difficult to determine the level of risk and harm their research studies pose. She lists several criteria to assess the risks or harms within a particular study. These include questions such as “is the risk/harm normally experienced by participants in their daily lives? Will the risk/harm be short-lived or have longer consequences? Is the risk/harm proportional to the benefits of the study? And who are the subjects involved (i.e. minority groups, children or institutionalised persons) in the study?” (Farrimond, 2013:142-143).

Farrimond (2013:158-159) also categorises institutionalised persons (i.e. offenders) as a “vulnerable group”. The reason for this is that offenders may reveal personal and detailed information about their lives, such as illegal activities, which might further pose legal risks to this population (Liamputtong, 2014:43). Notwithstanding that such risks generally exist when working with a vulnerable group such offenders, this study falls within the category of low to medium risk as steps can be taken to minimise or reduce the risks (Visagie, 2014:41). These steps included obtaining consent from both the participants (i.e. offenders and victims) and institutions (i.e. SAPS and DCS) and adhering to the principles of confidentiality, anonymity and privacy (Anderson & Corneli, 2018:40; Kumar, 2019:360; Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:62).

The risk and harm of the participants’ aggressiveness or unruly behaviour towards the interviewer (Farrimond, 2013:155; Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:57) and the nature of some questions that may conjure strong emotional responses from the participant, such as anger or distress, during an interview (Anderson & Corneli, 2018:33; Thobane & Herbig, 2014:25) were also considered. Ritchie et al. (2014:204) advise not to assume that the participant wants to stop if he/she becomes upset, but rather the interviewer must find out from the participant whether he/she wants to continue. During the course of this study, only one offender became emotional when he related his experience of the crime events and their sensitive nature. In this case, the researcher did not pressure the offender to continue with the interview, she remained empathetic and gave the offender space to respond in his own time. After the interview, the researcher informed the correctional officer that the offender became emotional during the interview and that a correctional therapist needs to be informed, should there be any unresolved emotions or feelings on the part of the offender. Thobane and Herbig (2014:25) concur that attempts should be made to ensure that participants are comfortable, while a professional demeanour and showing of empathy to the responses also help to put participants at ease, ensuring the minimisation of risks and avoiding harm.

4.11.2. Respect of persons and cultural differences

Participants in this study were respected and their dignity, privacy and confidentiality protected. They had the right to decide when, where and to whom they were willing to reveal their information, views and beliefs on the subject under study (De Vos et al., 2011:119; Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:59).

The Criminological and Victimological Society of Southern Africa (2012:12) code of ethics states criminologists must respect the rights, dignity and value of all people and not mislead or deceive participants by giving a true reflection of their accounts of how the events (i.e. their crimes) unfolded.

For the purpose of compiling a criminological profile of livestock perpetrators, information on race/ethnicity, age, gender, religion and national origin was required. Based on the information obtained, no discrimination was directed at participants. Hence, the researcher was sensitive to individual, cultural and role differences among participants and acknowledged that participants have a right to have values, attitudes and opinions that are different from those of the researcher (Criminological and Victimological Society of Southern Africa, 2012:12).

4.11.3. Obtaining informed consent

Obtaining informed consent from the research participants involved a two-way communication process. This method consisted of verbally informing each participant of the purpose, aims and processes of the research after which the consent form containing all the aforementioned detail was handed over to the participant (refer to section 4.10.1 of this Chapter for more detail on the process). Where an offender could not read or understand English, the correctional officer translated the contents for the offender. Since the study involved three types of units of analysis, the offenders being the primary unit of analysis and members of the SAPS STUs and victims as the secondary unity of analysis, two sets of consent forms were drawn up for each group, one form for the offenders (Annexure J) and a second form for the SAPS STUs members and the victims (Annexure K). The reason for the use of two forms is linked to each unit of analysis's purpose of participating in this study and the benefits thereof. The forms specified the purpose of this study, the relevance of the participant's participation and the procedures involved as explained in section 4.10.1 of this study.

4.11.4. Confidentiality, anonymity and right to privacy

Confidentiality and anonymity aim to conceal the identity of the participants. Anonymity is achieved when no part of the information can be associated with the participant, while confidentiality is affirmed when the researcher promises not to link information to the participant's identity publicly (Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:62). Confidentiality was ensured by not recording the names of participants, while anonymity was maintained by removing any

identifying characteristics from the data (Kumar, 2019:360; Liamputtong, 2014:39). However, where a translator was present (refer to section 4.10.4 of this Chapter), the participants' rights to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity were explained to both parties before consent was obtained. In terms of each participant's right to privacy, that is, the right to decide when, where, to whom and to what extent they wish to reveal information, were upheld during the interview process (Anderson & Corneli, 2018:21; De Vos et al., 2011:119).

4.11.5. Safekeeping of information

The researcher has a duty to report and share the findings of the study (Criminological and Victimological Society of Southern Africa, 2012:13). The information must be formulated in such a way as to avoid any deception. This study's research findings were reported without any ambiguity and no alterations were made to the information to fit the purpose of this study (De Vos et al., 2011:126; Kumar, 2019:361). The data will be stored in a safe place for five years after publication to avoid any discrepancies that could arise (Anderson & Corneli, 2018:29).

4.11.6. Beneficence

Beneficence refers to the need to "do good" in research (Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:67). In other words, stipulating the intended benefits of the study. This study aimed to compile a criminological sample-specific profile of perpetrators of livestock theft linked to the purpose of which was to explore, describe and explain the criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft from a criminological point of view. The research will benefit the criminal justice system and the criminological field by highlighting factors such as the motives, causes and modi operandi of the livestock theft perpetrators. In other words, to serve as a guide to law enforcement in their investigations of livestock theft (for example, by utilising the newly acquiring knowledge on the modus operandi and motives and causes). The sentenced livestock offenders, as well as the DCS, may also benefit in terms of identifying criteria related to offence-specific (livestock theft offenders) and offender-specific (i.e. causes and motives related to livestock theft) rehabilitation programmes. By utilising the research findings on the motives and causes, the DCS can incorporate the findings for the effective treatment of these sample-specific livestock theft offenders. The research can potentially result in the participants (offenders) gaining insight and understanding into their behaviour and they might realise the impact of their crimes on the victims and on the South African economy.

These contributions will also enhance criminology as a science by linking criminological theoretical explanations to the findings of this study and providing recommendations from a criminological perspective.

4.12. DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

Data analysis can be described as a process entailing the exploration, organisation, interpretation and integration of the research data collected. Once the data are collected, the process begins of organising it in a more meaningful way. Qualitative data analysis is more inductive than deductive. This means that the researcher identifies important categories, patterns and relationships within the data. Measures and hypotheses are not predefined (Schutt, 2017:192). According to Boréus and Bergström (2017:7), when analysing data, the researcher identifies and scrutinises the data components. The process of identification and scrutiny is aided by following a certain approach or method, for instance, content analysis. This approach refers to the analysis of the content of the data. It identifies the main themes that emerge from the responses of the participants (Kumar, 2019:402; Wincup, 2017:130-131). Content analysis for this research study is beneficial in the sense that it can be used to examine textual data unobtrusively in order to look for patterns and words in terms of their frequency and relationship (Kumar, 2019:403; Liamputtong, 2014:246).

4.12.1. Interpretation of the data

The collected data needs to be interpreted in order to be understood and the meaning of what is said must be extracted from it (Boréus & Bergström, 2017:10). The researcher's task is to identify the embedded meanings that the collected data contain. This refers to a process in which the researcher gives meaning to the data by comparing it to the meaning articulated by others (Wincup, 2017:140). The overall process of qualitative data analysis begins with preparing the text (Creswell, 2016:152; Kumar, 2019:402). This is done by transcribing the information (i.e. interviews and case studies). The second phase involves reading through the text and making and assigning codes or labels to the text. Next, similar codes are grouped together to build evidence for broader categories of known themes. Later on, these themes become headings in the overall findings of this study (Creswell, 2016:153; Kumar, 2019:403).

The foundation in explaining crime and criminal behaviour is made by applying criminological theory which is a scientific approach to explain and analyse crime. It stems from critical observation, repeated evidence and careful logic. One is therefore able to describe a variety of complex crimes and human conduct (Siegel, 2018:99; Williams & McShane, 2014:1, 3). For this reason, criminological theories are applied to this study in explaining the criminal behaviour as a form of data interpretation.

4.12.2. Data analysis processes and techniques

During the analysis process, the qualitative researcher can manually analyse the text or make use of a qualitative software programme. In this study, the analysis process involved assigning themes manually according to the information supplied by the participants. Babbie (2016:383) and Kumar (2019:403) articulate that, when examining the data gathered, the researcher looked for patterns appearing across several observations under each case study. From this, similar responses were placed under the following themes: the offenders' responses that included biographical details, family history, educational and schooling background, developmental history, employment history, criminal history, offence analysis, financial history, criminal associations, substance abuse, cognitive functioning as well as response to treatment. The themes assigned to the responses from the SAPS STUs members included the nature of the crime incident, investigating cases of livestock theft, convicting perpetrators, difficulties in combating livestock theft and the prevention of livestock theft, while the themes of the data gathered from the victims included, reporting of cases, the nature of the cases, vetting and recruitment of employees, recovery of livestock, the impact of livestock theft, shortcomings in the regulation of livestock theft, methods to prevent livestock theft, as well as thoughts on technological advances in the use of livestock theft prevention.

4.12.3. Validity and reliability

To ensure that the research findings are sound, authentic and credible, two factors need to be achieved, namely, validity and reliability (Maxfield & Babbie, 2018:87, 124).

4.12.4. Validity

Kumar (2019:270) notes that validity is defined as the degree to which the researcher has measured what he or she has set out to measure. In other words, the empirical methods must

reflect the true meaning of the concepts. Creswell (2014:201) and Kumar (2019:271) advise that, in order to ensure qualitative validity, the researcher must check for the accuracy of the findings by implementing certain procedures. The utilisation of multiple approaches to assess the accuracy of the findings are recommended (Creswell, 2014:201; Kumar, 2019:271). Firstly, this includes the triangulation of different data sources of information by examining the evidence they hold. In this study, different data sources were used (Creswell & Poth, 2018:260). This included examining documentation (case docket information) on livestock theft offenders and interviewing multiple groups (i.e. the SAPS STUs members, victims of livestock theft and offenders) to verify and compare information. Secondly, a detailed description is given that transports the readers to the setting. With this in mind, a detailed account was provided as to where and under which circumstances the interviews were held with the participants of this study (refer to sections 4.7 and 4.10 of this Chapter). Lastly, Creswell (2014:201) recommends presenting negative or discrepant information that runs counter to the theme. More simply described, the researcher compares the relevant findings to confirm or refute information.

In this instance, authenticity, transferability and confirmability need to be ensured. Authenticity is achieved when the participant has been accurately identified and described, while transferability is where the researcher poses the question as to whether the research results can be transferred to another case. Lastly, confirmability is accomplished if the researcher can provide evidence to confirm the findings and interpretations of the study (De Vos et al., 2011:419-420; Kumar, 2019:276). To ensure authenticity, transferability and confirmability on the research of livestock theft, a true reflection of the accounts of the participants (authenticity) is provided, while the findings of similar cases were compared to each other (transferability) and evidence from existing research literature on the topic was used to corroborate the findings (confirmability).

Furthermore, only offence-specific (i.e. economic) and offender-specific (i.e. causes and motives) factors and characteristics related to livestock theft were included in this study, as opposed to offenders of any type of crime and offences in general. (Creswell & Poth, 2018: 256; De Vos et al., 2011:420-421; Kapborga & Berterö, 2002:54). The focus is on participants that are representative of the livestock theft crime category, namely, sentenced livestock offenders. It should be noted that the aim of this research project was not to compile a generalisable criminological profile of the livestock perpetrator but to determine who is involved in livestock theft and why they are involved within the sample-specific offender population (Creswell,

2014:203; Kumar, 2019:312). The data were verified by asking the same questions in a different manner to identify any deception on the part of the offender. Secondly, by gathering information from sentenced livestock offenders, members of the SAPS STUs and victims of livestock theft, enabled the researcher to justify each question and establish a logical link between the questions and the findings (Kumar, 2019:403).

4.12.5. Reliability

The reliability of the study relates to the repeatability of the study. That is, whether or not a similar study can reach the same results over time when using the same methods and procedures (Schutt, 2017:57). In this regard, the reliability of the measurements is re-tested by comparing the participants' responses with one another and weighing the victims and the SAPS STUs members' responses against those of the offenders and the crime (Kumar, 2019:278; Ritchie et al., 2014:356).

4.13. CONCLUSION

This chapter set out to provide a transparent and detailed description of how this study was constructed and carried out. The research design, directed by the goal, purpose, aim, objectives and research questions of this study, entailed a case study design that followed a qualitative research methodology. The units of analysis' (the offenders, the SAPS STUs members and the victims) responses were gathered by means of in-depth interviews with the aid of a semi-structured interview schedule, while additional data were obtained through examining police case dockets.

Gaining access to the units of analysis remained a challenge but following the correct process and procedures by obtaining official authorisation is part of any research project. The importance of adhering to the ethical considerations of the research project was also emphasised. This study sought to minimise the risks and to avoid harming the participants and to respect the persons involved.

Equally important is the researcher's duty to give a true reflection of the findings. Validity and reliability were ensured throughout the research process. Data collection methods, such as face-to-face interviews and case docket analysis, ensured the validity and reliability of this study. Data were categorised into themes and the findings were explained through the

application of criminological theories. The outcome of detailing the research processes and procedures – what was done and how it was done – is to achieve the aim and objectives of this study and answer the research questions. The next chapter addresses the discussion and findings of this study.

CHAPTER 5

DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION: THE PRIMARY UNIT OF ANALYSIS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The interpretation of the data encompasses a process of illustration and discussion of what has been found from the collected data. This chapter should be viewed as an extension of Chapter 4, which outlined the process of the methods used to collect information – how it was collected and what processes and procedures were followed in acquiring the necessary data. As discussed in Chapter 4 of this study, the data analysis comprised interviews with offenders sentenced for livestock theft as the primary unit of analysis. The secondary unit of analysis, which is presented in Chapter 6 of this study, consisted of closed police case dockets of livestock theft perpetrators, data gathered from interviews with members of the SAPS STUs and individuals who have fallen victim to livestock theft.

The purpose of the data gathered was to answer and address the aim, objectives and research questions of this study, as established in Chapter 1 of this study. The purpose of the research was to explore, describe and explain the criminal behaviour of livestock theft perpetrators and the aim is to compile a sample-specific criminological profile of livestock theft perpetrators. The objectives of this study were to determine and describe the modus operandi of the perpetrators in the commission of their crimes, to identify and explore the motives and causes of the perpetrators' crimes and to explain livestock theft and the associated criminal behaviour using criminological theories. The following research questions guided this study to reach to aim and objectives thereof:

- When and where do these thefts occur?
- What methods do the perpetrators use to commit the thefts?
- Are the thefts committed spontaneously or are they planned?
- Are there different types of perpetrators?
- Do the perpetrators work in groups or individually?
- What shortcomings exist that make it easier for the perpetrators to steal livestock?

- Do cultural factors play a role in the commission of the crimes?
- What other motives and causes guide the perpetrators to commit the thefts?
- Which criminological theories best explain livestock theft and the associated criminal behaviour?

To address the research aim, objectives and questions of the current study, a case-orientated analysis was followed. The goal of this type of analysis is to understand a case or group of cases (Babbie, 2016:383; Kumar, 2019:196). Considering the amount of data gathered from these units, the presentation of the information is divided into separate chapters. The current chapter sets out the analysed data as collected from the primary unit of analysis, namely, interviews with those offenders sentenced for livestock theft. The first section contains information on the personal details and history of each offender, followed by matters relating to the crime (such as the offence and victim analysis, the nature of the crime and the motives and causes of the crime and offending behaviour). It should be noted that case docket information of participants 3, 23 and 25 were among the police case dockets obtained from the SAPS STU. Hence, relevant information, such as previous convictions related to the offenders' data, will be added.

5.1.1. Biographical details of the offenders interviewed

Table 2 outlines the biographical details of the 35 offenders sentenced for livestock theft who were interviewed. This includes the offenders' gender and age group, nationality, marital status and number of children. To differentiate between the participants (offender or perpetrator), a number was assigned to each individual. Hence, where reference is made to a specific offender, that individual will be referred to as the "participant" followed by a specific number (i.e. participant 1), or where reference is made to several participants, they will be referred to as "p" (i.e. p 1, 2 and 8).

Table 2: Biographical details (offenders interviewed)

P	Gender	Age	Nationality	Race/Ethnicity	Language	Marital Status (children)
1	Male	48	South Africa	Black/African	Ndebele	Married (4)
2	Male	38	South Africa	White/European	Afrikaans	Divorced (4)
3	Male	28	South Africa	Coloured	Afrikaans	Relationship (3)
4	Male	37	South Africa	Black/African	Ndebele	Relationship (3)
5	Male	43	South Africa	Black/African	Pedi	Relationship (3)
6	Male	42	South Africa	White/European	Afrikaans	Divorced (2)
7	Male	37	South Africa	Black/African	Xhosa	Married (3)
8	Male	30	Lesotho	Black/African	Sotho	Married (2)
9	Male	42	Lesotho	Black/African	Sotho	Married (2)
10	Male	35	Lesotho	Black/African	Sotho	Married (1)
11	Male	37	South Africa	Black/African	Zulu	Married (7)
12	Male	30	Lesotho	Black/African	Sotho	Married (1)
13	Male	29	Lesotho	Black/African	Xhosa	Married (1)
14	Male	28	Lesotho	Black/African	Sotho	Married (2)
15	Male	36	South Africa	Black/African	Xhosa	Relationship (6)
16	Male	47	South Africa	Black/African	Zulu	Married (3)
17	Male	29	Lesotho	Black/African	Sotho	Married (2)
18	Male	48	South Africa	Black/African	Zulu	Not married (2)
19	Female	39	South Africa	Black/African	Zulu	Single (0)
20	Male	50	South Africa	Black/African	Tswana	Married (2)
21	Male	50	South Africa	Black/African	Venda	Married (2)
22	Male	34	South Africa	Black/African	Tswana	Not married (2)
23	Male	49	South Africa	White/European	Afrikaans	Divorced (2)
24	Male	48	South Africa	Black/African	Venda	Married (4)
25	Male	70	South Africa	Black/African	Sotho	Married (7)
26	Male	43	South Africa	Coloured	Afrikaans	Married (2)

P	Gender	Age	Nationality	Race/Ethnicity	Language	Marital Status (children)
27	Male	41	South Africa	Coloured	Afrikaans	Married (3)
28	Male	53	South Africa	Coloured	Afrikaans	Relationship (3)
29	Male	29	South Africa	Black/African	Xhosa	Not married (1)
30	Male	56	South Africa	Black/African	Xhosa	Married (2)
31	Male	40	South Africa	Black/African	Xhosa	Not married (0)
32	Male	39	South Africa	Black/African	Xhosa	Separated (2)
33	Male	39	South Africa	Black/African	Xhosa	Not married (2)
34	Male	42	South Africa	Black/African	Sotho	Not married (2)
35	Male	32	South Africa	Black/African	Xhosa	Single (2)

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

Data contained in Table 2 reveal the following:

5.1.1.1. Gender and age group

A total of 34 males and one (1) female offender were interviewed. Consolidating the information relating to the ages of the offenders, the following emerged:

Table 2.1: Age group (offenders interviewed)

Age group	Total offenders	Percentage
25-29	5	14.3%
30-34	4	11.4%
35-39	9	25.7%
40-44	7	20%
45-49	5	14.3%
50-59	4	11.4%
60-70	1	2.9%
Total	35	100%

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

At the time of the interviews, nine (25.7%) offenders (p 2, 4, 7, 10, 11, 15, 19, 32 and 33) were between the ages of 35 and 39 years old followed by those offenders (p 5, 6, 9, 26, 27, 31 and 34) who were between 40 and 44 years of age (20% n = 7), 45 and 49 (14.3% n = 5) (p 1, 16, 18, 23 and 24) years old, 30 and 34 years old (11.4% n = 4) (p 8, 12, 22 and 35) and 50 and 59 years old (11.4% n = 4) (p 20, 21, 28 and 30). The oldest offender within the sample was 70 years old (p 25), while the youngest offenders (p 13, 14, 17 and 29) were 28 to 29 years old.

5.1.1.2. Nationality, race, ethnicity

As noted in Table 2, 28 (80%) of the offenders (p 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35) were of South African nationality, while the remaining seven (20%) offenders (p 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 17) were of Lesotho nationality. This is in line with the demographics of the area where these offenders were interviewed. All the perpetrators from Lesotho were detained at Kokstad Medium Correctional Centre in KwaZulu-Natal Province, which borders the neighbouring country. Shezi (2017:1) reports that foreign nationals represented 7.4% of the total prison population. In 2017, the Correctional Service Minister revealed that approximately 12 000 foreigners were detained in South African prisons (Sidimba, 2017:1). According to Mmutlane (2019:3), there was a 16.83% increase in detained foreign offenders over a five-year period (2011 to 2016).

With regards to race, 28 (80%) of the offenders (p 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35) were Black/African, followed by four Coloureds (p 3, 26, 27 and 28) (11%) and three (9%) of Whites (p 2, 6 and 23). This is also in line with the population estimate of South Africa. According to the mid-year population estimates for 2018 (Statistics South Africa - Stats SA, 2018:8-9), the Black African population is the majority and constituted 81% of the total South African population. The Coloured population stood at 8.8%, while the White population comprised 7.8% of the total population.

Regarding the ethnicity of each offender, Xhosa was the most common ethnic group among nine (26%) of the offenders (p 7, 13, 15, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 and 35) followed by Sotho (p 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 25 and 34) (23% n = 8), Afrikaans (p 2, 3, 6, 23, 26, 27 and 28) (20% n = 7) and Zulu (p 11, 16, 18 and 19) (11% n = 4). The minority group consisted of two (6%) Ndebeles (p 1 and 4), two (6%) Tswanas (p 20 and 22), two (6%) Vendas (p 21 and 24) and one (3%) Pedi (p 5).

5.1.1.3. Marital status and dependants

Concerning the marital status of the offenders, a total of 23 (66%) offenders (p 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 30) indicated that they were either married or in a relationship. Four (11%) of the offenders (p 2, 6, 23, 32) were divorced or separated, while eight offenders (p 18, 19, 22, 29, 31, 33 and 34) (23%) were not married or single. Most of the offenders (p 6, 8, 9, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 30, 32, 33, 34 and 35) (45.7% n = 16) had an average of two children, while those with an average of three to four children made up only 28.5% (n = 10) (p 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 16, 24, 27 and 28) of the sample. Four (11%) offenders (p 10, 12, 13 and 29) had only one child, whereas three (9%) offenders (p 11, 15 and 25) had the highest number of children (between six and seven children each). Only two (6%) offenders (p 19 and 31) had no children.

5.1.1.4. Family dynamics

Family variables, such as the socio-economic status of the family, its structure, parental supervision and parent and sibling criminality or antisocial behaviour have been shown to have had a significant impact on a child's likelihood of coming into conflict with the law (Bezuidenhout, 2018: 88).

Ten (29%) offenders (p 4, 5, 7, 12, 14, 19, 21, 22, 26 and 35) indicated that they lost one or both parents when they were between the ages of 10 and 15 years. Of these offenders, six (p 5, 12, 14, 19, 22, and 35) grew up without a father figure. Research (Bezuidenhout, 2018:89) indicates that the absence of a father figure and where there is no co-parenting taking place – even if the child is raised by extended family members – the child's social, emotional, psychical and cognitive development is still largely affected and different to that of other children who grew up with both parents in a stable living environment. Similarly, Bosick and Fomby's (2018:1500) findings suggest that family instability during childhood affects criminal outcomes in adulthood. Table 3 shows the qualification and employment history of each participant's mother and father.

Table 3: Family history of employment and qualification status (offenders' parents)

Participant	Qualification status (mother/father)	Employment history of parents (mother/father)	Number of siblings
1	Secondary education	Housewife, farmer / milling	7
2	Unknown	Housewife / farmer	3
3	Secondary education	Unemployed / transport	2
4	Unknown	Unknown	0
5	Unknown	Unemployed / steel work	3
6	Secondary education	Housewife / farm worker	5
7	Unknown	Kitchen / farm worker	4
8	No formal education	Self-employed / cultivated land	1
9	Secondary / no formal education	Piece jobs / miner	8
10	Unknown	Piece jobs	2
11	Unknown	Kitchen worker / bricklayer	1
12	Unknown	Piece jobs	4
13	Unknown	Unemployed / piece jobs	2
14	Unknown	Unemployed / miner	1
15	Unknown	Shop cashier / miner	1
16	Unknown	Unemployed / municipal worker	15
17	Secondary education / unknown	Forest / farm worker	1
18	Unknown	Farm workers	3
19	Unknown	Domestic / farm worker	3
20	Unknown	Domestic / factory worker	7
21	Unknown	Domestic / self-employed	2
22	Unknown	Domestic worker	2
23	Secondary education	Housewife / police officer	4

Participant	Qualification status (mother/father)	Employment history of parents (mother/father)	Number of siblings
24	No formal education	Housewife / piece jobs	1
25	Unknown	Domestic / farm worker	10
26	Unknown	Unknown	6
27	Unknown	Farm workers	3
28	Unknown	Self-employed farmers	12
29	Unknown	Piece jobs / farm worker	0
30	Unknown	Unemployed / mason	2
31	Unknown	Domestic worker / builder	3
32	Unknown	Piece jobs / piece jobs	3
33	Unknown	Unknown	2
34	Unknown	Kitchen worker	4
35	Unknown	Unknown	2

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

In terms of Table 3, 27 (77%) of the offenders (p 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35) were unsure of their parents' educational qualification status. Offenders p 8 and p 24 indicated that their parents had no formal schooling background. Six (17%) of the offenders (p 1, 3, 6, 9, 17 and 23) mentioned that their parents had secondary schooling but did not complete it. Only offender p 6's parents completed secondary schooling.

Eleven (31.4%) offenders (p 1, 2, 6, 7, 17, 18, 19, 25, 27, 28 and 29) indicated that at least one of their parents were farmers or worked on a farm for income. Twenty (57.1%) of the offenders' (p 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32 and 34) parents were both employed, while only one parent of 10 (34%) offenders (p 1, 2, 3, 5, 13, 14, 16, 23, 24 and 30) were employed. Participants 26, 33 and 35 did not know what type of work their parent(s) did.

Between 2000 and 2018, the unemployment rate in South Africa averaged around 25.60%. In 2018, 6.1 million people were unemployed (Eyewitness News, 2018:1). In 2019, the unemployment rate increased by 0.1%, bringing the unemployment rate to 29.1%, making it the highest rate South Africa has seen in more than a decade (Omarjee, 2019:1). Hesselink and Dastile (2016:2) attest that both poverty and unemployment can have direct and indirect impacts on children. This is supported by Siegel (2016:281) who states that a family undergoing economic stress tends to be more irritable and less supportive of each other, placing children at risk of juvenile misbehaviour. Likewise, family size also impairs parental discipline, control and supervision of children (Hesselink & Dastile, 2016:2). Profiling property criminals in Turkey, Içli et al. (2010:649) concur that if there are many children in a family, the parents are unable to supervise the children properly.

Eight offenders (p 1, 6, 9, 16, 20, 25, 26 and 28) had the highest number of siblings (between five and 15 siblings). All their siblings completed secondary school, except for a brother of participant 1 who only completed Grade 9. On the other hand, participant 9 whose parents had to support nine children, stated that “we had a bit of money but not a lot, we never had enough to support all of us”. Participants 20, 25 and 26 also indicated that they were financially poor while growing up, especially when it came to their education. Participant 25 stated that only two of his siblings went to school as there was not enough money for all of them to go to school, while participant 28, whose parents were self-employed farmers and had 13 children to support, said that he and his siblings did not grow up very poor and that his parents always had an income. Yet, they could not complete their secondary education due to a lack of funds.

5.1.1.5. Childhood development

According to Siegel (2016:222), parents’ ability to communicate and provide proper discipline plays a pivotal part in determining future misbehaviour. Participants 3, 4, 5, 8, 26, 29, 31 and 35 reportedly experienced turmoil and conflict within their family homes while growing up. For instance, participant 3 explained that his father’s family did not want his father to marry his mother, which caused a lot of conflict between the two families. After his mother remarried, his step father was very abusive towards him and also used to physically abuse his mother. He said that they always drank (abused alcohol) and that his mother did not really care for him and that she berated him most of the time. When participant 4’s parents passed away, he went to live with his aunt. He explained that their relationship was “not good” and he described her as

“heartless”. Participants 5, 8 29 and 35 similarly experienced and witnessed excessive conflict and alcohol abuse within their family homes. According to Bartol and Bartol (2017:306), the effect of domestic violence on a child already includes an array of existing risk factors. These researchers suggest that the child’s age, the nature and severity of the violence, socio-economic status and parental substance abuse should also be factored in. Furthermore, these authors report that studies have consistently found that children exposed to domestic violence show a number of behavioural and emotional problems. These children may show lower social competence and interpersonal skills compared to other children (Bartol & Bartol, 2017:306-307).

5.1.1.6. Role of livestock during childhood

Smith and McElwee (2013:115) emphasise that many rural crimes, such as livestock theft, often require the perpetrator to have an insider’s knowledge, or what they call “rural social capital” to be able to take advantage of the situation. Saner (2014:3) corroborates this and states that it takes skill and knowledge to, for example, move livestock. Farmers and law enforcement alike (Durkin, 2015:1; Saner, 2014:4; The Sheep Site, 2015:1) have often expressed that perpetrators who steal livestock know what they are doing and what they are looking for.

To determine how far such perpetrators’ knowledge extends, other than living in a rural area and working on a farm, the participants were asked whether they had, or were exposed to any type of livestock during their childhood. Twenty-six (75.3%) offenders (p 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 32) confirmed growing up with animals/livestock. Participant 1 stated that the role that the animals played in his life was one of “fulfilment” and made him feel “complete”. Participant 2’s father farmed with approximately 700 milk cows and he also learned from his father how to speculate with livestock from a young age.

The remaining nine (25.7%) participants (11, 19, 20, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34 and 35) stated that they did not grow up with any livestock, while participants 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22 and 24 mostly had to look after their families’ livestock. They learned how to take care of them and herd them to the grazing fields. The value that these animals hold for some individuals could also be seen in some of the responses given by the participants: “it is important for a man to have cattle and we used the cattle for ploughing” (participant 16), “...selling of stock helped us to pay for school” (participant 17) and “my father sold some of the animals if we needed money” (participant 24). Participant 6 also reported that he loved animals and displayed no cruelty to animals even when animals played a role in traditional healing.

5.1.1.7. Religious and cultural beliefs

Concerning the participants' religious or cultural beliefs and whether they played a role in the commission of their crimes, the following emerged:

Nine of the offenders (p 1, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 19, 20 and 28) indicated that they believed in the cultural tradition of paying for a bride in the form of cattle (known as lobola) or practiced some sort of cultural religion. Although the offenders did not divulge what their cultural religion entailed or if it directly related to livestock, research (Mahangana, Gantsho, Mkhululi, Van Rooyen & Palmer, 2015:3; Rafolatsane, 2013:19) supports the fact that, in some African cultures, animals are used to perform rituals, such as during funerals. The remainder of the offenders were either members of the following churches: Roman Catholic (p 8, 9, 10, 14 and 21), Zion Christian Church (p 7, 16, 18, 19, 22 and 24), Church of Christ (p 30), Fellowship of God (p 11) and the Dutch Reformed Church (p 25). Four of the offenders (p 2, 5, 23 and 32) indicated that they were Christians, while participant 33 was of the Muslim faith. Six offenders (2, 5, 17, 26, 31 and 35) had no connotation to any religion or cultural belief. However, there were offenders who indicated that they belonged to a certain domination (such as Christianity), but still believed in the tradition of their ancestors. Their responses are presented below.

- Participant 1 claimed to be a Christian, but he nonetheless believes in his ancestors – “that the body dies but the spirit does not”. His mother held the same beliefs – she is a Christian and she also believed in the ancestors. He explained “she has a gift where she is able to dream such things like a tree that can heal people. She is not a *Sangoma*, but people in the community depend on her ...”.
- Participant 6 explained that he was chosen as the “one” by his grandfather. He started traditional healing in 2004 and stated that traditional healing makes use of various methods, for example, natural herbs and plants, and not only animals. Goats are used for their blood to wash a person, whereas cattle are used in feasting celebrations.
- Participant 9 claimed to be Roman Catholic, but he does not practice his beliefs. His parents, on the other hand, believed in slaughtering a cow when someone died and celebrated with a feast when there was a birth.
- Participant 10 who is also Roman Catholic believes in the slaughtering of cattle during rituals.

5.1.1.8. Educational background

Table 4 includes the level of schooling that the offenders were able to achieve. Each offender (according to their assigned numbers) is presented in the first column, followed by their education level and type of school grade or trade skill achieved. The total number of offenders/participants in each category is reflected in the third column (i.e. Total).

Table 4: Level of education

Participant	Education level	Total	Type of grade / skill
(4); (5); (10); (11); (12); (14); (17); (24); (26); (27); (28); (30); (33); (35)	Primary education	14	Gr 3; Gr 7; Gr 3; Gr 7; Gr 2; Gr 5; Gr 3; Gr 7; Gr 4; Gr 1; Gr 7; Gr 4; Gr 5; Gr 5
(1); (2); (3); (6); (7); (15); (16); (19); (20); (21); (22); (23); (25); (29); (31); (32)	Secondary education	16	Gr 12; Gr 11; Gr 8; Gr 9; Gr 10; Gr 9; Gr 9; Gr 12; Gr 10; Gr 12; Gr 11; Gr 12; Gr 8; Gr 8; Gr 9; Gr 12
(1); (20); (23)	Tertiary education	3	Diploma and certificates
(8); (9); (13); (18); (34)	No formal education	5	
(4); (20); (21); (24)	Certificate in trade skills	4	(4) mechanics (20) diploma (21) electrician (24) welding

Participant	Education level	Total	Type of grade / skill
(2); (3); (6); (7); (8); (11); (31); (32); (34)	Self-taught trade skills	9	(2) mechanics, welding, farming, butchering (3) glaze windscreens, electrical work, welding (6) Co2 welding, rigging, building, butchering, farming (7) welding (8) bricklaying (11) carpentry, plumbing (31) drawing (32) art work (34) shoe making, building

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

Five (14.3%) of the offenders (p 1, 19, 21, 23 and 32) completed secondary school (up to Grade 12). Three (8.6%) of these offenders (p 1, 20 and 23) continued their education and received tertiary qualifications. Participant 1 obtained a diploma in bookkeeping, a certificate in Customer Care and Growth Retention, and Computing and Marketing. Participant 20 completed an Intec course in a Psychological Business Centre and has a diploma in Day Care. This offender mentioned that when his parents were unable to pay for his schooling, he would work on weekends to pay for his own studies. Participant 23 completed a security course in 1993.

Fourteen (40%) offenders (p 2, 3, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 29 and 31) received secondary schooling, but they did not complete it. A total of 14 (40%) offenders (p 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 33 and 35) received basic education at primary level, while five (14.2%) offenders (p 8, 9, 13, 18 and 34) had no formal education background. Only 13 (37.1%) out of 35 offenders (p 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 20, 21, 24, 31, 32 and 34) acquired some form of trade skills. Four of the offenders (p 4, 20, 21 and 24) received formal training in trade skills such as mechanics, electrical work and welding. The remaining nine (25.7%) offenders (p2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 31, 32 and 34) were self-taught in skills such as windscreen glazing, bricklaying, building, plumbing and shoe making.

Jonck, Goujon, Testa and Kandala (2015:142) noted that 16% of people living in South Africa can be classified as functionally illiterate – those who received no formal schooling or did not complete Grade 7. Education, especially in relation to desistance from crime, cannot be overstressed. A number of studies (Dahl, 2016:120; Jonck et al., 2015:144; Rocque, Jennings, Piquero, Ozkan and Farrington, 2017:596) found a strong correlation between truancy from school or a low level of education and crime. According to Pearman (2014:1), the chances of a person with a higher education level engaging in risky behaviour, such as crime, are significantly reduced.

Other research (Maynard, Salas-Wright & Vaughn, 2015:296) supports this view, in that individuals who drop out of school reported a lower income, had a greater dependence on government aid and were less likely to be employed than high school graduates. Maynard et al.'s (2015:296) study also found that these individuals were three times more likely to have been arrested for property crimes, including assault and possession or sale of drugs. The probable explanation is that individuals who are involved in school activities and conform to such activities are more likely to desist from criminal behaviour. According to Jennings (2016:2), the school provides individuals with an opportunity to socialise into a law-abiding citizens and to resist negative influences.

While the link between crime and a low educational level has been established, it does not necessarily mean that individuals with a higher level of education are immune to criminal behaviour, as seen in the case of participants 1, 20 and 23. This may be attributed to the reason that some educated people are more likely to be in a position of power and have the technical skills to make the criminal act easier (Jennings, 2016:2).

5.1.1.9. Reasons for not completing school

Not all the offenders who failed to complete their educational qualifications gave specific reasons as to why they did not or could not complete it. However, offenders p 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 21, 24, 25, 30, 31 and 33 cited a lack of financial means as the biggest reason for dropping out of school, either because their families could not afford to pay for their education or they had to go and find work to support their families. For example, participant 3 stated that, “the money was there, but perhaps not enough”. Participant 9 similarly expressed that “we had a bit of money, but not a lot ... never enough to support all of us”.

Other reasons cited included a lack of transport to school (participants 3 and 18), to look after the family's livestock (participants 14, 17 and 35) or because they wanted to go and work (participants 2 and 6). Participants 9 and 29 thought school was "a waste of time" and saw no benefit to it, while participant 22 said he failed to pass Grade 12 because he "found it too difficult".

Similar research findings (Dahl, 2016:129; Prabba & Maheswari, 2017:238) support these participants' reasons for dropping out of school or being truant from school. Dahl (2016:129) found that students were particularly truant from school if their parents or families could not support them financially or needed financial assistance from the student's employment.

5.1.1.10. School dynamics

Offenders, such as participant 1, who showed an interest in his education and excelled in his qualifications, reported a good relationship with his teachers and peers. He stated that his teachers were like parents to him. He also could not recall being part of any antisocial group, "as far as I can remember in those days, no gangs or drugs were present in the school as it is today". Participant 20 admitted that he failed Grade 5 twice and later his parents could not pay for him to go to school, so he worked on weekends to pay for his studies. Education was important to him and he was passionate about his education.

Participants who conversed with antisocial peers or did not get along with others expressed the following: "I did not get on well with friends, nor my teachers due to cultural differences. I also saw no benefit to school" (participant 29). "My family had a lot of problems" (participant 3). "I had friends who smoked and bought cigarettes. I used to be truant at school. My parents never used to worry about it, but when it came to other things, such as hitting or stealing from other children they were strict" (participant 10).

Participant 28 admitted that he had lots of friends who were rebellious and participant 26 confessed to stealing chickens and fruits with friends during his school years. Moreover, participant 31 reported that

"There were days when I skipped school to go to the field to play soccer. When I was young, I used to do criminal things, such as stealing from home. I would steal sugar, and, in the streets, I would steal others' play things. There was no specific

reason for it. I just saw it and did it. Sometimes the school would catch me with cigarettes in my pocket”.

Consonant to family, the school structure also plays an important part in the socialisation of a child. Maree (in Bezuidenhout, 2018:94) avers that youths can learn necessary social skills, such as meeting deadlines, and those who can follow rules are less likely to engage in antisocial behaviour. Yet, when access to school is disturbed, the chances of becoming involved in antisocial activities are increased. The author further cautions that having access to school does not always mean that a child has a positive experience. Factors, such as the condition of the school, associating with antisocial peers, school violence and bullying can negatively affect the child's equilibrium (Bezuidenhout, 2018:92; Prabba & Maheswari, 2017:238; Siegel & Welsh, 2012:320).

5.1.1.11. Employment history

Apel and Horney (2017:308) aver that, as a means, employment strengthens prosocial and law-abiding behaviour. This sentiment is further echoed in other research studies, which found that the unemployment rate influences both repeat and first-time offenders' criminal activity (Alessia, Slotzenberg & Eitle, 2014:77) and that stable employment could reduce the crime rates among high-risk offenders (Ramakers, Nieuwbeerta, Van Wilsem & Dirkzwager, 2017:1795).

Table 5 below portrays the offenders' employment history. Only three (8.5%) offenders (p 13, 30 and 31) were unemployed at the time of their arrest. Six (17.1%) offenders (p 2, 22, 23, 25, 32 and 34) were self-employed and seven (20%) (p 9, 11, 12, 24, 28, 30 and 33) indicated that they did any type of job they could find (i.e. piece jobs/non-permanent). Sixteen (45.7%) of the offenders (p 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 14, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 25, 27, 33 and 35) were farm workers, employed on a farm or had some experience of owning their own livestock. The offenders who were employed as farm workers did not necessarily steal from their employers, yet, in the case of seven (20%) of these participants (p 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 23 and 28), their current occupation either directly or indirectly played a role in the commission of their crimes.

Table 5: Employment history

Participant	Type of employment
1	Bookkeeper / store manager / also had own cattle farm
2	Self-employed speculator / own business
3	Window glazing / also worked on a small holding
4	Mortuary / herding cattle / building contract
5	Builder / bricklaying / cleaning cars (always struggled to find work)
6	Truck driver (loading of livestock) / warehouse manager
7	Tree feller / bakery worker
8	Toilet builder / piece jobs (i.e. gardening)
9	Piece jobs (i.e. gardening and plumbing)
10	Worked for a contractor in Lesotho
11	Piece jobs (i.e. bricklaying and fixing things)
12	Piece jobs (i.e. working on the roads)
13	Unemployed (sold dagga (marijuana) and vegetables)
14	Farm worker
15	Taxi driver
16	Farm worker
17	Wood cutter
18	Farm worker
19	Domestic worker employed on a farm
20	Police officer
21	Sub-contractor for electrical works
22	Self-employed (sold sweets)
23	Self-employed (provided butcheries with sheep)
24	Piece jobs (i.e. welding and farm work)
25	Self-employed cattle breeder
26	Farm worker
27	Farm worker

Participant	Type of employment
28	Piece jobs (i.e. gardening and washing floors)
29	Car mechanic / building work
30	Unemployed / sometimes did piece jobs (i.e. mason work)
31	Unemployed
32	Self-employed selling art
33	Piece jobs (i.e. farm work and gardening)
34	Self-employed shoe maker and occasional building work
35	Farm worker

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

The direct or indirect roles of the aforementioned participants' occupations are outlined below:

- Participant 1: After being a bookkeeper for 20 years, the offender went into the meat market and started his own butchery. He later sold the business to work full-time on his logistical trucking business. Prior to his arrest, the offender sold the business and started buying livestock from auctions and private individuals. He stated that he preferred to keep cattle since goats and sheep "do not fare well in heat conditions".
- Participant 2: The offender started to speculate professionally in 2000 and in 2003/2004 he started working with business associates as a wholesaler and retailer of livestock. He claimed that people failed to pay him and his business started to suffer. The business was sequestered and he had to begin anew, this time only retailing in livestock. Participant 6 was employed (as a truck driver) by participant 2 to transport the livestock.
- Participant 3: While at a doctor's office, the offender was approached by a woman who asked if he would like to come and work for her to cut glass panels. This is where he met his employer and co-accused, participant 23. His duty was to locate and transport the livestock.
- Participant 4: Worked for a mortuary where he met the alleged "client" who required a goat.
- Participant 23: The co-accused and employer of participant 3 had his own business selling sheep to butcheries.

- Participant 28: The offender worked for the victim from whom he stole a sheep.

Although Aaltonen, MacDonald, Martikainen and Kivivuori (2013:580) posit that the link between unemployment and property crime strengthens as unemployment becomes more prominent, the type of employment and the individual's motivation to change also influence the probability of criminal activity. In other words, the type (quality) of job that has a higher occupational level coupled with qualities of job stability and commitment can affect or reduce crime (Lageson & Uggen, 2013:203; Ramakers et al., 2017:1796, 1811), which could account for 20% (n = 7) of those offenders (p 8, 9, 11, 12, 24, 28 and 33) who indicated that they did any type of work they could find.

This being said, it does not explain why participants 1 and 20 who held relatively stable jobs nonetheless persisted in criminal activities. One plausible explanation, according to Skardhamar and Savolainen (2014:264), is that if the individual lacks true commitment to desist from crime, it is less likely that employment will facilitate distance from crime. Another explanation as to how some of the participants' occupations played a direct or indirect role in their crimes is further highlighted by Skardhamar and Savolainen (2014:267) who cite research that found that the likelihood of property crime is higher during periods of employment. In this case, it is possible that the type of occupational settings these crime prone-individuals found themselves in increased the opportunity for theft and related property offences.

5.1.1.12. Offence analysis

Embedded in the following section is a discussion on the current and previous offences of the offenders (i.e. offence analysis), the victims and the nature of the offence, including specifics on the *modi operandi* used by the perpetrators in committing the crimes.

An individual's prior criminal record is a good indication of his or her likelihood to re-offend in future (Bushway, Nieuwbeerta & Blokland, 2011:28; Hester, 2018:2; Kurlychek, Brame & Bushway 2007:80). Bushway et al. (2011:29) posit that the time lapse between a person's last conviction and his/her current conviction is an important characteristic to consider when differentiating between offenders with prior criminal records. With this said, each participant's current and previous convictions are portrayed in Table 6 below.

In some cases, participants were co-accused and detained in the same correctional centres. For ease of reference, the current crimes and cases are referenced from case 1 to 28. In column two of Table 6, each participant (offender) is depicted next to the case in which they were involved. Columns three and four contain the perpetrators conviction status and sentence term respectively. The last column depicts previous convictions or arrests that each participant has. In cases where the word “case docket” is indicated, the information about the previous arrest or conviction was obtained from the perpetrator’s case docket as received by the SAPS STU. More detail on this is provided in section 6.1 in Chapter 6 of this study.

Table 6: Current and previous offences

Case	Participant	Current conviction	Sentence of imprisonment	Previous convictions/arrests
1	1	Stock Theft (four cattle)	Two years	Stock Theft / Theft
2	6	Stock Theft (R2 mil. worth of livestock)	Five years	Assault
2	2	Stock Theft (R2 mil. worth of livestock – 195 cattle, 103 goats)	16 years effective imprisonment	Arrested/not found guilty of assault + possession of illegal firearm and ammunition
3	23	Stock Theft (60 cattle)	Six years	Assault Theft (1997) (case docket)
3	3	Stock Theft (60 cattle)	Eight years	Stock Theft Theft and housebreaking (case docket)
4	4	Stock Theft (one goat)	Six months	Assault
5	5	Stock Theft (eight cattle)	Ten years	Shoplifting
6	7	Stock Theft (two cows)	Seven years	-
7	8	Stock Theft (11 sheep)	Five years	-
8	10	Stock Theft (six to 10 cows)	Ten years	-

Case	Participant	Current conviction	Sentence of imprisonment	Previous convictions/arrests
8	9	Stock Theft (six to 10 cows)	20 years	-
8	12	Stock Theft (six to 10 cows) and possession of an illegal firearm and ammunition	20 years	-
9	11	(Two counts) of Stock Theft (one goat and 14 sheep)	Ten years	-
10	13	Stock Theft (cows) (unknown total)	Eight years	Selling of dagga
10	17	Stock Theft (cows) (unknown total)	Eight years	-
11	14	Stock Theft (20 sheep)	Five years	-
12	15	Stock Theft (five to seven sheep)	Ten years	Assault
13	16	Stock Theft (one cow)	Five years	-
13	18	Stock Theft (one cow)	Five years	-
14	19	Stock Theft (seven sheep)	Three years	Assault with Grievous Bodily Harm
15	20	Two counts of Stock Theft (goats)	Five years	Stock Theft / aggravating robbery
16	21	Stock Theft (13 cattle)	Ten years	Shoplifting / Stock Theft Declared unfit to possess a firearm Outstanding charge for theft from motor vehicle and contempt of court

Case	Participant	Current conviction	Sentence of imprisonment	Previous convictions/arrests
17	22	Stock Theft (cattle)	Eight years (suspended for two years)	-
18	24	Stock Theft (11 cattle)	Six years	Assault
19	25	Two cases of Stock Theft (six cattle)	Ten years	15 previous convictions + Stock Theft (according to case docket)
20	26	Stock Theft (two sheep)	Three years	Housebreaking / Stock Theft
21	27	Stock Theft (ten sheep)	Seven years	-
22	28	Stock Theft (one sheep)	36 months	Grievous Bodily Harm / housebreaking
23	29	Stock Theft (36 sheep)	Five years	-
23	30	Stock Theft (36 sheep)	Six years	Stock Theft
24	31	Stock Theft (sheep)	12 years	Rape / housebreaking
25	32	Stock Theft of (38 sheep)	12 years	-
26	33	Stock Theft (14 sheep)	Seven years	Housebreaking / rape
27	34	Stock Theft (two sheep)	Six years	Assault
28	35	Stock Theft (one pig)	20 months	Shoplifting

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

The number of livestock stolen (see current conviction column) is presented from the information received from the offenders themselves, except for cases 3 and 25 which were confirmed through case docket reports. The amount and worth of livestock stolen in case 2 was gathered through media reports.

More than half of the offenders (p 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34 and 35) (60%) admitted to having previous convictions of which seven (20%) of the offenders (p 1, 2, 20, 21, 25, 26 and 30) were either convicted or arrested for stock theft on a previous occasion. The remaining 14 (40%) offenders (p 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 22, 27, 29 and 32) alleged to have no prior convictions or arrests but this could not be verified.

From the case docket information of participants 3, 23 and 25, the following information emerged with regards to their previous convictions:

- Participant 3 has been in conflict with the law since 2000 and he does not only have a previous conviction for livestock theft (of five sheep in 2003), but also for theft and housebreaking.
- Participant 23's previous convictions date back to 1997 when he was convicted for theft (stealing copper wire from an employer). Thereafter, he was convicted of assault (in 2005) and arrested for a driving offence in 2010.
- Participant 25 displayed the most convictions of all identified offenders with 15 previous convictions, ranging from armed robbery, theft, housebreaking, livestock theft and escaping from lawful custody. His offences date back to 1969. He was released on parole in 2011 that would have lasted until the end of his sentence term in 2018. In 1977, he was declared a habitual offender for housebreaking with intent to steal. He was also convicted again for livestock theft and related cases in 1999 for which he only received a two-month imprisonment sentence. According to his case docket information, the offender was also out on bail for two other livestock theft cases during his arrest for his current crime.

With regards to research findings on property offences, Alper and Durose (2018:9) found that, during the first year after their release, the percentage of re-offending was higher for property offenders compared to prisoners released for drug or violent offences. Hester (2018:17) similarly found that property offenders were most likely to re-offend after their release. Plausible explanations also tie in with the findings of Aaltonen et al. (2013:580), as discussed in the previous section, not ruling out factors such as low self-control and negative life events such as divorce (participant 23) and unstable employment (participant 3) (Kivivuori & Linderborg, 2010:124, 135). However, Mears, Cochran, Bales and Bathi (2016:122) found that longer prison sentences had the exact opposite effect on recidivism; rather than decreasing, recidivism increased. They ascribed this to the experiences of prison.

Further information revealed that the types of livestock stolen were cattle, sheep and goats, except for participant 35 who was convicted for stealing a pig. This corresponds with the overall extent of the type of livestock stolen each year (see Clack, 2013a:79). All offenders interviewed were convicted for stock theft, except for one participant who was also convicted for the possession of a firearm and ammunition.

In terms of the length of sentence imposed in each case, the shortest sentence meted out for livestock theft was six months imprisonment, while the longest prison sentence was 20 years. The second highest sentence received was 16 years. The majority of the offenders (p 6, 8, 14, 16, 18, 20 and 29) (20% n = 7) received five-year imprisonment sentences, followed by six (17.1%) offenders (p 5, 10, 11, 15, 21 and 25) who received ten-year imprisonment sentences. The lesser imposed imprisonment sentences were as follows: six years (p 23, 24, 30 and 34), eight years (p 3, 13, 17 and 22) (11.4% n = 4 each) and seven years (p 7, 27 and 33) (8.6% n = 3), followed by 20 years (p 9 and 12), three years (p 19 and 26) and 12 years (p 31 and 32) (5.7% n = 2 each), while sentences of two years (participant 1), 36 months (participant 28), 20 months (participant 35) and six months (participant 4) respectively made up only 3% of the sample.

5.1.1.13. Victim analysis

As noted by Bernasco, Van Gelder and Elffers (2017:303), generally, victims and offenders are unknown to each other. In 82.1% of the livestock theft cases (criminal events 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28), the offenders did not know the victims. In 39% of these cases (criminal events 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 15, 19, 26 and 27), the gender of the victims was also unknown to the offenders. Where the offenders were able to specify the gender of the victims, they either saw the victims for the first time in court (criminal events 7, 10, 12, 18 and 21), personally knew the victims (criminal events 13, 14 and 17) or knew of the victims through a third party (criminal events 20 and 22). In only 17.8% of the cases the victim was known to the offender. As far as the victim characteristics (such as gender, age and ethnicity) are concerned, only one victim was female (case 14), while ethnicity of the victims, consisted of both African (cases 2, 10, 18 and 28) and White groups (cases 2, 12 and 14). The element of randomness or spontaneity in selecting a victim is determined by the offender's needs (i.e. to acquire an object) rather than the victim's characteristics (such as age or gender) (Bernasco et al., 2017:328).

As outlined in Chapter 3 of this study, the most prominent theories to explain the offenders' choice of targets (livestock and farms) is routine activity and crime pattern theories (Gialopsos & Carter, 2015:53). The relevance of the victims and how these theories address this is subsequently addressed in the nature and modus operandi of the offence.

5.1.1.14. The nature of the offence

Before expanding on the theoretical reasoning behind the offenders' target selection, it is important to state that each participant's case is unique in the sense of how it occurred. The participants gave in-depth insight into the events of the crimes that they were incarcerated for. Some responses were more detailed than others, but nonetheless, they provided an in-depth understanding into the nature of why and how these crimes of livestock theft occurred. In cases where participants (cases 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 19 and 21) denied any involvement in the crime, some details were confirmed either through interviews with co-accused (cases 2 and 3) and case docket analysis (cases 3 and 19). The remaining offenders who denied their involvement in committing the crime (that could not be verified through the methods) were not excluded from this study to avoid losing any significant details that may provide insight into the modus operandi.

The dynamics in each case are categorised together under Table 7. This includes the number of perpetrators per incident, the time frame according to which the crime most likely occurred, where it occurred, how accessible the livestock was, what (if any) equipment was used, how the livestock were removed from the scene and whether the perpetrators were detected through police or civilian intervention.

Table 7: Case dynamics

Criminal event	Number of perpetrators	Time frame	Place/Accessibility	Equipment	Removal of stock
1	One to three	2-3 am	Farm	Unknown	Transported
2	Four	9-10 pm	Camp/farm	Fake documents	Transported
3	Four to seven	10 pm	Farm; insider information, low security, tied and bribed watchmen	Cutters	Herded

Criminal event	Number of perpetrators	Time frame	Place/Accessibility	Equipment	Removal of stock
4	One to three	11 am	Open field; No security	None	Transported
5	Two	7-8 pm	Camp; distance from main house	Stone	Herded
6	Four to seven	11 pm	Camp; familiar with area; camp distance from main house	Unknown	Slaughtered
7	One	4-5 pm	Grazing/mountainous area; no security	Unknown	Herded
8	Four	7 pm	Mountainous area; knowledge of area; lack of border security	None / firearm	Herded
9	One to three	n/a	n/a	Unknown	n/a
10	Four	n/a	Farm; road accessible to farm	None	n/a
11	Four	8 pm	Farm; no security on farm – gate unlocked; insider information	None	Herded
12	One to two	n/a	Area unknown	Unknown	Unknown
13	Two	4-8 pm	Farm; farmer absent; camp distance from main house	Ropes and knives	Slaughtered
14	Three to four	8 pm	Farm; insider information; farmer absent	None	Transported
15	Five	11 pm	Farm; insider information to farms	Branding equipment	Transported
16	Two or more	n/a	Farm	Unknown	Transported
17	Three	8 pm	Grazing area; inside knowledge of farm	Unknown	Herded
18	One	Daytime	Grazing area; no fence	None	Herded
19	One	n/a	Camp/farm	Unknown	Herded

Criminal event	Number of perpetrators	Time frame	Place/Accessibility	Equipment	Removal of stock
20	Four to five	Night	Communal farm; gate unlocked	Knives and bags	Slaughtered
21	Three to four	4 pm +	Farm; familiar with area	Unknown	n/a
22	Three	1 am	Camp; Insider info / familiar with farm	Unknown	Slaughtered
23	Three	2 am	Farm; situated next to main road	Binoculars, Tongs	Herded
24	Four to five	5 pm	Grazing area; absent guardians; accomplice knew where to go (inside knowledge)	Cutters	Slaughtered
25	Eight	8 pm	Mountainous area; insider information	Pliers	Slaughtered
26	Four	5 pm	Grazing area/near a road	Unknown	Slaughtered
27	One	7 pm	Open field; no fence	Broken bottle	Slaughtered
28	Two	8 pm	Township area; inside information	Unknown	Slaughtered

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

In 60.7% (n = 13) of the cases (criminal events 1, 4, 5, 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23 and 28), one to four perpetrators were involved, while only 14.3% (n = 4) of the 60.7% involved one perpetrator (criminal events 7, 18, 19 and 27). The remaining 39.3% (n = 11) of criminal events consisted of perpetrators working in groups of four or more (criminal events 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 20, 24, 25 and 26). In 64.2% of the cases, these crimes were more likely to occur during the night (criminal events 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 20, 25, 27 and 28) or late afternoon (criminal events 7, 13, 21, 24 and 26) followed by early morning (10.7%) (criminal events 1, 22 and 23). Only two incidents (7.1%) were committed during early morning to midday (criminal events 4, and 18). In five (17.9%) of the remaining cases (criminal events 9, 10, 12, 16 and 19) an exact time could not be established since the offenders had "limited" information about the crime. In 57.1% of the cases, the livestock were taken from farming areas (criminal events p 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23).

More specific areas included camps (17.9%) (criminal events 2, 5, 6, 19 and 22), grazing areas (17.9%) (criminal events 7, 17, 18, 24 and 26), mountainous areas (10.7%) (criminal events 7, 8 and 25), open fields (7.1%) (criminal cases 4 and 27) and one township area (3.6% n = 1) (criminal event 28). The vulnerability of these areas was most notably due to the lack of security (and an absence of guardians). That is, a crime is more likely to happen when the motivated offender identifies a suitable target where there is poor or non-existent guardianship (Gialopsos & Carter, 2015:54). Furthermore, the grazing areas or camps were situated a distance from the main house or near a main road, guiding rather than restricting the perpetrators' choices to commit the crimes.

Walsh and Jorgensen (2017:[sa]) doubt that economic criminals could have access to the information that they need to make the target (victim) selection or crime itself purely rationally based on the limited information and potential hazards of the event (such as the victim returning unexpectedly). He suggests that knowledge is obtained from individuals at grass-roots level, those whom the offender has contact with. Other examples of how knowledge can be acquired include work-related knowledge, friends or living in the area. In nine (32.1%) cases (criminal events 3, 11, 14, 15, 17, 22, 24, 25 and 28) the perpetrators received from others or had inside information about the farm, while in three (10.7%) of the cases (criminal events 6, 8 and 21), the perpetrators stated that they had knowledge of the area.

Not all the offenders (criminal events 1, 6, 7, 9, 12, 26 and 28) mentioned whether or what type of equipment they used during the commission of the crimes. Those who used tools utilised tongs, cutters, pliers, knives, ropes and anything they could find nearby, such as a broken bottle and a stone, to cut the wires of a fence or to slaughter the animals. After gaining access to the livestock, the offenders either herded the livestock on foot (32.1%) (criminal events 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 17, 18, 19 and 23), slaughtered them (32.1%) (criminal events 6, 13, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28) or transported the animals with a vehicle (21.4%) (criminal events 1, 2, 4, 14, 15 and 16).

Concerning the arrest or the detection of the offenders, in four (14.3%) of the cases, participants were detected by community members and workers on the farms and informants (civilian intervention) who reported them to the police. The remainder of the participants (85.7% n = 24) specified that they were apprehended by law enforcement.

5.1.1.15. *The modus operandi*

The perpetrators' views on how the crimes unfolded are presented as criminal events (1 to 28) below. The reason for this grouping is that some of the participants worked together as accomplices during the commission of the crime. Thus, duplication is averted, and comparisons are made.

5.1.1.15.1. Criminal event 1

Participant 1 denied any involvement in the crime and adamantly stated that he thought it to be a police set-up. He alleged that he bought cattle from a person who claimed to have his own farm. He purported that on the day he went to "collect" the cattle, his vehicle broke down and he had to hire a vehicle to load the cattle. "The owner of the vehicle preferred to go early in the morning, past two or three in the morning. I was not aware that it was a police trap, and somebody came to fetch the cattle ...". The offender professed that he did not notice at the time that the cattle were not branded. He asserted that he was, on a previous occasion, stopped by a police officer because the three livestock that he was travelling with were not branded. The police officer took him to the station and informed him of the procedures for marking livestock. Yet, the offender did not seem concerned that the cattle were not branded. The offender stated that the seller claimed that the cattle belonged to his parents and that he (the "seller") was looking after the cattle and wanted to sell them. The offender was arrested by the police as he was leaving the scene of the crime.

5.1.1.15.2. Criminal event 2

Case 2 involved participants 2 and 6. Participant 2 was the instigator behind the crime (although he denied having any knowledge of it and claimed to be innocent). Participant 6 was responsible for transporting the livestock and was known as the truck driver.

Participant 2 stated that he went to an auction where he bought cattle. He was approached by two African males. "They saw that I paid very well and asked if they could directly deliver the livestock to me". When they delivered the first batch of cattle, they presented a certified copy of their identity documents and a removal certificate in accordance with the Stock Theft Act no. 57 of 1959 Section 8. As time passed, the offender built a trusting relationship with these men. He claimed that one day the men brought cattle, which looked suspicious to him because he could

see that the cattle were bred for breeding purposes, but still thought that the animals were legally acquired. The offender posited that it was not his truck (that was used to load the livestock), but that the driver (participant 6) had hired it. During a follow-up interview with the offender, he changed his story and said that he did not see the cattle at all. "The truck driver phoned me and told me that the cattle looked fat. I then told him he must take the cattle directly to the abattoir for slaughtering ... if I knew the cattle were pregnant, I would not have done it". This statement was in direct contrast to the previous statement made by the offender.

Contrary to participant 2's denial about not knowing anything about the crime, his co-accused, the truck driver (participant 6), was able to shed more light on their modus operandi: participant 2 had two men from Zimbabwe who worked for him as "runners". They would walk around until they found cattle and would then drive the cattle on foot to the nearest farm that had a cattle kraal and a loading ramp. Hereafter, they would phone participant 2 to inform him that the animals were ready for collection. He would then send out participant 6 to collect the animals. The truck driver would drive approximately 400 km until he arrived at the scene. On every occasion, the two men would produce the necessary removal certificates and a police affidavit that could be used in the transportation of the stolen livestock. The identification number and details on the proof of purchase of the stock and the removal certificate would always be in someone else's name. The perpetrators operated in the provinces of Limpopo, North West and Gauteng. No specific reason could be given as to why these locations were chosen. When participant 2 arrived at the farms, the animals would be ready to be loaded on to the truck. He would then drive back to participant 2's residence. In some instances, participant 2 would drive behind the truck.

Participant 2 was not apprehended by the police. He handed himself over when he heard that they were looking for him. Participant 6 explained that he saw a picture of the truck on the internet that they used to load the livestock; he showed it to participant 2 who said that he must take it to a mechanic to be disposed of. Interviews with the investigating officers confirmed that an anonymous person phoned them, which ultimately led to participant 6's arrest. The truck was being taken apart as the investigators of the SAPS STU arrived at the scene. Participant 6 claimed that participant 2 never sold the livestock at auctions, only to members of the community and abattoirs, of whom some were permanent buyers. The offender stated that participant 2 received R168 000 for the last incident's entire load but the animals were worth around R650 000.

5.1.1.15.3. Criminal event 3

Case 3 involved participants 3 and 23. Participant 3 explained that participant 23 traded in cattle and told him that his role would be to drive the stolen cattle, while he would sell the cattle at auctions. Participant 3's role was to drive the livestock and he also acted as an interpreter between other farm workers and participant 23. The offender (participant 3) stole his first 15 cattle in 2011 and later another three in 2013. Their method of operation consisted of participant 3 driving around in participant 23's marked vehicle that had a business logo on it advertising that they sold meat and offal. They would use this as a pretence to attract interested customers. These "customers", who were usually farm employees, told them where they could find cattle (normally the customers' employers' farms). The farm employees worked together by phoning participant 3 and telling him that he could come and collect the cattle. Police case docket information also confirmed that a vehicle was used to convey stolen stock to and from different unknown locations across the province.

Participant 3 explained that, in the current case, he walked with the informants until they arrived at the farm. They searched for the cattle for about an hour until they found them in a large camp. Participant 3 phoned participant 23 to enquire how many cattle they should take. He was advised that they should take as many as possible even if it was 100 cattle. The perpetrators did not count the cattle and proceeded to herd the cattle on foot to participant 23's farm. It was only when they arrived that they noticed that they had taken 60 cattle. The perpetrators did not cut any fences to avoid leaving evidence. They bent the gates and let a few cattle through since they were only able to herd a certain number of cattle at a time. At other times, they would cut padlocks with cutters if they needed to. The offenders only acted on information received from their informants and would commit the crimes at night when no one could see them. In some places, there was not a lot of security. If there were watchmen or herders (employees of the farmers), then they would tie them up or bribe them. Participant 3 stated that they did not use weapons to intimidate the herders. He also mentioned that stealing at night when there is a full moon is an advantage because they were able to see more clearly.

Participant 23 confirmed the version of events, yet he stated some facts differently to exonerate his involvement in the case ... "I provided sheep and had a logo on my vehicle, so the community thought I bought livestock. My employee (participant 3) told me that some people were interested in selling cattle and asked if I could help them". Participant 23 attended many auctions and said that he would assist them because they did not have transport to get to the

auctions. According to the offender, the cattle were all legally branded. Information from the case docket also confirmed the number of cattle taken and the original brand mark. The distance between where the cattle were stolen and the perpetrator's residence was approximately 11 kilometres.

Participant 23 said that he knew livestock traders whom he could approach that may be interested in buying the cattle. He stated that "a person came to view the cattle on the Saturday. We agreed that he would return on the Monday to collect the cattle. He wanted three cows with three calves for R19 000. He gave a deposit of R10 000". Participant 3 confirmed this version of events, confirming that participant 23 told him that a buyer (who paid R19 000 up front) would be coming to load the cattle and would then pay another R11 000 at the time. Participant 23 further claimed that he would have taken the cattle to an auction however he was hesitant to do so because "when arriving with a large amount of livestock, you do not always get your price".

In prior livestock theft cases, participant 23 would use his own brand mark and brand marking equipment to avoid detection. Participant 3 said: "Some of the cattle were easy to steal and brand, since some of the cattle were not marked, especially some of the younger cattle". He further explained that cattle that were already branded were taken to the abattoirs for slaughtering (the abattoirs were allegedly unaware that it was stolen livestock). Participant 23 also had his own printing machine to print the necessary removal certificates when traveling with the livestock and knew a police officer who would sign the documents to authenticate them. The officer also informed them of roadblocks and in turn, he allegedly received about R10 000 for his involvement.

5.2.1.15.4. Criminal event 4

Participant 4 briefly described that a *Sangoma* (a respected healer among the African people of South Africa) was looking for a goat (the *Sangoma* was a friend of the owner of a mortuary where the offender worked). The offender explained that, if people need to be taught how to become a *Sangoma*, they must slaughter an animal (goat or chicken). A cow is not allowed. "The ancestors find a cow too big and one does not want to make them angry". The *Sangoma* came to the mortuary to see the owner. Both the owner and the *Sangoma* told the offender to take the *Sangoma's* car and where to get the goat. The offender found the goat in the veld tied to a tree away from people or houses. The offender was apprehended by the police while he was at a shebeen (an informal pub).

5.1.1.15.5. Criminal event 5

On the day of the offence, the offender (participant 5) explained that he went with a friend to look for work. The accomplice suggested he knew a man and that he had a plan to get money, but when they saw cattle next to the road, they decided on the spot that they would steal the cattle. He admitted that he was afraid to steal the cattle, but that his friend convinced him to do so. He explained that the house was relatively far away from the camp. They cut the wires of the fence using a stone, and only took the number of cattle that they could manage. They herded the cattle from the camp to the road and walked quite a distance until they heard shots. His accomplice was shot in the hand, but the offender managed to run away. The accomplice who was subsequently taken into custody by the police informed them of the offender and he was apprehended the following day. The perpetrators wanted to sell the cattle for R3 500 each, but they were willing to sell them for any amount, as they did not know the market price. The offender claimed that they did not have buyers because it was a spontaneous decision to steal the cattle and therefore no specific plan was set in place. To avoid detection, the offender stated that, when a car drove by, they would “look innocent”. The offender admitted, that despite the fact that it was not easy to steal the cattle, some farms did not have a lot of security.

5.1.1.15.6. Criminal event 6

Participant 7 denied knowing that the livestock was stolen; he specified that he went to visit a friend. Later in the evening, he got into the car with his friend and another person to go and collect some clothes. On their way, they stopped at what the offender described as bushes. Four other people appeared from the bushes and loaded something into the boot of the car, which was later revealed to be two slaughtered cows. The offender admitted that he knew the area well and that he had used the road on previous occasions. He further described that the main house was situated far away from the bushes. Since the offender denied any involvement in the crime, he was unable to provide more details of the case. As to the offender’s arrest, he and his friend left the scene of the crime as two other vehicles approached them, one from behind and the other one from the front. One was a police officer and the other a farmer who ordered the suspects to open the boot of the car, which led to their subsequent arrest. The police also gathered cell-phone records of the offender, placing him at the scene of the crime.

5.1.1.15.7. Criminal event 7

Participant 8 alleged that he tried to take 14 sheep, but that he only managed to take 11. He herded the sheep until the next morning when he was apprehended by the SAPS STU (in KZN). He claimed that he left the sheep on a “flat open ground” before he went to the border because he intended to return for the sheep when it was darker. The offender reported that he did not plan the offence, “I was just walking past, on my way to visit my girlfriend, when I saw the sheep ...”. He was allegedly arrested at the Lesotho border.

5.1.1.15.8. Criminal event 8

In case 8, three participants (9, 10 and 12) were accomplices with another person. They went to the mountains near the Lesotho border. According to participant 9, it was the nearest and easiest way to steal cattle by crossing the border from Lesotho to South Africa. This “expedition” took them at least four days. Participant 12 also indicated that they did not go straight to the border post, but he went “where there was no security”. The offenders further claimed that the animals stayed in the mountains during the summer and returned to the farm in the winter.

The perpetrators crossed the border closest to where the animals were grazing in the mountains. Participant 10 mentioned that it was easy for them to steal the cows because “nobody was looking after the cattle”. Participant 9 implied that they had no equipment with them, only sticks, except for participant 12 who carried a gun with him. He decided to take the weapon as “it is not a good thing to steal” and used it only if he needed to threaten someone.

Participant 9 had allegedly worked on the farm where they stole the cows before and he knew where and at what time the cows went to the mountains. Participant 9 revealed that they took 10 cows while participant 12 divulged that they only took six cows because, if they took more, it would have raised suspicion. They herded the cows on foot during the night (when no one could see them) and decided to hide during the day as they were afraid that someone might be looking for them. The offenders explained that they already had a buyer. According to the perpetrators, the buyer was a regular customer. They planned to sell the (branded) cattle for R5 000 each. The offenders were found hiding with the cows under the trees near a river by community members and were later arrested by the police.

5.1.1.15.9. Criminal event 9

Participant 11 described that, in June/July of each year, the African people prepare a “pot” as part of a funeral ceremony and that they needed a goat for the ceremony. He explained, “I went to buy a goat, but I could not find the correct goat, so I went to another place and found a telephone number of someone who could provide me with a goat”. The offender phoned this person who said he had a goat for R500. According to the offender, this was cheaper than the R700 they usually paid for goats. He met with the person the next day and the person said that he had another delivery to make. The offender called him the day before the ceremony and the goat was delivered. A few days later the person phoned the offender and said that he had a problem. The police questioned the offender on his relationship with the alleged seller (the person from whom he bought the goat).

5.1.1.15.10. Criminal event 10

Criminal event 10 involves participants 13 and 17. The offenders and two other accomplices were carrying dagga from Lesotho and were hiding on a farm when they were spotted by the farm workers. Participant 13 posited that they were falsely accused by the farmer of stealing his livestock, “the farmer said we came there to exchange the dagga to get livestock”. Participant 17 also alleges that they carried dagga and hid on a farm when they were arrested by the workers of the farm. The offenders were charged in Underberg for stealing 19 cows. They were later taken to Pietermaritzburg where they were charged with stealing 32 cows. Participant 17 commented “we tried to explain to the magistrate that we were going to sell dagga. They may have thought we were trying to steal stock because we were near livestock, hiding”. The offender explained that they have many customers in South Africa who frequently buy dagga from them and asserted that “there is plenty of dagga in Lesotho. Approximately every home has a dagga garden. It is illegal, but there is no enforcement of law, so people try to make money off it”. According to participant 17, they used the route through the farm, which was easily accessible, on many occasions. They travelled by foot for about five days from Lesotho and usually sold the dagga for between R200 to R300 for five litres. The offender said that they easily crossed the border since there was no security. They were later arrested by police after being caught by the farm workers.

5.1.1.15.11. Criminal event 11

Participant 14 briefly described that it took him and his four accomplices about nine hours to travel from Lesotho to South Africa. They received information from a person who told them where to find sheep. The offender contended that his accomplices had already planned the incident before he met them to go to the farm. They hid near the farm and waited until it was dark. The perpetrators gained access through a gate that was unlocked and found the sheep grazing. He said that the sheep were far from the house and that there was no security on the farm. They managed to catch 20 sheep and did not take more sheep, since it was all that they could manage. The perpetrators then herded the sheep, towards Lesotho. As morning approached, they tried to hide themselves in the forest when farm workers spotted them. Two of the four offenders managed to escape from the police, while the offender and his other accomplice were arrested. Participant 14 believed that he did not think that they would get caught and therefore they did not do anything in particular to avoid detection. They gained access at the border through the “loopholes”. The offenders stressed that they chose South Africa because it was easy for them to hide and they were less likely to get caught. However, participant 14 expressed his fears that, “it was not easy to steal because, by the time you are stealing, you are afraid that you will get caught”.

5.1.1.15.12. Criminal event 12

Participant 15 admitted that he knew a person who worked at a taxi rank. This “person” was allegedly sent by farmers to source people who wanted to buy sheep. “The guy asked me to look for customers. I found a customer who was interested in buying two sheep. The person went to the prospective customer with seven sheep although the customer only bought two sheep for R500”. The offender received a phone call from the customer later that week claiming that the police demanded the necessary proof of ownership documents for the sheep. “I explained to the police that the customer is telling the truth about buying the sheep. The police said that they needed those papers. Then the police came to my house and found the five sheep at my house (that the guy left) when I wasn’t there ...”. The offender was then taken into custody.

5.1.1.15.13. Criminal event 13

Participant 18 worked on a farm and, at that time, the farmer was away, and the main house was situated quite a distance from the main field. The cows were grazing in an open field. The offender related, "I went to the open land to fetch the farmer's cows to separate them from the calves. While I was collecting the cows, I took one cow from another farmer which was separated by a fence. I separated the cow from the others and continued with the rest of the cattle to where they should go". The offender averred that thereafter he went and asked for participant 16's assistance to slaughter the cow. They obtained a rope and knife which they found on the farm and tied the cow with the rope between two trees and stabbed it. "We portion off the meat, placing it in a bucket and left the rest behind, after we went back and forth collecting the meat". The offender maintained that they only took a portion of the meat since it was going to take them too long to take all at once. The offender stated they slaughtered the cow at night when no one could see them. Although both of them (in separate interviews) claimed that it was not planned – that it was a spontaneous decision – they considered selling the meat. Since they did not have anyone to sell the meat to and did not know who to sell it to, they ended up consuming it themselves. The farmer found the head of the cow before they could return for the rest of the meat. The police found the bucket together with ropes and knives in participant 18's possession.

5.1.1.15.14. Criminal event 14

Participant 19 knew a young man who was her neighbour. He asked her if she could find sheep for him. She told him the lady she was working for owned sheep. Her neighbour later came to her and told her that he knew she was working on a farm and that he wanted her to go and steal some of the sheep. Her neighbour organised transport and together with the young man, the offender left with the driver. Upon arriving at the farm, the driver parked outside while the offender helped the young man load seven sheep. They gained access by jumping over the gate, lifted the sheep over the gate and carried them to the vehicle. According to the offender, her neighbour and his friend always stole livestock, but that she was not sure whether they sold the livestock alive or only the meat. The perpetrators were stopped by police while they were driving back to the offender's neighbour's house. They were unable to explain to the authorities how they obtained the sheep and were arrested.

5.1.1.15.15. Criminal event 15

The following case represents livestock theft of a more organised nature. Participant 20 explained that he was working in a group of five members, two of whom were from Zimbabwe. Their planning involved sending out the two foreigners to do “research” by approaching the White farmers, since they believed that White farmers were more likely to take on foreign workers. They approached the farm employees stating that they were looking for livestock and would pay them between R2 000 and R5 000 depending on the number of cattle they could get. If the farm employees agreed, the two foreigners phoned the other perpetrators who then organised transport, branding equipment and the necessary transportation documents. When the perpetrators arrived at the scene, the farm employees herded the livestock to the perpetrators who then made a temporary kraal. Depending on how many livestock they could transport and how many they could get, they would take between 20 and 50 animals (cattle, goats or sheep). After loading the livestock, the perpetrators branded the livestock that were not already branded. The offender explained that each member of the group had a task to perform; his task (the offender) was to brand the livestock. Once they completed the process, they waited for the traffic to start and then transported the livestock to auctions in other provinces. According to the offender, if they were stopped by police, he would say that it was his livestock (since it had his brand mark which he obtained from the Department of Agriculture, Forest and Fisheries [DAFF]). Arriving at the auction, they signed in the livestock and waited for the auction to start. They split the money among themselves and restarted the process. The offender claims to have done this about four times. The perpetrators did not prefer a particular province or area and travelled to any province in the country to steal livestock. He did, however, mention that they had stolen livestock from the North West and Limpopo Provinces.

The offender explained that the group was not static and that there were lots of different groups. The groups worked on a rotational basis, meaning that individual members would often alternate between groups. Specific groups worked on certain days but no-one had a specific area. “We would steal in one province and go to an auction in another province”. However, the offender did not know why the group rotated. He explained that all the groups originated from Gauteng and that there was no leader within the group. Sometimes the thieving conflicted with the schedules of those who had daily jobs (employment), but they often made up excuses such as being sick or having to go to the doctor.

In the current case, the offender was arrested for stealing goats. “Before arriving at the tollgate the police stopped us. They asked where we were going with the livestock and whose livestock it was. I told them it was mine, but they suspected the livestock was stolen. After we were taken to the police station, the officer found a tattoo in the ear of one of the goats and contacted the owner of the goat to come and identify the stock”. The perpetrators were subsequently charged with livestock theft, except for the two foreigners who managed to run away from the scene. The offender stated that if livestock, such as goats, had tattoos, they would find someone to remove the tags and tattoos, but in this case, they failed to remove the tattoos in time.

5.1.1.15.16. Criminal event 16

Participant 21 alleged that he was approached by a White male at a petrol station. “He asked me if I knew people who can help him to move things from his farm to Pretoria and promised me R400 to transport the workers”. The offender went with the other workers to collect approximately 13 cattle. However, upon arrival, he was met by police and arrested. The offender denied being responsible and professed that he was set up. He claimed that the person told the police that he (the offender) wanted to steal 16 cattle.

5.1.1.15.17. Criminal event 17

As with some of the other perpetrators (p 1, 2, 7, 11, 13, 15, 17, 21, 23, 25 and 27), participant 22 denied knowing that the cattle he helped to gather were stolen. According to the offender, he received a phone call from a friend who asked him to bring him a packet of cigarettes. When the offender arrived at the grazing field, he found his friend and another person. They asked him to round up the cattle and take them to a watering hole, after which he returned home. The following week the police and another person (allegedly the buyer of the cattle) came to his house and asked him where they could find his friend. The offender told them that he did not know where his friend was. The police then took him to the police station and opened a case against him for stealing livestock. The offender revealed that his friend was a worker on the farm.

5.1.1.15.18. Criminal event 18

Participant 24 explained that he did not have any money to pay for his uncle's funeral. The following day, he saw some cattle grazing in the bushveld, "no one was around so I drove the cattle along". According to the offender, the area was not surrounded by fencing. There were 11 cattle. "I drove the cattle to a man. I told him I am selling the cattle and he asked how much I am selling them for. I told him I want R5 000 each and he said he will give me R4 000. I had five calves and six adult cattle. He bought one calf, although he did not pay it all at once. I only got R1 500 at first, but then I had to leave because I had to go home to bury my uncle. When I came back, people were looking for the cattle and then found them with the man, the man then said that he bought them from me and that is when the people phoned the police". After his arrest, the offender admitted to the police that he took the cattle.

5.1.1.15.19. Criminal event 19

The offender in this case, participant 25, was also not very forthcoming about his crimes. He claimed to have sold five of his cattle at an auction and was later informed that the police were looking for him. The police had evidence against him that he signed his name on transfer papers of stolen cattle. The offender says that he knows nothing of this crime and denies ever stealing cattle. The offender did however state that he sells cattle, around two to three at a time. "I buy young cattle and then raise them. At an auction you can get between R5 000 and R7 000 for one head of cattle".

5.1.1.15.20. Criminal event 20

Participant 26 and his accomplice decided to go out and steal two sheep because they had "nothing in the house" (i.e. food to eat). The sheep were grazing on the farm land. The perpetrators climbed over the fence and carried the sheep (alive) and slaughtered them in another camp. The offender explained that the sheep were grazing a distance away from the farm house and did not make any sound. This was not the first time that they had committed such a crime. He confessed that they had done so three times before, each time at a different farm. They walked approximately 10 km from the main house to slaughter the sheep. The area was well known to them and they mostly took two to three sheep at a time. The offender said that they took knives and bags with them and that gaining access to the farms was easy, "sometimes we would go through the gate; the gates were not locked. We sometimes go during

the day to look where the sheep are and steal during the night especially when it rains because no one is looking". Communal farmers farmed mostly in these areas. The offender divulged, "it was easy to take the sheep because there was no one watching us". In some places, there were cameras but they went to places where there were no cameras, "we knew which places had cameras because we could see them". Depending on the moon, they would carry out their crimes during the evening, as the offender described, "If it is dark, then you can't see anything". They also did not choose a specific day of the week but only decided to steal when they did not have money. The offender expressed that there were about four or five people and that they would sometimes use a vehicle if they took larger numbers of sheep (i.e. 10 to 15 sheep): "The vehicle would drop us off and then we would go and steal the sheep. About two hours afterwards the vehicle would pick us up. We usually sold the meat for R450 to R500". Generally, they sold the meat to community members. A woman from the community where they sold the meat allegedly informed the police where they could be found which led to their arrest.

5.1.1.15.21. Criminal event 21

Participant 27 also denied any knowledge of the crime and claimed that he was approached by people who asked him to drive them to a farm. The offender acknowledged that he collected two people (with whom he was acquainted) and was told to drop them off on a farm 30 km away. "I normally drove school kids to school, so I knew the area well. I knew the farm because it is where I usually pick up the school children from". The offender claimed only to have been arrested by police four weeks after the event for stealing 10 sheep.

5.1.1.15.22. Criminal event 22

Participant 28 contended that his brother-in-law and his girlfriend decided to take one of the employer's sheep and sell it for R550 to "buy something to live on" (i.e. food). The perpetrators were familiar with the farm since his brother-in-law's uncle worked on the farm. The offender also admitted having previously worked for the victim. At the scene, there were about 50 sheep grazing in the camp area. The offender alleged that, "we decided to take one because the others had baby lambs". The offenders chased the sheep further in-land and slaughtered the animal. They stole the sheep on the Friday night, leaving the carcass in the field and decided to return for the meat on the Sunday. "We decided to leave the sheep because there was no one working there.

We hid the sheep in a bush, since too much people walked around there”. The offender could not decide if he should go back for the sheep or not. He eventually decided to return, but he failed to get to the sheep when one of the community members caught him.

5.1.1.15.23. Criminal event 23

Participant 29 averred that one of his accomplices asked him to help him carry sheep. He was unable to say where they got the sheep from, but he confirmed that there were three people working together and that 36 sheep were present. His accomplices left the sheep at the river and asked him to take the sheep home. The next day, they sold the sheep for R800 each. That same day, they were arrested by the police. The accomplice (participant 30) admitted to being the instigator. He described the event as follows: “We sat on a hill with (night vision) binoculars and watched the vicinity – we saw how the people worked and waited until the end of their work day”. After this, they went to the farm which was about 20 km away. The offender admitted that he knew precisely which farm to go to: “You can see it beside the road if you walk that side. We also went to the house where there were no people present; the farmer was away that night. The sheep were grazing in the field and we cut the fence (wires) using tongs. We herded the sheep and closed the fence. We took the sheep to the township and put them in a small house and locked them up. The next day, we phoned the people who wanted to buy the sheep”. Contrary to participant 29, participant 30 stated that they asked R500 per sheep. The offenders were arrested the day after they tried to sell the sheep.

5.1.1.15.24. Criminal event 24

According to participant 31, when he was sentenced to prison for rape in 2010, he met his accomplice who told him about a farm. The offender did not know anything about farming, but his accomplice had grown up on a farm and told him that this farm had sheep. The offender, and three or four accomplices on the farm found that there was no place for them to catch the sheep and decided to herd the sheep instead. “Our intention was to go to the river, but it was full, and it was dark, so we took the tar road to a small bridge which is not far from the old prison and crossed the bridge and took the path on the other side of the river to avoid going through the houses”. The offender said that they slaughtered about 80 sheep that were grazing in the field. They gained access to the farm by cutting the fence. The offender further proclaimed that, “it was easy to get into the farm because there was no one who could see us”.

The perpetrators sold the meat, as the offender emphasised, “there are many people in the community who liked to negotiate the price because they know it is stolen. We would sell a whole sheep for R500”.

5.1.1.15.25. Criminal event 25

Participant 32 was clear that it was an organised crime. They worked in a group that consisted of eight individuals. Knowing the area in which they wanted to work, six members would be elected to go and collect the carcasses. The two remaining members would stay behind “to let the customers know how far we are [with the meat]”. The perpetrators stayed in communication using cell phones. According to the offender, they did not slaughter the animals at the scene, but took them to a “secret” place where no evidence could be found. This secret place was a location, such as a river bank, where no one could walk in on them. The offender described it as a high-risk situation because “if someone saw us, they can decide to join us or get killed”. After they had slaughtered the livestock, they would phone customers to come and collect the amount of meat that they ordered. The customers were not allowed to leave until they had paid for their orders. He said that they asked around R500 for one whole sheep, depending on how big or small it was. It was also made clear that the customers were responsible for themselves should they be found with any evidence. The offender admitted to committing such crimes more than 50 times, since 1998. He alleged that he had never been caught before because “everything was well planned”. The number of sheep they would take depended on how many sheep there were. “If there are a 100 sheep, we will try to take them all because the guys like doing big deals”. The offender admitted that they would disguise themselves, for example, as football players to observe the vicinity for any risks or dangers (i.e. security measures).

For this specific case, the perpetrators obtained prior information about the farm from a farm worker. According to the offender, “that is a good advantage ... the farm workers would go to the townships and give information about the farm. After everything is done, we would give the farm worker an incentive, which also motivates him to give more information again. We give them about R300 and sometimes everyone in the group would contribute R50 towards the R300”. In this case, the farm worker told the perpetrators that the farmer would leave the farm for the weekend. They waited about two days after they received the information. For preparation, they would take equipment and food, if they had to travel far, and wait in the mountains. They would travel approximately 60 to 80 km to the site. Arriving at a farm, they first

assessed the situation looking for security systems and other factors. They then proceeded to the kraal and clipped the fence with pliers. The perpetrators did not take or kill sheep that had lambs, because, as he described it, “they were still young”. After taking all 38 sheep, they herded the sheep back to their place. Generally, the perpetrators herded the sheep about 15 km away from the farm and phoned for transport. The offender explained that they do not tie the sheep to avoid the sheep suffering. In the current case, they herded the sheep next to the river bank and slaughtered the sheep. According to the offender, they avoided going to commercial farms because security was tighter. They selected farms that only had one owner and farms that were deep in the mountains where there were not many people around. The group was still busy slaughtering sheep when someone informed the police. The offenders were identified by witnesses. Participant 31 suspected that one of the members of their group was working as an informant for the police.

5.1.1.15.26. Criminal event 26

Participant 33 mentioned that he and three other accomplices drove a distance out of town when they saw sheep next to the road. They stopped under a bridge, climbed out and proceeded to where they saw the sheep. “We climbed over the fence and rounded up the sheep. There were about 80 sheep, more or less. We drove the sheep into a corner and then slit 14 of the sheep’s necks”. The perpetrators then slaughtered the sheep and carried them toward the road. They loaded the carcasses and drove to the township. Meanwhile, the driver of the vehicle contacted individuals who wanted to buy the meat. The perpetrators received R600 per sheep. The offender received money for five sheep. He did not elaborate in terms of the planning of the offence and only mentioned that the crime was planned by one of the other accomplices who arranged everything. The offender alleged that he was not involved in the planning of the crime and “only played his part”. A week after the event, the police came looking for one of the accomplices who was eventually apprehended. The accomplice told the police everything which subsequently led to the offender’s arrest.

5.1.1.15.27. Criminal event 27

According to participant 34, he went out to collect wood and he heard sheep bleating. He got curious and decided to climb over the fence and saw the sheep grazing. He caught two sheep and started to slit their throats with a bottle that he found alongside the road, smashing it and

using it as a tool to slaughter the sheep. He then carried the sheep back to the township. The offender walked from Shebeen to Shebeen and asked around if anyone was interested in buying meat after which he sold the sheep for R500 each. He alleged that he was scared that someone would see him because the place was “open, so anybody who passed through could have seen me”. The offender claimed that he was questioned and arrested by the police the next day.

5.1.1.15.28. Criminal event 28

Participant 35 explained that he needed to find pig meat to sell to a man who wanted the meat. A friend informed him where they could find a pig. They went out and found a pig in a cage. They cornered it and killed it. The perpetrators transported the pig to the cemetery where they slaughtered it. They placed the meat in a bag, after which they went to the buyer who gave them R500 for it. The offender alleged that they kept and cooked some of the meat for themselves, after which his friend went out and told other members of the community that he had some pork. The community noticed that they were missing a pig and subsequently phoned the SAPS STU and the offender was arrested.

Table 8: Summary of the criminal events

Criminal event	Participant	Planning	Modus operandi (criminal event onset)	Loopholes
1	1	Planned	Hired vehicle and drove to farm	Livestock not branded
2	2 and 6	Planned	“Runners” would walk until they found livestock	Falsification of documentation; avoidance of detection (i.e. selling meat only to community); ready market for meat
3	3 and 23	Planned	Gathered information	Used own brandmark and brandmark equipment. Some livestock were not branded. Falsification of documentation. Abetted by a police officer

Criminal event	Participant	Planning	Modus operandi (criminal event onset)	Loopholes
4	4	Planned	Drove with a car to collect goat	Unguarded livestock
5	5	Opportunity/spontaneous decision	Travelled on foot, saw cattle and cut fence wires	Cattle ineffectively guarded; remote from main house; avoidance of detection (i.e. avoid looking suspicious when cars pass).
6	7	Unverified (denied involvement)	Drove with car and collected two accomplices	Dense area; witnessing of crime difficult
7	8	Opportunity / spontaneous decision	Walked passed the sheep	Unguarded livestock
8	9, 10 and 12	Planned	Travelled across Lesotho border	Unguarded livestock (livestock left to graze in the mountains); inadequate border control
9	11	Planned	Allegedly bought goat	Goat sold for cheaper price (ready market)
10	13 and 17	Unverified	Hid on farm	Inadequate border control
11	14	Planned	Gathered information	Inadequate border control; no security (gate unlocked)
12	15	Planned	Gathered information	Market for cheap meat / livestock
13	16 and 18	Opportunity/spontaneous decision	Worked on farm; separated one cow from the herd	Absent farmer; cattle grazed far from main house (remote)
14	19	Planned	Gathered information; Transported to the farm	Ineffective security measures (jumped over fence)

Criminal event	Participant	Planning	Modus operandi (criminal event onset)	Loopholes
15	20	Planned	Gathered information;	Own branding equipment and falsification of documents; avoid detection (i.e. remove goat ear tags)
16	21	Unverified (denied involvement)	Collected accomplices at the scene	Unknown
17	22	Unverified (denied involvement)	Asked to assist; inside knowledge of farm (i.e. friend worked on farm)	Unknown
18	24	Opportunity/spontaneous decision	Saw cattle grazing and herded the livestock	Market for cheap livestock prices
19	25	Unverified (denied involvement)	Could not verify	Falsification of documents; easy access to sell at auctions
20	26	Planned	Scouted the vicinity	Inadequate security (i.e. climbed over fence); livestock grazing distance (remote); absent witnesses; market for cheap meat
21	27	Unverified (denied involvement)	Collected accomplices	Knew area well
22	28	Planned	Worked on farm and decided to take employer's sheep	Avoidance of detection: Left carcass in remote area with low possibility of witnesses passing
23	29	Planned	Was asked to help carry sheep	Farm situated next to road (vulnerability); sold meat for cheap; livestock unguarded; no one present on farm

Criminal event	Participant	Planning	Modus operandi (criminal event onset)	Loopholes
24	31	Planned	Travelled with accomplice who knew where to go to get the livestock	Inadequate security (i.e. cutting of fence); absent witnesses; market for cheap meat (i.e. sold to members of the community)
25	32	Planned	Gathered information (paid farm workers for information)	Ready market for cheap meat; absent farmer; remote farms; Avoid detection (i.e. wore disguises); avoided commercial farms where security was tighter
26	33	Planned	Drove out of town, saw sheep next to the road	Livestock situated next to the road (vulnerability); ready market for cheap meat
27	34	Opportunity / spontaneous decision	Went in search of wood - climbed over fence after hearing sheep bleat	No security where sheep were grazing; ready market for cheap meat
28	35	Planned	Accosted by someone wanting a pig	Inadequate security measures; absent guardian

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

As presented in Table 8, 57.1% (n = 16) of the crimes were premeditated (planned) by the offenders (criminal events 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 28) while, in 17.9% of the cases, the offenders averred that the crimes were committed spontaneously as the opportunity presented itself (criminal events 5, 7, 13, 18 and 27). Where offenders denied their involvement in the commission of the crimes (21.4% n = 6), the element of planning could not be verified (criminal events 6, 10, 16, 17, 19 and 21). Researchers, Gialopsos and Carter (2015:56) confirm that offenders either decide to take advantage of the opportunities that they come across or search for targets when a need or desire arises. Here, the authors refer to the

terms “alert opportunism” (perpetrator comes across livestock) and “motivated opportunism” (perpetrator goes in search of livestock to steal). Hence, with the criminal events (see Table 8 above) that were planned, the offenders were motivated by opportunism. If the offenders had a desire or need for livestock, they went in search for a target. The criminal events that allegedly occurred spontaneously were the result of the offenders’ “alertness” to opportunity. In other words, the offenders “stumbled” upon the opportunity to take advantage of stealing livestock.

In terms of the offenders’ modus operandi, in nine (32.1%) of the criminal events, the perpetrators gathered information about the farm from insiders, such as farm workers, or had prior knowledge of the farm (criminal events 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22, 24, 25 and 28), while the perpetrators of criminal event 20 scouted the vicinity or looked for cattle until they found them (criminal event 2) before the commission of the crime. The criminal events that allegedly occurred “spontaneously” commenced when the offenders either noticed the livestock grazing while passing the location (criminal events 5, 7, 8 and 27) or during the course of carrying out their work duties (criminal event 13). Other modi operandi included driving to the scene to collect the livestock (criminal events 1, 4 and 26) or to collect the accomplices (criminal events 6, 14, 16 and 21), allegedly buying a stolen goat (criminal event 9), while hiding on a farm (criminal event 10) and when asked to assist in gathering the livestock (criminal events 17, 23 and 28). Loopholes that made it easier for the offenders to steal the livestock, consisted of inadequate security and vulnerability of farms (i.e. no security and an absent farmer) (53.5%) (criminal events 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28); a ready market for cheap meat (35.7%) (criminal events 2, 9, 12, 18, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27); falsification of documents (such as removal certificates) (14.2%) (criminal events 2, 3, 15 and 19); avoidance of detection (i.e. wearing disguises) (17.8%) (criminal events 2, 5, 15, 22 and 25) and selling meat only to members of the community (35.7%) (criminal events 2, 9, 12, 18, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27); unmarked livestock and re-branding of stolen livestock (10.7%) (criminal events 1, 3 and 15); weak border control (10.7%) (criminal events 8, 10 and 11); and corrupt police officer assistance (3.5%) (criminal event 3). Other loopholes included being familiar with the area (criminal event 21) and having easy access to sell the stolen livestock at auctions (criminal event 19). In criminal events 16 and 17, loopholes could not be established due to the limited information conveyed by the offenders.

In accordance with the most cited loopholes, Harkness (2017:133) notes that farms are susceptible to theft due to their socio-demographic factors that include, amongst others, relaxed attitudes to security and “hobby” farmers who farm on a part-time basis that gives rise to absence of guardianship. Maluleke (2018:124) adds that it is common for livestock theft perpetrators to try and remove ear tags or deform brand marks to change the appearance of the stolen livestock, while livestock theft across the borders of South African and Lesotho continues to be a problem (Chelin, 2019:1).

5.1.1.16. Motives and causes

The offenders of this study shared reasons for committing or becoming involved in the commission of the livestock thefts. Motives refer to factors that have a direct influence on the offender to commit a crime, for example, greed or to take revenge, while causes guide the motives to commit a crime, such as poverty or peer pressure (Mostert, 2018:96). The offenders of this study revealed the following motives and causes for their crimes:

5.1.1.16.1. Financial reasons

Financial reasons were cited as the most notable motive for the offenders (participants 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35) (see Table 9). The financial incentive that comes with stealing livestock can further be broken into the need and greed principles (overlapping cause) (Doorewaard et al., 2015:38). In this regard, Doorewaard et al. (2015: 38) explain that a need occurs when there is a pressing matter that requires immediate alleviation for the person, such as financial constraint due to poverty, while, on the other hand, greed manifests itself out of an exponential desire for wealth and self-enrichment.

The lucrative nature of this crime is confirmed by the responses of some of the offenders (participants 2, 3, 4, 6 and 9) below:

- In denying any involvement in the crime, participant 2 declared that he thinks people steal livestock for “the same reasons why anybody would steal something ... for financial gain”.
- Participant 3: “I thought how fast I can make money” (i.e. an opportunity).
- Participant 4 claimed that he was promised R600.

- Participant 6 alleged that participant 2 had received approximately R168 000 for livestock that was estimated to be worth R650 000.
- Participant 9: “It is easy [to steal cattle] because it is easy to get the money [for the cattle]. It is cash on hand”.

The motives of participants 5, 10, 13, 18, 19, 24, 26, 29, 30, 33, 34 and 35 can be classified as those of need. Their responses are highlighted as follows:

- Participant 5: “I needed money and we thought we would get a lot of money for the cattle”. The offender claimed that he had financial difficulties and did not work at the time.
- Participant 10: “We were not working at that time and had no money. I know it can bring in money and I know that people like to buy cows. One receives a huge amount at once”.
- Although participant 13 claimed that he did not steal livestock and was carrying dagga, he averred that: “I was jobless and wanted to sell dagga for money. There is lots of dagga in Lesotho but not many customers”.
- For participant 18, “money was fragile” and he further stated, “it just came to mind, we did not plan it”.
- Although participant 19 was employed at the time of the theft, she nonetheless said: “I had no food in the house. My neighbour wanted one or two sheep so I thought I can also take sheep for myself because there was no food”.
- Participant 24: “I did not have money to pay for my uncle’s funeral and thought I could sell the cattle”.
- Participant 26 admitted that he and his accomplice decided to steal two sheep because “we had nothing in the house”. He also expressed that he was unemployed (refer to section 5.1.1.16.5 of this Chapter).
- Participant 28 confirmed that they wanted to sell the sheep for R550 so that they could “buy something to live on” (food).
- Participant 29 was promised money if he assisted his accomplices. “At that time I did not have work and was desperate for money”.
- Participant 30: “I did not have a job and no food in the house”.

- Participant 33 alleged that he had many financial problems. “I bought shoes, clothes and groceries with the money of the sheep”.
- Participant 34 similarly struggled with money and did not have an income. “I tried to apply for work, but I received no feedback. When I got the money (from the proceeds of the theft), I went home and bought things that I needed like food and electricity, shoes and clothing. What was left of the money, I shared with the children”.
- Participant 35: “I did not have work or money, so I looked at this as an option and went on this other man’s word”.

The participants’ greed and desperate need for money, coupled with frustration and stress, motivated them to commit the thefts. These individuals coped by turning to crime to obtain immediate gratification to fulfil an overwhelming financial need (Mostert, 2018:209; Siegel, 2018:495).

On the other hand, participants 1 and 8 did not explicitly state that they committed the thefts for financial reasons, but they claimed to have wanted to keep the livestock for themselves. These participants’ responses are captured below:

- Participant 1: “I wanted to resell the males and use the females for production purposes”.
- Participant 8: “I was trying to open my own farm at the time. The sheep was in a kraal near a road. I just stole the sheep because I saw them. My intentions were to farm, and my plan was to breed with sheep”.

The above responses from the participants reveal elements of greed (immediate gratification) and opportunity. According to Siegel (2018:495), individuals who are driven by greed tend to take shortcuts to obtain wealth. These individuals believe that the risk of punishment is minimal in comparison to what they can achieve (i.e. acquiring of livestock and wealth). Hence, livestock theft is not only committed out of need but is a desire for wealth and self-enrichment. Participant 20 bluntly admitted that he did it because he was greedy. He stated, “It was plain gluttony, if I have a loaf of bread and you only have a slice of bread, I also want your slice of bread”. The offender also reported having no financial problems.

In participant 32's case, the motive initially was to acquire financial means to support himself and his family, but he later committed crimes as a regular means to an income. He explained,

"I did struggle with money, especially after matric, because my father did not support me anymore. I couldn't find permanent employment. I started with people who already did it and they made real money. I was very impressed with the money they made, but some of them didn't use it for good reasons, they used the money to buy booze or party".

The offender admitted that he invested the proceeds he made and used them to help with the education of family members' children. The group usually made around R8 000 to R9 000 and shared it between the members, "if all went well, one person could make R3 000".

Padgett (2015:88) contends that some people engage in crime because they must (i.e. financial need), yet the author also attests that sometimes such a need can turn into greed. According to Mercan (2019:1), persistence in relation to a criminal career signifies a certain level of commitment to a criminal lifestyle. Thus, the offender's commitment to a criminal lifestyle is likened to an investment, which ties into the offender's rational choice-making process (Siegel, 2018:109). Ioannou, Canter and Youngs (2017:1546) found that offenders view their criminal behaviour as an adventure and something that they enjoy. This confirms İçli et al.'s (2010:642) findings (as discussed in Chapter 3 of this study) that perpetrators often steal for excitement and adventure rather than financial reasons. Hence, participant 32's initial motive for becoming involved in livestock theft was spawned out of a need for money but later turned into greed (Onyango, 2013:34).

5.1.1.16.2. Substance abuse

Other than livestock theft committed out of need or greed, this crime can also be linked to societal ills, such as drug abuse, revenge, peer pressure and a need to conform to certain cultural expectations. Some of the substances abused by the perpetrators included alcohol, Mandrax and marijuana. However, in 2018 (after these interviews took place), the South African Constitutional Court ruled that the personal use of marijuana is not a criminal offence. Thus, it is not a criminal offence for an adult to be in possession of a certain amount or to use marijuana in a private space (Pijoos & Alfreds, 2018:1).

Research (Cheon, Decker & Katz, 2018:183) examining the correlation between marijuana use and criminal involvement found that the use of marijuana was significantly related to property crime, specifically for diverted medical marijuana users and illicit users (Cheon et al., 2018:193). Participant 26 admitted to having a drug problem and that he needed to “feed” his habit. “I needed money for food and Mandrax. I had a lot of financial problems and no work. Work is very scarce, especially when you get out of jail. I just do not get work. We have no sponsors or someone that can help us on our way. I tried to get work and to sell goods, but then I do not have money to acquire more equipment. I have tried to get a meeting with the DCS to tell them about my problem, but it did not happen”.

Felson and Staff’s (2017:381) study on economic crime showed that 30% of property offenders admitted to committing crimes for drug money. They found that offenders with a previous criminal record are more likely to commit crimes for drug money as they do not have sufficient sources of income. Felson, Osgood, Cundiff and Wiernik (2019:1296) report that drug addiction is more likely to lead to economic crime than recreational drugs.

It has also been established that the use of substances, such as alcohol and drugs, may have played a direct or indirect role in some of the other crimes committed. For instance, participant 3 described that, before he would go out to steal cattle, he would drink and smoke marijuana to numb his nervousness. He also stated that he used to keep a box of alcohol in the vehicle before he would go out and commit the crime. He purported, “if you do it sober, then you are scared, or you feel bad and then you lose the nerve to steal or you feel very bad afterwards about what you have done”.

In another incident (criminal event 13), participant 16 stated that he and his accomplice drank alcohol after stealing the cow but, by the time they slaughtered the cow, they felt like they needed to eat the meat (because of consuming alcohol) instead of selling it. However, participant 18 denies drinking any alcohol before or after taking and slaughtering the cow.

Only six out of the 35 offenders expressed that they were addicted to some form of substance. Three of the offenders (participants 2, 5 and 26) mentioned that they used some form of substance early in their lives:

- Participant 2 expressed that, as a young adult, he used to drink a lot, but in the previous five or six years he abstained. He also mentioned that he used to experiment with Ecstasy (at least three times) as a teenager, but that he “was not into it and left it”.
- Participant 5’s drinking problem started in 1999. According to the offender, he “thought” a lot and drank so that he could sleep. Thoughts about poverty and committing suicide were constantly on his mind. At the time of the interview however, he stated that he does not drink anymore.
- Participant 26 used Mandrax for 20 years but did not receive any treatment for it. He confirmed that he does not use it anymore because it has landed him in prison (stealing to obtain money for drugs).

The remaining four perpetrators claimed that they smoked marijuana. Participant 3 admitted having abused alcohol and marijuana for over 20 years. Participant 32 started smoking marijuana at a very young age, while participant 34 had used this substance since the age of 21. Participant 35 affirmed that he learned to smoke marijuana while he was incarcerated.

Felson and Staff (2017:387) examined the relationship between the motive for drug money and the frequency of the use of different drugs. They concluded that, the more the offenders used drugs, the higher the motivation was to commit economic crimes. According to Siegel (2018:521), the onset of drug use is linked to factors, such as low self-esteem and socio-economic status, and that peer influence is a strong predictor of drug taking as people grow older. Research (Schaefer, Vito, Marcum, Higgins, & Ricketts, 2015:830) supports the social learning theory’s assumption that associating with peers who use drugs increases the likelihood of drug use.

5.1.1.16.3. Revenge

Although participant 28 initially implied that he was unemployed and that he needed to buy “things” for his children, his motive could be classified as one of revenge. The offender later admitted that he was treated “badly” by his previous employer (the victim) when he wanted to visit his girlfriend on the farm. “He (the victim) chased me away and then I thought to steal one of his sheep”.

Jackson, Choi and Gelfand (2019:321) conceptualise revenge as being motivated by retaliation, for instance, when a perceived harm has ensued to one's well-being (i.e. losing one's job). According to the strain theory, revenge is viewed as a way of coping with aversive situations (Kivivuori, Savolainen & Aaltonen, 2016:70). Hence, taking revenge by stealing his former employer's sheep was participant 28's way of coping with his perceived negative experience (i.e. unemployment and "bad" treatment from his former employer). Pratt (2016:134) adds that the concept of self-control also influences and shapes the consequences of negative life events. In participant 28's case, losing his job and being ill-treated by his former employer could have caused him emotional and psychological stress and thus he sought a way of coping with it to feel better in the form of taking revenge (Jackson et al., 2019:327).

5.1.1.16.4. Peer pressure, negative peer influence and social status

Participant 31 felt that it was important for him to live up to societal expectations. "I had nothing, and I planned to get new clothes and get my own place ... It happened because of peer pressure, I wanted a girlfriend like others, but it is not easy if you do not have money". Additionally, Participant 14 alleged that, "I wanted to have my own sheep – and I did it because of my friends".

Mercan (2019:1) contends that a criminal lifestyle is reinforced through aspects such as peer group respect and appearing attractive to women. According to Esiri (2016:8), to be accepted by a group is important to fulfil an individual need for approval, protection and safety. Participant 14 was influenced by his social interaction with his friends and to conform to expectations. Participant 31 experienced pressure to live up to group norms (i.e. acquiring status by owning his own house and having a girlfriend). When this could not be achieved through conventional means, such as finding work, he resorted to livestock theft to alleviate the frustration and resentment that he experienced (Hass et al., 2017:[sa]; Henry & Lanier, 2018:155). In support, Esiri (2016:9) contends that the cultural norms, goals, values and life sentiments of others guide and control the actions of an individual once these attributes are internalised through group interaction and experience.

Participant 15 felt that he was influenced and betrayed by someone he could trust for the sake of money: "The guy (the alleged person whom he met) promised me R500 to get customers for him. I trusted him because he was a taxi owner, he was wealthy". This type of scenario was also observed in the cases of participants 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 27, 29, 31 and 35.

These offenders were negatively influenced (i.e. the inability to say “no”) by others, associated with the main instigators of the crimes or assisted in the commission of the thefts. Likewise, participant 16 was approached by his accomplice, participant 18, to aid in the slaughtering of the cow. These offenders’ criminal behaviour can be attributed to the notion of social learning theory. The offenders, through associating with individuals whose beliefs were favourable to and reinforced by the thefts, become attracted to the acts of crime (De Buck & Pauwels, 2019:464)

Studies (Brauer & De Coster, 2015:375) have shown that the behaviour of delinquent peers has a stronger influence on offending behaviour than conventional relationships, such as with parents. A study conducted by Rokven, De Boer, Talsma and Ruiters (2017:698) on how friends’ involvement in crime influences the involvement of their peers as offenders, confirmed that the influence of friends who engage in crime versus a person’s own likelihood to engage in such behaviour is stronger if there are frequent interactions between the two parties. This was true for participants 4, 6, 7, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 29 and 31 where interactions with their peers and those whom they referred to as their “friends” frequently took place (i.e. living or working in close proximity to each other and frequently interacting with one another).

Participant 12 admitted that he did not have many financial problems because he had temporary work. He expressed that his main reason for the stock theft was not money, but to own cattle. He stated: “If you are a man you have to own cattle, if you do not own cattle you are not man enough”.

Mabandu, Bongela, Sosibo and Mkhwanazi (2016:1) attest that cows, for example, are not categorised as animals in many South African cultures. These authors explain that these animals are physical symbols of material wealth. According to the general strain theory, participant 12 experienced strain as a result of his aspirations (i.e. to obtain cattle) and his perceived inability to meet his expectations of owning cattle. This is what led him to the decision to engage in the thefts to alleviate his strain (Knight, Ellis, Roark, Henry & Huizinga, 2017:1457).

5.1.1.16.5. Unemployment and poverty

Nine offenders (participants 5, 10, 13, 26, 28, 29, 30, 34, and 35) expressed that they were unemployed when they committed their current crimes. Although there is a positive link between unemployment, poverty and crime (Speziale, 2014:1083), there are mixed findings on this relationship. For instance, Fallahi, Pourtaghi and Rodríguez (2012:440) found that the

unemployment rate in the United States only had a significant impact on burglary and motor-vehicle theft in the short term. This finding is corroborated by Janko and Popli (2015:4017) who similarly found a significant negative short-term relationship between crime and unemployment. Yet, in terms of livestock theft, as discussed in Chapter 2 of this study, poverty and unemployment are often cited in the literature as the leading cause of livestock theft (Dzimba & Matookane, 2005:65; Kynoch et al., 2001:11). It can be deduced from the actions of the offenders that the result of being unemployed have led to the offenders experiencing strain that gave way to feelings of frustration and despair, which may have contributed to their decision to steal livestock to alleviate these negative states (Siegel, 2018:211). Hence, the relationship between unemployment and the occurrence of livestock theft cannot be ruled out as an underlying cause.

5.1.1.16.6. Family dynamics, childhood development and educational background

Factors, such as family upbringing, childhood development and educational background, are known risk factors for offending behaviour. According to Maree (2018:108), the greater the combination of these factors, the higher the likelihood that a person will experience behavioural problems. As presented in sections 5.1.1.4, 5.1.1.5 and 5.1.1.8, some of the offenders experienced a disrupted family life and received limited education during their childhood development. Gillespie (2016:1) demonstrates that children growing up in a home with a one parent or a two-parent home that has been disrupted by separation, divorce or death, are more likely to have emotional and behavioural problems, such as a lack of self-control.

Furthermore, individuals who come from large families (as in the case of participants 1, 9, 16, 20, 25, 26 and 28 who had between seven and 15 siblings) are more likely to come into contact with the law due to the parents' lack of time and energy for taking care of each child (Bezuidenhout, 2018:158). It is also found that children who leave school before reaching secondary school are more likely to be unemployed and more likely to commit crimes (Bäckman, 2017:716). García, Heckman and Ziff (2019:143) substantiate that positive early childhood experiences promote self-control and reduce criminal behaviour. With reference to the general theory of crime in explaining criminal behaviour, factors such as poor child-rearing practices and a lack of education can result in low self-control and weakened social bonds. This, in combination with the opportunity to commit crime, is what predisposed the perpetrators to the crime of livestock theft (Bezuidenhout, 2018:158).

Table 9 below provides a summary of the motives and causes for each offender. According to Hesselink (2014:175), motives and causes of a crime can often overlap, for example, when an offender is addicted to drugs (cause) and needs money (motive) to feed his or her drug habit. For this reason, some of the causes (i.e. substance abuse) can also overlap with the motives (i.e. financial need to satisfy a drug addiction), which means that some causes presented below can also be viewed as direct motives for the crime.

Table 9: Summary of the motives and causes

P	Motive	Causes
1	Wanted to own his own livestock; (immediate gratification)	Large family size (childhood years); previous criminal history for livestock theft
2	Financial self-enrichment/greed	Opportunistic behaviour
3	Financial gain (immediate gratification)	Negative peer association; previous criminal history for livestock theft; unfavourable childhood development, opportunistic behaviour
4	Financial gain (immediate gratification)	Negative peer influence; previous criminal history for livestock theft; unfavourable childhood development; low or no formal education
5	Financial need/difficulties	Unfavourable childhood development; low or no formal education; previous criminal history; opportunistic behaviour; unemployment
6	Financial self-enrichment/greed	Negative peer influence; large family size (childhood); previous criminal history
7	Unknown direct motive (denies involvement)	Unfavourable childhood development; negative peer influence
8	Wanted to own his own livestock (immediate gratification)	Unfavourable childhood development; low or no formal education; opportunistic behaviour
9	Financial gain (immediate gratification)	Low or no formal education; opportunistic behaviour; large family size (childhood)
10	Financial need/difficulties	Low or no formal education; unemployment; opportunistic behaviour
11	Financial incentive (immediate gratification)	Low or no formal education; negative peer influences

P	Motive	Causes
12	Wanted to own his own cattle (immediate gratification)	Unfavourable childhood development; low or no formal education; peer pressure; opportunist behaviour
13	Financial need/difficulties	Low or no formal education; unemployment, previous criminal history
14	Wanted to own his own cattle (immediate gratification)	Unfavourable childhood development; low or no formal education; negative peer influence; opportunistic behaviour
15	Financial gain (immediate gratification)	Negative peer influence (i.e. inability to say no); previous criminal history
16	Unknown direct motive (see criminal event 13)	Large family size (childhood); opportunistic behaviour; peer influence
17	Unknown (denies involvement)	Low or no formal education; opportunistic behaviour; negative peer influence
18	Financial need/difficulties	Low or no formal education; opportunistic behaviour
19	Financial need/desperation	Unfavourable childhood development; previous criminal history; opportunistic behaviour; negative peer influence
20	Financial self-enrichment/greed	Negative peer influence; previous criminal history including livestock theft
21	Financial incentive (immediate gratification)	Unfavourable childhood development; negative peer influence; previous criminal history including livestock theft
22	Unknown (denies involvement)	Unfavourable childhood development; negative peer associations
23	Financial self-enrichment/greed	Previous criminal history
24	Financial need/desperation	Low or no formal education; previous criminal history; opportunistic behaviour
25	Financial self-enrichment/greed	Large family size (childhood); previous criminal history

P	Motive	Causes
26	Financial need to feed drug habit	Unfavourable childhood development; low or no formal education; unemployment, previous criminal history including livestock theft; opportunistic behaviour; substance abuse
27	Unknown (denies involvement)	Low or no formal education; negative peer influence
28	Financial need; revenge	Low or no formal education; unemployment; large family size (childhood); previous criminal history
29	Financial incentive/need	Unfavourable childhood development; negative peer influence; unemployment
30	Financial need/desperation	Low or no formal education; unemployment; previous criminal history
31	Financial incentive (immediate gratification)	Unfavourable childhood development; unemployment; peer pressure and negative peer influence; social status previous criminal history
32	Financial self-enrichment/greed	Financially support family; opportunistic behaviour
33	Financial need/difficulties	Low or no formal education; previous criminal behaviour; opportunistic behaviour
34	Financial need/difficulties	Low or no formal education; unemployment; previous criminal history; opportunistic behaviour
35	Financial incentive/need	Unfavourable childhood development; low or no formal education; negative peer influence; previous criminal history; unemployment

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

The information provided by the offenders revealed a number of crime patterns. In some cases, perpetrators were organised and thoughtfully planned out their operations, while others claimed that they acted on the spur of the moment. There were also indications that some of the perpetrators were approached and utilised to commit acts of livestock theft on behalf of others.

As presented in Table 9 above, in the majority (74.2%) of the cases (p 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35), the motive for the crime was financial, either one of greed or need (Onyango, 2013:34). Of this percentage, 37.1% of the offenders' (p 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 15, 20, 21, 23, 25, 31 and 32) financial motives were related to self-enrichment or financial gain (immediate gratification), while 37.1% of the offenders' (p 5, 10, 13, 18, 19, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34 and 35) financial motives were due to financial difficulties, needs and desperation. Other direct motives entailed substance abuse (i.e. to acquire the financial means to maintain a drug addiction) (2.8%) (participant 26), revenge (2.8%) (participant 28) and wanting to own livestock for immediate gratification (11.4%) (participants 1, 8, 12 and 14).

Analysing the histories of the offenders, the causes that drove the motivations of the offenders to commit the crimes consisted of an opportunistic behaviour (60%) (p 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 26, 33 and 34); a previous criminal history (57.1%) (p 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35); a negative peer association, influence and pressure (54.1%) (p 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 29, 31 and 35); low or no formal education (45.7%) (p 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 18, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34 and 35); an unfavourable childhood development (i.e. conflict within family and an absent parent) (42.8%) (p 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 19, 21, 22, 26, 29, 31 and 35); unemployment (25.7%) (p 5, 10, 13, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34 and 35) and a large family size (17.1%) (p 1, 6, 9, 16, 25 and 28).

A combination of the above factors increases the likelihood of criminal behaviour (Maree, 2018:108). For example, Jonck et al. (2015:149) found support for the link between low levels of education and crime. Individuals who failed to complete secondary school had a higher chance of being imprisoned. The researchers cited that persons who complete upper secondary education are in a better position to obtain jobs (Jonck et al., 2015:146). Unemployment intensifies poverty (i.e. causes financial strain) and, in effect, leads to criminal offences. Research (Sharkey, Besbris & Friedson, 2017:3) consistently shows that persons with a low income, occupational status and education are more likely to have higher rates for committing criminal offences.

The following criminological explanation illustrates the occurrence of livestock theft and how the above motives and causes relate to the crime and the criminal behaviour of the offenders:

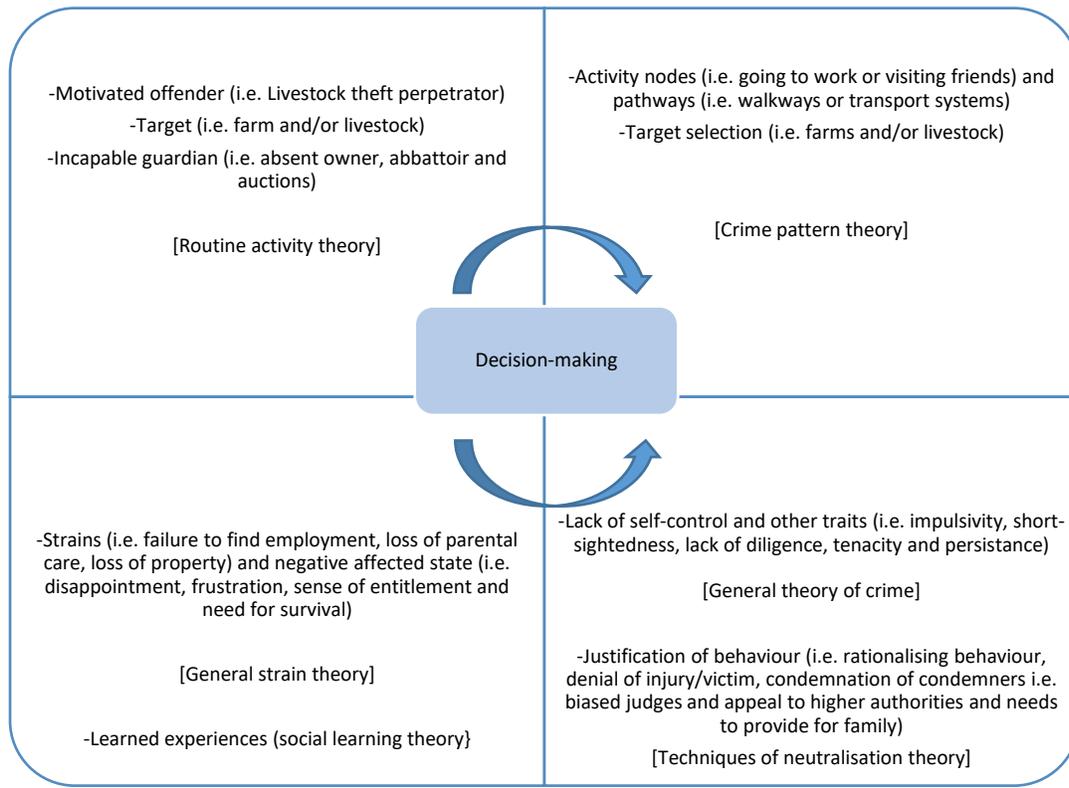
5.1.1.17. Criminological theory underpinnings to explain livestock theft

As a multidisciplinary field, criminology encompasses a diverse range of theoretical concepts to explain crime and criminal behaviour (Case et al., 2017:321). In order to explain crime causation, empirical verifiable data are categorised into theories that explain the occurrence of crime (Siegel, 2018:99). To explain the phenomenon of livestock theft in terms of how and why it occurs, several theoretical concepts exist that can explain it. However, the most prominent and relevant theories relevant to this study have been theoretically covered in Chapter 3 of this study. The theories include: routine activity, rational choice and crime pattern to explain how livestock theft manifests from an environmental perspective, while the general strain theory, social learning theory, techniques of neutralisation and general theory of crime explain the crime from a sociological perspective and focus on what drives the perpetrator to engage in livestock theft. These theories have been combined to formulate a criminological matrix to illustrate the nature of livestock theft and the perpetrators' behaviour.

5.1.1.17.1. A criminological matrix of livestock theft

Because no single or specific theory can explain livestock theft or any other criminal behaviour, the following matrix (as depicted in Figure 5) is designed to combine the central elements of the theories as discussed in Chapter 3 of this study. The purpose of this is to provide a theoretical explanation as to how and why livestock theft occurs from a criminological perspective.

Figure 5: Criminological matrix of the occurrence of livestock theft



(Researcher’s illustration, 2019)

The matrix developed proposes that livestock theft is guided by a decision-making process (rational choice). All the offenders displayed elements of rationality and conscious decision-making, even in the cases where the offenders (i.e. participants 4, 15, 16 and 21) denied any responsibility or direct involvement. A number of factors (i.e. motivated offender, target selection and an incapable guardian) and attributes (i.e. strains, learned experiences and traits) can influence this decision-making process.

The first explanation, namely, the general strain theory, suggests that the potential livestock theft perpetrator experiences certain strains that may include: chronic unemployment, poverty, an insatiable need for wealth, prestige and status problems (Berzina, 2017:2; Henry & Lanier, 2018:156). The following strains were identified as potential drivers of the offending behaviour of the perpetrators in this study: unemployment, limited education, financial desperation/need, self-enrichment, greed and need for wealth and status. These strains, if intense and frequent enough, can give rise to negative affective states (feelings) such as anger, frustration,

desperation and disappointment (Siegel, 2016:202). The majority of the perpetrators' motivations stemmed from a desire to financially gain from (participants 3, 4, 9, 11, 15, 21 and 31) or enrich themselves (participants 2, 6, 8, 20, 23, 25 and 32) by engaging in the thefts. Offenders (participants 5, 10, 13, 18, 19, 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34 and 35) were likewise motivated by the financial prospects of the crime, although their motivations were of desperation and need, rather than enriching themselves, while offenders (participants 11, 21, 29, 31 and 35) were likewise driven by the promise of a financial incentive if they committed or aided in the crime. The motivation for livestock theft was not purely financial. Offenders were also motivated by the desire to have their own livestock (participants 1, 8, 12 and 14), were influenced by peers to engage in the crime (participants 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 29, 31 and 35) or committed the theft to obtain money to maintain a drug addiction (participant 26), whereas participant 28's main motivation was to take revenge against the victim, besides having a need for money.

Once the perpetrator is motivated, a suitable target is sought. Livestock is a suitable target due to its high monetary value and profitability and because it does not lose its value as other commodities do (KZNDCSL, 2008:11). The financial value of these animals is illustrated in the amount of money the perpetrators can obtain for them. For instance, participant 2 acquired approximately R168 000 for the livestock from his last crime. Participant 23 would have received about R19 000 for the stolen cattle, while participants 9, 10, 12 and 18 admitted to selling cattle for R5 000 each (or between R5 000 and R7 000 – participant 25). Even smaller livestock, such as sheep, goats and meat, were sold for approximately R500. In addition, the suitability of the livestock as targets of theft is further determined by their ease of access and movability. The participants either loaded the livestock onto a truck or vehicle, herded the livestock on foot or carried them. Participant 26 claimed that the sheep grazed a distance from the main house and also did not make any sound. With regards to the accessibility of the animals, participant 3 admitted that they did not even have to cut the fence, but only needed to bend the wires to let the cattle through. It was also found that basic security measures, such as locked gates and fences, were lacking.

Individuals, such as the owners, abattoirs and other relevant role players who can guard or act as guardians, are not always available or do not abide by the means (such as laws and branding of livestock) to counteract the perpetrators' opportunity to steal the livestock (Clack, 2015b:102).

This study's findings show that absent owners, herdsman or unsuspecting abattoirs and auctioneers, and even police officials who are naturally viewed as the assigned guardians of the livestock, contributed to the crimes. The perpetrator's decision, as to what type of target to select, is based on what he or she is familiar with. The basic assumption is that a criminal's routine occurs between different places, activities and paths. As such, the location of the crime can intersect with this normal activity space of the offender.

During this series of activity nodes and pathways (for example, going to work or visiting friends), the perpetrator may come across a potential target (opportunity) (Weisburd et al., 2016:38). This is illustrative of this study's findings where, in criminal events 2, 3 and 15, the offenders either drove around in search of potential targets or they approached other people to obtain more information as to where they could acquire livestock.

In criminal event 5, the perpetrators went in search of work when they spotted cattle next to the road. This also occurred in criminal events 7, 18, 26 and 27 when they travelled past livestock and saw an opportunity to take them. In criminal events 16, 17, 21 and 23, perpetrators' paths also crossed with the scene of the crimes when they were asked to help transport livestock. Those who worked on the farm, included participants 8, 19, 19 and 22. It should also be noted that the target referred to here is not necessarily livestock, but could be a farm that houses livestock.

The decision as to whether the target (farm or livestock) is worthy of pursuit, is dependent on the characteristics and site of the intended target. As farms are by nature remotely isolated and are often characterised by factors, such as rugged terrains, surrounded by mountains or are easily accessible from main roads, this makes access and escape without being seen attractive to perpetrators (Ceccato, 2016:260), as depicted in criminal events 5, 8, 11, 18, 20, 23, 24, 25 and 26. During the decision-making process, the perpetrator will also consider any learned experiences. According to the social learning theory, these learned experiences could be methods learned and utilised from a previous committed crime, through interacting with known associates or past knowledge and skills (Vito & Maahs, 2017:147). Participants 4, 5, 6, 13, 15, 19, 23, 24, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35 had previous convictions, while participants 1, 3, 20, 21, 25, 26 and 30 had previous convictions for livestock theft.

This indicates that the offenders were familiar with these operations and knew what they were doing (i.e. learned behaviour). These individuals reinforced their behaviour by defining it as just and learned to define this behaviour as good when there is positive reinforcement (i.e. reaping the rewards) without minimal punishment (i.e. long-term imprisonment).

Participants 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 27, 29, 31 and 35 were enticed by their peers with the prospects of being rewarded (i.e. financial incentive) if they abetted in the crimes. The offenders' reasoning, in terms of weighing up the costs and benefits of engaging in the crime, could also be seen in the way they approached the situation. Participant 34 claimed that he was afraid that someone would spot him during the criminal act, but he nonetheless continued to see the act through to the end. Another case where the benefits of the crime outweighed the costs was illustrated by participant 19. She believed that she could benefit much more from gaining one or two sheep and was therefore willing to overlook the potential risks (i.e. getting arrested, losing her job) of engaging in the crime. In consonance with the general theory of crime, the final decision to commit the crime is further propelled by the perpetrators' individual traits and characteristics – a lack of self-control and impulsivity (i.e. opportunistic behaviour) (Siegel, 2016:305). Siegel (2018:322) believes that individuals with low self-control tend to enjoy risky behaviour with immediate gratification. Such individuals gain satisfaction, for example, from earning money without working. For example, participant 3 admitted that he became involved in the crime after he wondered how to make money quickly. Opportunistic behaviour was also observed in participants 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 26, 33 and 34. In these cases, the perpetrators acted on their decisions to commit the crimes when the opportunity presented itself, a decision which is ascribed to low self-control and impulsivity (Vito & Maahs, 2017:155).

The perpetrators further justified their criminal acts by rationalising their behaviour through a series of neutralisation techniques (Henri & Lanier, 2018:101). Although some of the offenders viewed the crime as serious, they nevertheless likened it to the length of the sentences that they received and not as a result of feeling remorseful. These responses are depicted below:

- Participant 3: "I thought to myself that people who murder does not even receive such long sentence as I have and then I thought that livestock theft must then be a very serious crime".

- Participant 5: “It must be a serious crime, because the magistrate told me that I needed a lawyer because it was a ‘big’ crime”.
- Participant 9: “It is a serious crime because, you can come to prison”.
- Participant 14: “It is a serious crime because now I am in jail which is very serious to me”.
- Participant 15: “It is a serious case because, when I look at my sentence, it really shows. I was not aware of it before, but after my case, it is serious”.
- Participant 16: “It is a serious crime because it is five years that I have received ... if it was not my first offence, I would have gotten more”.
- Participant 17: “It is serious because my sentence shows it”.
- Participant 18: “It is a serious crime because of the sentence I received and because I took the meat”.
- Participant 22: “Yes, it is serious because I was a first offender and they gave me six years imprisonment. The sentence they gave me makes me think it was a serious crime”.
- Participant 28: “It is serious if you are a habitual offender like me”.
- Participant 29: “I did not think it was serious before, but now I see it is because I am here in jail”.
- Participant 33: “It is serious because I received seven years”.

The following offenders viewed livestock theft as a serious crime, but justified their behaviour or perceived the seriousness of the crime in terms of the risk it posed:

- Participant 10: “It is a serious crime if you have a job, but I had to make ends meet”.
- Participant 12: “It is a serious crime because our lives are in danger from the owner (referring to being caught)”.
- Participant 26: “It is a serious crime because you can get shot”.

According to the theory of neutralisation, a person will neutralise his or her feelings of guilt and shame by rationalising the reasons why they have committed the crime (Bartol & Bartol, 2017:445).

In this case, the above participants acknowledged that livestock is a serious crime, but they rationalised their actions by fearing for their own lives rather than acknowledging responsibility for what they have done (Siegel, 2016:234).

On the other hand, those opposed to the view that livestock theft is a serious crime made up only 5.7% of the sample. The two offenders' responses were:

- Participant 11: "... because persons rape kids and only get eight years ... there is not truth in this world". The offender further went on to say that the person who initially sold him the goat was rich and he believed that the person "bought" his way out of being charged. He was of the view that "if you do not have money the police will arrest you".
- Participant 25: "If a person can say that to kill someone, that is serious – you cannot say it is the same as Stock Theft. I do not think it is a serious crime".

In rationalising the reasons for their crimes, the participants admittedly denied any responsibility for their actions. For example, participant 11 projected blame onto another, while participant 25 minimalised the seriousness of the crime by stating that there are worse crimes committed, hence both perpetrators were able to repress their feelings of knowing that their actions were wrong (Siegel, 2016:234).

In terms of taking responsibility for the crime, participant 2 stated that he felt sorry for the victims and what happened to them, yet he still denied his involvement: "I do take responsibility to a certain degree, in the sense that I have handed myself over to the police and through the sentence I am serving. I am not someone that runs away from responsibilities. I received (not stole) the livestock and I am heavily punished for it". Participant 2 also mentioned that, "murderers are given less harsh sentences and walks free, but I received a heavy sentence for this type of crime. I now sit between murderers who does not feel anything". The offender further noted that "I am now branded (stigmatised) as a criminal and it has a bigger impact because my family is suffering for it. My family is finding it very hard, especially my mother's health is deteriorating ... this sentence is unfair".

Other offenders, who expressed regret towards their circumstances rather than expressing regret as to the consequences of their crimes, had the following to say about the sentences they received:

- Participant 4: "I am worried that my sentence was too harsh".

- Participant 5: “Ten years imprisonment is too much for me because I am a first-time offender” (despite the offender having admitted to a previous conviction for shoplifting).
- Participant 6: “I do not have a problem with my sentence, I take responsibility for what happened and that I have been charged with stock theft, but I did not commit the act”.
- Participant 10: “Ten years is very serious as I could have looked for work to care for my family”.
- Participant 15: “It has really humiliated me because I do not know what I am here for. I feel bad about what happened to me, if I knew the sheep were stolen, I would have never gotten involved”.
- Participant 16: “It is unfair, if I was outside, I could have taken care of my family. It could have been better if I received three years then I would have been out already”.
- Participant 23: “I do not feel good about this situation, I am busy with an appeal”.
- Participant 27: “I never done any harm. I feel very sad that I am sitting here for seven years. I was not even given a warning [in court]”.
- Participant 33: “I feel it is unfair because there are a lot of things that are left behind. My life is at a standstill now”.
- Participant 34: “I do not feel okay, life has come to a standstill here for me now”.
- Participant 35: “It doesn’t look good. The thing that I have done was wrong ... to listen to my friend”.

From these responses, it can be inferred that the offenders denied responsibility for their actions and also denied the victims. The criminological matrix’s process applied illustrates that livestock theft is not committed as a result of only one element or decision, but that it involves a series of steps, decisions and opportunities.

5.2. CONCLUSION

In order to achieve the aim, purpose, objective and answer the research questions of this study, the data presented in this chapter focused on the information gathered from those offenders

sentenced and incarcerated for livestock theft. To summarise, 35 offenders were interviewed during the course of this study. The information gathered consisted of the biographical details of the offenders, including their childhood development, educational background and employment history. It was found that, in the majority of the cases, livestock played a significant role in the lives of the offenders during their childhood years.

With regards to the criminal history of the offenders, six out of the 35 offenders had previous criminal convictions for livestock theft. The actual crimes for which the offenders were incarcerated revealed the *modi operandi* (patterns), the motives and causes of the crimes. This enabled the researcher to link the findings to a series of criminological theories in the form of a criminological matrix.

CHAPTER 6

DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION: THE SECONDARY UNIT OF ANALYSIS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Following on the data analysis of the primary unit of analysis (offenders interviewed) presented in the previous chapter, this chapter contains the data gathered from the secondary unit of analysis, namely, data from the police case dockets on sentenced livestock theft perpetrators, interviews with the SAPS STUs members and victims of livestock theft. Information gathered from these sources are not only supportive to the information gathered from the offenders interviewed, but also serve as additional information to add to the limited body of knowledge on livestock theft. To begin, the data collected from the police case dockets are presented followed by the information obtained from the interviews conducted with members of the SAPS STUs and the victims. As noted in Chapter 5 of this study, participants 3, 23 and 25's case dockets were among the police dockets obtained from the SAPS STU. Since the offenders' data were already presented, their case dockets (Dockets 4 and 5) are omitted from this section to avoid duplication. For ease of reference, the specific docket numbers will be referred to, where relevant, "D" followed by the docket number (i.e. D 1).

6.2. ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM CASE DOCKETS

The second set of data collected for the current study contains information that was obtained from the findings of 28 police case dockets of perpetrators (49 in total) who have been apprehended and sentenced for livestock theft. Included within this section is information on the biographical details of these perpetrators, the nature of their offences and the characteristics of their victims.

6.2.1. Biographical details of the perpetrators

The biographic details derived from the case dockets include information on the gender and age group, nationality, race and ethnicity, marital status and dependants, the perpetrators education and employment history and previous convictions.

6.2.2. Gender and age group

Similar to the offenders interviewed, only one female was found to be involved in the commission of livestock theft. Statistically, this revealed that only 2% of the sample was female and 98% (n = 48) were male. This analysis is also consistent with Dzimba and Matoane's (2005:59) findings obtained from case docket information on livestock theft in Lesotho. The researchers found that only 1% of the offenders were female.

Table 10: Age group (case dockets)

Age group	Number of offenders	Percentage
19-25	12	24.5%
26-30	12	24.5%
31-35	9	18.4%
36-40	7	14.3%
41-45	5	10.2%
50-55	5	10.2%
56 & above	2	4.1%
Total	49	100%

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

In terms of age group, Table 10 depicts that both the age groups 19 to 25 and 26 to 30 years equally represent 48.9% perpetrators (24.5% n = 12 each) of the sample. The second and third largest group of perpetrators were 31 to 35 (18.4% n = 9) and 36 to 40 (14.3% n = 7) years old. As the age of the groups increases, the number of perpetrators decline. The age groups 41 to 45 and 50 to 55 years each contained five (10.2%) perpetrators. Two perpetrators who were older than 56 years of age made up only 4.1% (n = 2) of the sample. The youngest perpetrators of the sample were 19 years old and the oldest perpetrators of the group were 60 and 77 years old, respectively.

Dzimba and Matoane's (2005:59) docket analysis study also found that most of the perpetrators were between 16 and 25 years old, followed by perpetrators between the ages of 26 and 35 and those between 36 and 45 years old. Furthermore, a desktop analysis conducted by Doorewaard (2015a:53) of international media reports, revealed similar findings. Media

reports of 35 known suspects showed that the largest age groups of livestock theft perpetrators were between 17 and 25 years old (46%), followed by the age group between 36 and 48 years old (31%). The remaining 23% were between 27 and 34 years old.

The above analysis deduces that the majority of livestock theft perpetrators could be classified within a younger age group, ranging from below 25 years old and peaking at 30 years of age, while the middle group averages from 31 to 45 years of age.

6.2.3. Nationality, race and ethnicity

Forty-five (91.8%) of the perpetrators were South African, while four (8.2%) perpetrators originated from other countries. This included two (4.1%) from Lesotho, one (2.1%) from Malawi and one (2.1%) Zimbabwean.

In terms of ethnicity, all 49 offenders were of African descent. Seven (14.2%) perpetrators' ethnicity could not be established. The majority ethnic group among the perpetrators was Zulu, with 32 (65.3%) perpetrators, followed by four (8.2%) Sotho, and three (6.2%) Xhosa. Only one (2.1%) perpetrator was Ndebele.

6.2.4. Marital status and dependants

The marital status of each perpetrator revealed that 35 (71.4%) perpetrators were either single or never married. Eight (16.3%) perpetrators were married and six (12.2%) perpetrators' marital status was unknown. In some instances, it was shown whether the offender had children but this was not documented in every case. Thus, only six perpetrators indicated that they had between one and five children.

6.2.5. Education and employment history

As far as education is concerned, 24 (48.9%) of the perpetrators' educational status was unknown. More perpetrators (38.7% n = 19) went to high school than those (8.1% n = 4) that only obtained primary education. Only two (4.1%) perpetrators acquired a higher degree educational background.

A link between poor education and crime was established. Siegel (2018:237) contends that individuals with a history of poor school performance have a higher chance of pursuing a criminal career. He adds that risk factors include low academic achievement, an inability to solve problems, a low self-esteem and dissatisfaction with school (Siegel, 2018:237). According to the general theory of crime, this type of behaviour is indicative of low self-control that is characterised by risk taking behaviour and short-sightedness (Vito & Maahs, 2017:155).

In terms of employment, 27 (55.1%) of the perpetrators were unemployed. However, one of these perpetrators was a pensioner. Only 16 (32.6%) of the perpetrators were deemed employed, while six (12.2%) perpetrators' employment status was not specified. Among the employed perpetrators there was an electrician, accountant, taxi driver/conductor, farm labourer, farm manager and a traditional healer. Four others indicated that they were labourers, but they did not specify for what type of work. Whether or not the perpetrators were employed on a farm could only be established in two cases (Dockets 13 and 23). One was a farm labourer while the other was a manager on the farm.

Research by Apel and Horney (2017:323) investigated the role of work quality, job commitment and crime. They found that the lowest work quality categories (hours per week, income and commitment to the work) did not reduce criminal involvement compared to periods of unemployment. In addition, these researchers also tested how work changes the patterns in routine activity and they concluded that being employed does not necessarily mean that criminal activity is less likely to occur (Apel & Horney, 2017:327). In relation to the crime pattern theory, this is significant. As averred in Chapter 3 of this study, the crime pattern theory explains that offenders are more likely to commit crimes near their learned paths (Lammers et al., 2015:331; Wortley & Mozerolle, 2008:89). Offenders, such as those working on a farm, are in a better position to know the routine activities of the farm.

6.2.6. Previous convictions

Table 11 below contains information on the previous convictions of the perpetrators as obtained from the case docket information. Thirteen (26.5%) perpetrators exhibited no previous known convictions. Eighteen (36.7%) perpetrators' criminal records were not specified in the dockets. The remaining 18 (36.7%) perpetrators had previous convictions.

García-Gomis, Villaneuva and Pilar (2016:309) proclaims that a history of previous offences is one out of four factors related to a higher risk of recidivism. The others are: antisocial attitudes, antisocial peers and antisocial personality patterns.

Table 11: Previous convictions

Perpetrator	Previous convictions	Sentence
1	Housebreaking with intent to steal (in 1998) Theft (in 2005) Malicious damage to property (in 2009) Escaping/attempt to escape (in 2009)	Five years imprisonment, two years suspended R600 fine or two months imprisonment R800 fine or four months imprisonment, suspended for five years Three years imprisonment
2	Wanted in connection with two other livestock theft cases (in 2014)	-
3	Transgression of the Insurance Act and no drivers licence (in 1980) Assault with intent to do Grievous Bodily Harm (GHB) (in 1983)	Received a warning R100 fine or 19 days imprisonment
4	Rape (in 2004)	Three years suspended for five years
5	Theft (in 1999) Housebreaking (in 2000) Received an interdict under the Domestic Violence Act no. 116 of 1998 (in 2006)	18 months imprisonment, suspended for five years Four years imprisonment Did not comply, R3000 fine or three months
6	Assault (in 2011) Assault (in 2012) Assault with purpose to inflict GBH (in 2013) While out on bail for another livestock theft case,	Not specified

Perpetrator	Previous convictions	Sentence
	apprehended for the current livestock stock theft case	
7	Offence under the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act no 140 of 1992 (in 2014)	Cautioned and discharged
8	Stock Theft (in 2014)	R10 000 fine or 12 months imprisonment
9	Abduction and Assault (In 2009)	Not specified
10	Stock Theft (in 2013)	Two years imprisonment suspended for five years
11	Theft (in 2002)	Two years imprisonment
12	Theft (in 2007)	Not specified
13	Sentenced under the Intimidation Act no. 72 of 1982 (in 2013)	Two years imprisonment or correctional supervision
14	Assault (in 1995) Theft (in 1996) Robbery and stock theft (in 1998) Assault (in 2013) Stock Theft (1998)	Received five strokes and three months suspended for three years R2000 fine or six months imprisonment and a further six months suspended for five years 17 years imprisonment R1000 fine / three months suspended for five years Not specified
15	Theft (in 1991) <i>Crimen injuria</i> and malicious damage to property (in 2006) Possession of ammunition without a permit and theft (in 2012) Theft (in 2012) Malicious damage to property (in 2013)	Four strokes Cautioned and discharged R2000 fine or 12 months imprisonment, six months suspended for five years R1000 or one-month imprisonment R3000 fine or 12 months imprisonment suspended for five years
16	Sentenced in terms of the	R100 or 100 days imprisonment

Perpetrator	Previous convictions	Sentence
	Trespassers Act no. 6 of 1959 (in 2000) Stock Theft (in 2013) Suspect in two prior livestock theft cases (in 1999 and in 2014)	12 months imprisonment
17	Housebreaking (in 2001) Theft (in 2002) Stock Theft (in 2012)	Three years imprisonment suspended for five years Cautioned and discharged Six months imprisonment
18	Stock Theft (in 2008) Stock Theft (in 2009) Stock Theft (in 2012)	R4000 or nine months imprisonment suspended for five years and he had to compensate victim Two years imprisonment Three years imprisonment

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

From Table 11, only six (2%) perpetrators (8, 10, 14, 16, 17 and 18) presented previous convictions for livestock theft, whereas three perpetrators (2, 4 and 16) were suspected of being involved in prior livestock theft cases. As far as other property crimes are concerned, the following number of perpetrators showed previous convictions for: theft (38.8%) (perpetrators 1, 5, 11, 12, 14, 15 and 17); housebreaking (16.6%) (perpetrators 1, 5 and 17); malicious damage to property (11.1%) (perpetrators 1 and 15); and robbery (5.5%) (perpetrator 14). Other crimes included: assault (22.2%) (perpetrators 5, 6, 9 and 14); drug related offences (5.5%) (perpetrator 7); rape (5.5%) (perpetrator 4); escape or attempting to escape (5.5%) (Perpetrator 1); domestic violence (5.5%) (perpetrator 5); intimidation (5.5%) (perpetrator 13); trespassing (5.5%) (perpetrator 16); and abduction (5.5%) (perpetrator 9).

Maree (2018:103-104) noted that the type of crime a person commits is indicative of a certain lifestyle and can lead to the risk of a continued criminal career. The social learning theory best explains such behaviour.

Its premise is that, once an offender has learned that the commission of crimes has far fewer negative consequences (i.e. punishment) than rewards (i.e. money) that he or she would receive by completing the action, the criminal behaviour is likely to continue (Vito & Maahs, 2017:147). For professional criminals, the crime becomes a routine and they perceive the crimes that they commit as a type of job and a normal part of their lives (Ioannou et al., 2015:329).

6.2.7. The nature of the offence

The nature of the offence relates to the current crimes that the perpetrators were apprehended and convicted for. The case docket information revealed the methods used to commit the crimes, where the crimes took place (i.e. at a farm) and the type of sentences each perpetrator received.

Table 12 contains the type of offences committed by the perpetrators, which also includes the method or type of instrument used to acquire the livestock, the place or region where the offence occurred, how many perpetrators were involved in each incident and the type of sentences the perpetrators received.

Table 12: The nature of the offence

Docket	Nature of offence	Method and instrument used	Place of offence and region	Number of perpetrators	Sentence
D 1	Attempted stock theft of 16 goats, one sheep	Herded livestock	Grazing area in GP Province	Two	Unspecified
D 2	Possession of suspected stolen property, sheep carcasses, trespassing	Taken livestock (from abattoir) (no tools)	Abattoir in GP Province	Two	R5000 fine or five months imprisonment suspended for five years and for illegal entry R1 500 or three months imprisonment

Docket	Nature of offence	Method and instrument used	Place of offence and region	Number of perpetrators	Sentence
D 3	Theft of cattle	Cut fence, taken from kraal and slaughtered livestock	Farm in GP Province	Three	Three years imprisonment, 18 months suspended for five years
D 6	Theft of 20 cows	Cut fence and herded livestock	Farm in GP Province	Two	Five years imprisonment
D 7	Theft of three cattle	Unknown	Farm in GP Province	One	Five years imprisonment
D 8	Theft of 13 sheep	Loaded livestock	Farm in GP Province	Three	Two accomplices found not guilty, 3 rd accused pleaded guilty, 36 months' imprisonment, two to three months suspended or R1500 fine
D 9	Theft of six calves	Cut fence	Camp in GP Province	Two	Three years imprisonment
D 10	Theft of five calves	Loaded livestock	Farm in Kokstad, KZN Province	Two	Two years imprisonment wholly suspended
D 11	Theft of two cattle	Cut fence and herded livestock	Grazing area in Kokstad, KZN Province	One	12 months imprisonment, wholly suspended for three years

Docket	Nature of offence	Method and instrument used	Place of offence and region	Number of perpetrators	Sentence
D 12	Theft of sheep, malicious damage to property	Cut fence and loaded livestock	Farm in Kokstad, KZN Province	Two	Five years imprisonment, wholly suspended for five years
D 13	Theft of six cattle	Unknown	Camp in Vryheid, KZN Province	One	R1 500 fine or two years imprisonment, 12 months suspended for five years
D 14	Theft of one goat	Cut fence and loaded livestock	Camp in Vryheid, KZN Province	Two	R1 800 or 80 days imprisonment, half suspended for five years
D 15	Theft of four goats	Hereded livestock	Grazing area in Vryheid, KZN Province	Two	R3000 fine or 12 months imprisonment, half suspended for five years
D 16	Theft of five cattle	Hereded livestock	Grazing area in Vryheid, KZN Province	Three	Two years imprisonment, suspended for five years
D 17	Importing stock into RSA without permit (11 goats)	Hereded livestock	Imported livestock - Bergville, KZN Province	Two	R1 500 or five months imprisonment
D 18	Theft of two cattle	Gained entry through unlocked gate	Camp in Bergville, KZN Province	Two	Three years imprisonment, suspended for five years

Docket	Nature of offence	Method and instrument used	Place of offence and region	Number of perpetrators	Sentence
D 19	Theft of 43 goats	Loaded livestock	Camp in Bergville, KZN Province	Six	Three years imprisonment, 18 months suspended for five years
D 20	Theft of six sheep, one cow	Slaughtered livestock	Camp in Pietermaritzburg, KZN Province	Three	Three years imprisonment
D 21	Theft of 15 goats	Loaded livestock	Camp in Pietermaritzburg, KZN Province	Four	Three years imprisonment, accused number 3 acquitted, accused numbers 4 and 5 turned state witnesses
D 22	Theft of four sheep	Hereded livestock	Camp in Pietermaritzburg, KZN Province	Three	Two years imprisonment
D 23	Theft of seven calves	Loaded livestock	Camp in Ladysmith, KZN Province	Five	Three years imprisonment
D 24	Theft of two to four cattle	Hereded livestock	Camp in Ladysmith, KZN Province	Six	Two years on each count
D 25	Theft of one goat	Loaded livestock	Grazing area in Ladysmith, KZN Province	One	Periodical imprisonment of 33 days
D 26	Theft of four goats	Loaded livestock	Grazing area in Utrecht, KZN Province	One	Three years imprisonment
D 27	Theft of two sheep	Slaughtered livestock	Camp in Utrecht, KZN Province	One	Five years imprisonment

Docket	Nature of offence	Method and instrument used	Place of offence and region	Number of perpetrators	Sentence
D 28	Theft of three cattle	Cut fence and loaded livestock	Camp in Utrecht, KZN Province	Three	Case withdrawn from accused numbers 1 and 2, accused number 3 found guilty, sentenced to two years imprisonment

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

6.2.8. Type of livestock

According to Table 12, the most frequent type of livestock that was taken were cattle (50%) (D 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, 20, 23, 24 and 28) followed by goats (30.8%) (D 1, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 25 and 26) and sheep (26.9%) (D 1, 2, 8, 12, 22 and 27). The lowest to highest number of livestock taken per incident ranged from two to 20 cattle, one to 43 goats and one to 13 sheep. According to the study conducted by Dzimba and Matoane (2005:21), cattle were also the most frequently stolen livestock. In their case, it was because most people owned cattle, while sheep were stolen in greater numbers.

6.2.9. Method and area of theft

In 10 (38.5%) of the cases (D 8, 10, 12, 14, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26 and 28), the perpetrators loaded the livestock onto a vehicle, while eight (30.8%) cases (D 1, 6, 11, 15, 16, 17, 22 and 24) revealed that the perpetrators herded the livestock on foot. Livestock were taken and slaughtered in only three (11.5%) cases (D 3, 20 and 27). Furthermore, one (3.8%) case (D 2) revealed that the remaining carcasses of the sheep were taken from an abattoir. In two (7.1%) cases (D 7 and 13), the method could not be established.

Most areas from which the livestock were taken included camps (42.8%) (D 9, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27 and 28); grazing areas (21.4%) (D 1, 11, 15, 16, 25 and 26); and farms (21.4%) (D 3, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 12). In one case (D 17), the livestock were brought (imported) from Lesotho where the perpetrators could not produce a permit for the animals.

In comparison to Dzimba and Matookane's (2005:40) study on livestock theft in Lesotho, the docket analysis revealed that cattle and sheep were mostly stolen from cattle kraals, cattle posts and the veld. The qualitative data also revealed the motive or purpose behind the theft, in some cases. In four (15.4%) cases (D 2, 13, 14 and 16), the perpetrators' motives were for personal reasons. Docket 2 showed that the perpetrator worked at the abattoir and that he was familiar with the vicinity. He did not have any meat at home and thought he could collect the discarded carcasses. In Dockets 13 and 14, the purpose was to take the cattle for lobola and the goat to perform a traditional ceremony. The perpetrators of Docket 16 saw the cattle grazing and did not know to whom they belonged and they took them to exchange for driving lessons. As outlined throughout this study, the use of livestock in traditional ceremonies is a common practice (Aleu & Mach, 2016:1; Kaprom, 2013:44). In consonance with the routine activity theory, the opportunity to take the livestock presented itself to the offenders in the form of a suitable target (i.e. the carcasses and the grazing cattle) and an absent guardian (no one was in the vicinity at the time). These targets were also easily accessible to the perpetrators (Vito & Maahs, 2017:57).

Twelve (46.2%) cases (Dockets 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 18 19, 22 and 26) revealed a financial intent. In two (7.7%) cases, the animals were slaughtered to re-sell the meat at an informal settlement (Docket 3) and a butchery (Docket 20). In 10 (38.5%) cases, where the livestock were taken alive, the animals were sold to auctions (Dockets 6, 9 and 19), an abattoir (Docket 7) and other buyers (Dockets 10, 15, 21, 22 and 26).

In Dockets 15 and 22, the perpetrators tried to find buyers after they stole the livestock, whereas in Dockets 21 and 26 the buyers approached the perpetrators stating that they were in need of goats. The buyer in Docket 21 needed goats for a traditional ceremony and he saw that the perpetrator had goats not knowing that they were stolen. The perpetrator of Docket 26 was also approached by someone looking for goats and he promised to get some.

In nine (34.6%) cases, a direct motive could not be established. However, some interesting facts emerged. The perpetrators of Docket 11 tried to re-brand the already branded livestock. One of the perpetrators of Docket 12 was approached by another perpetrator who was in need of transport. The driver was requested to collect certain "belongings" at a farm. Arriving at the farm, the driver saw that the perpetrators had several sheep with them and they requested him to drive them to an informal settlement.

In comparing other studies (Barclay et al., 2001:11; Dzimba & Matooane, 2005:5) on livestock theft, financial intent could also either be directly or indirectly associated with such thefts. This included marketing channels that make it easier to trade in stolen livestock (i.e. selling stolen livestock to individuals for use in funerals and other celebrations) and to steal livestock for own breeding purposes.

6.2.10. Number of perpetrators

The number of perpetrators who committed the thefts individually (without an accomplice) were present in six (23.1%) of the cases (D 7, 11, 13, 25, 26 and 27). The data further revealed that in 10 (38.4%) cases (D 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17 and 18), two offenders worked together, while three perpetrators worked together in six (23.1%) cases (D 3, 8, 16, 20, 22 and 28). Larger groups (four or more) were present in four (15.3%) cases (D 19, 21, 23 and 24). Thus, in most cases, only two offenders worked together. This is consistent with other research findings (Carrington, 2018:8), which showed that most offences only involved two co-offenders.

6.2.11. Sentences imposed

In four (15.4%) of the cases (D 6, 7, 12 and 27), the perpetrators received a sentence of five years imprisonment (the highest among the sample). The total number of perpetrators who received a suspended sentence, either partially or wholly, occurred in 12 (46.2%) of the cases (D 2, 3, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18 and 19) compared to 13 (46.4%) cases (D 6, 7, 9, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28) where perpetrators received imprisonment that was not suspended.

6.2.12. Victim demographics

According to the case files, there were 30 victims. It showed that 46.7% (n = 14) of the victims were African/Black and 40% (n = 12) were White. Two (6.7%) victims' races were unspecified. In terms of age, there were six (20%) complainants in each of the following age groups: 20-30 years; 31-40 years; 41-50 years and 60 years and above. Within the 51 to 60 year age group, there were five (16.7%) victims. The youngest victim was 20 years-old and the oldest victim was 84 years old. There were 22 (73.3%) males and five (16.7%) known females. Thirty percent (n = 9) of the victims were farmers or farm managers.

Twenty percent (20%) who were not employed as farmers or as farm managers included two domestic workers, a handy-man, a construction worker, a logistics' company employee, an owner of an abattoir and a livestock trader. Seven (23.3%) victims were unemployed, while another six (20%) victims' occupations were unknown. It can be deduced that 20% of the victims whose permanent occupations did not involve farming were most likely part-time farmers. Studies (Clack, 2015b:105; Harkness, 2017:133) have shown that livestock is more often taken from farms where the individuals farm on a part-time basis. Following the third element (i.e. an absent guardian) of the routine activity theory, livestock theft perpetrators are in a favourable position to take livestock if a person guarding the livestock is absent or has failed to arrange an alternative means of protection for the livestock (Siegel, 2018:82).

6.3. ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM STOCK THEFT UNIT MEMBERS

This section contains the responses from the SAPS STUs members. A total of six Station Commanders (SC), three investigators (I) and the Provincial Coordinator (PC) of KZN Province were interviewed during the research project. Table 13 below represents each interviewee, depicting their rank, age, ethnicity, gender and their experience in years of investigating livestock theft cases, including the region where they were stationed at the time of the interviews.

Table 13: South African Police Service Stock Theft Units members' details

SAPS STU member	Region (Province) stationed	Rank	Race, gender and age	Experience in years investigating livestock theft cases at time of interview
Station Commander (SC)	Cullinan (GP)	Major	White; male (48)	Seven years
Sergeant (SGT)	Cullinan (GP)	Sergeant	White; male (41)	Five years
Warrant Officer (WO)	Cullinan (GP)	Warrant Officer	White; male (39)	Five years

PC	Durban (KZN)	Lieutenant-Colonel	White; male (50)	29 years
SC	Kokstad (KZN)	Captain	African; male (51)	Eight years
SC	Pietermaritzburg (KZN)	Colonel	White; male (58)	16 years
WO	Pietermaritzburg (KZN)	Warrant Officer	White; male (44)	Eleven years
SC	Ladysmith (KZN)	Colonel	White; male (49)	28years
SC	Utrecht (KZN)	Lieutenant-Colonel	African; male (50)	Five years
SC	Bergville (KZN)	Captain	African; male (58)	34 years

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

The combined responses were categorised into themes and are discussed below. The themes include: the nature of the crime incident, investigating cases of livestock theft, convicting perpetrators, resources to combat and investigate livestock, difficulties experienced in combating livestock theft and prevention of livestock theft.

6.3.1. The nature of the crime incident

The nature of the crime incident includes the responses from the interviewees as to the methods the perpetrators (in their experience) used to commit acts of livestock theft; the season and time the crimes mostly took place; the number of livestock taken; the involvement of any syndicates; the number of repeat offenders; the type of persons most likely to commit the crime; whether or not the perpetrators decided to commit the crime on their own or were recruited by other parties; the movement and recovery of stolen livestock; the motive of the perpetrators; the types of victims; and the geographical areas susceptible to livestock theft.

6.3.1.1. Methods

The interviewees were asked what the most common methods used by livestock theft perpetrators to appropriate livestock are. All 10 of the SAPS STUs members agreed that most of the livestock thieves target livestock in the grazing areas (open fields) and camps (kraals). In KZN, there is a balance between stealing from the kraal at night and the grazing fields during the day. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) explained that, in the denser rural areas, the perpetrators would steal livestock at night from the kraals, but that they were more likely to steal

from the grazing fields during the day. If they know that the counting of livestock is, for example, done on a Monday and Friday, they would be more inclined to steal livestock on a Monday night or Tuesday, as this gives them time before the next count is done and gives them an opportunity to get away. According to the routine activity theory, these types of conditions, such as a dense rural area (inertia), the visibility of the livestock during the day and easy access to the livestock (i.e. knowing when livestock is counted) further motivate offenders to act on an opportunity to steal the livestock (Vito & Maahs, 2017:57).

The modus operandi for each perpetrator also differed in some respect. The Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) believed that one syndicate operating in one area may have its own modus operandi compared to perpetrators operating in another area. For example, when livestock are stolen at night from nearby camps, the perpetrators may remove the livestock and sell the animals, whereas if they steal livestock for the pot, they may remove the livestock from the kraal and slaughter them elsewhere. Furthermore, a method can be similar, but differ in terms of execution. Using the experience of livestock theft in the Ladysmith, KZN region, the Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) specified that, in their area, the perpetrators tend to slaughter the livestock and cut them up completely, leaving only the innards.

In addition to differentiating modus operandi, perpetrators also have a particular preference of where they choose to steal livestock based on the type of animal. The Bergville SAPS STU SC (2015) stated that livestock are mostly stolen from the grazing areas located in mountainous regions. Goats are stolen directly from the kraals, while cattle are stolen from the grazing mountains. The reason why perpetrators select these areas can be attributed to the lack of supervision as averred by the Kokstad SAPS STU SC and the Pietermaritzburg SAPS STU WO, “people are not looking after their stock, they just despatch them to the open field or nearby forest and most of the time the owners do not recall their stock, hence failing to kraal their stock at night” (Kokstad SAPS STU SC, 2015), and “perpetrators steal livestock from the open fields because there are no supervision, such as herdsmen, to look after the animals” (Pietermaritzburg SAPS STU WO, 2015). In GP, the Cullinan SAPS STU Sergeant (2015), the Cullinan SAPS STU SC (2015) and the Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) agreed that livestock in their area are mostly taken from kraals or grazing fields, especially those livestock that are not kraaled at night.

As one of SAPS STU investigators mentioned, “Perpetrators usually steal livestock during the night on foot. They will drive the cattle on foot for about 20 kilometres (km) to the nearest informal settlement where they will slaughter or load the livestock. This also depends on whether or not they have transport” (Cullinan SAPS STU WO, 2015).

Another trend was identified where perpetrators would steal livestock on the evening before an auction. The Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) explained what mostly occurs in their area. If an auction takes place on a Friday, for example, the perpetrators would steal livestock on the Thursday night. The next morning, when the owners of the livestock realise that their stock is missing, they would first search for them but, by the time they realise the livestock had been stolen, the perpetrators had already sold the livestock at the auction. Corroborating this finding, the Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) referred to a previous case where perpetrators branded the stolen cattle next to the road and immediately transported them to the auction, left the cattle there and returned later to collect the money after the auction was over.

The use of threat and force by livestock perpetrators is less common but has nonetheless been reported. The Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) once came across a case where the herdsman was in the field tending to the cattle. The owner of the livestock expected the herdsman to return at a certain time, but he never arrived. When they went in search of the cattle, they found the herdsman lying dead in the field. He was apparently hit over the head by one of the perpetrators. In another scenario, the WO referred to a case where the perpetrators knocked on the owner’s door and held him at gun point, demanding that he give his sheep to them and threatening to shoot him if he resisted (Cullinan SAPS STU WO, 2015).

The use of violence or the threat of violence to appropriate livestock is a common occurrence in African countries, for example, in Kenya and South Sudan (Morgan, 2017:1; Murimu, 2015:1). The scenario of stealing animals at gunpoint has also been documented in Lesotho (Chelin, 2019:1; Dzimba & Matoane, 2005:22). Although the use of violence to steal livestock directly from the owner is less prevalent in South Africa, such incidences have been recorded. In 2008, the KZNDC’s (2008:6) report alluded to cases of “well armed” perpetrators. In 2019, the SAPS (2019:158) recorded 854 cases where livestock theft perpetrators held up the owner or worker to gain entry, while the most common method (with 29 694 reported cases) to gain entry was through open structures (i.e. a gate).

The explanation for the lesser use of violence in such occurrences, despite South Africa's high violent crime, could be attributed to the absence of direct threat. In these cases, the owners or suitable guardians are often absent from the scene and therefore pose no real direct threat to the perpetrators during the crime.

6.3.1.2. Season and time occurrence

The perpetrators prefer to steal livestock at night when nobody can see them. "They prefer to steal at night because the darkness acts as a camouflage and they could not be easily recognised if spotted by witnesses" (KZN PC, 2015). The investigator from the Pietermaritzburg SAPS STU WO (2015) agreed and stated that cases occurring during the day were sporadic. Police visibility is lower on the roads during the night hence the darkness benefits the perpetrators.

The Bergville SAPS STU SC (2015) mentioned that there are periods when perpetrators will utilise the full moon since it is easier for them to identify the livestock without making a noise. The KZN PC (2015) was also of the view that the full moon makes a difference: "When there is a full moon, we definitely notice an increase in livestock theft incidents". The Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) however felt that the full moon is not directly linked to the thefts:

"It is so that a full moon might make a difference in the sense that the perpetrators might be able to see what they are doing, but on the other side of the spectrum, farmers are more alert and awake during these periods and so the perpetrators may revert to using darker nights when they know they have less of a chance to be seen" (Cullinan SAPS STU WO, 2015).

Concerning whether livestock thefts are more likely to occur during a specific season, the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) conveyed that winter months are a preferred time to steal livestock. He stated that,

"... although we cannot prove it, it is speculated that a lot of traditional celebrations take place during this period (June to July). It is not to say that such traditions only take place in KZN, but it may very well take place within the bordering provinces, such as in the EC, where initiations take place" (KZN SAPS STU PC, 2015).

However, he did not only attribute the rise of livestock theft in the winter months to traditional ceremonies, but he also noted that emerging farmers may send their livestock to the mountains in the summer months to graze for two to three months until winter approaches. Then, when the owners collect their livestock, they find that there are fewer animals than they had before (KZN SAPS STU PC, 2015). The Utrecht SAPS STU SC (2015) also confirmed that he experienced a higher volume of reported cases during the winter: "In winter they target cattle and goats due to ceremonial events such as funerals occurring during this time". He also reported that in the months of August, September, October and early November, sheep are more likely targets because that is when stockvels (a gathering of members who contribute a fixed sum of money to a central fund) usually take place. The rise in livestock theft cases during the winter months is also noticed in other provinces such as Gauteng. The Cullinan SAPS STU SC (2015) commented that, "winter months are extremely busy, you could say it doubles and also during long weekends such as the Easter Weekend when perpetrators are in need of money".

Barclay et al. (2001:72) and Dzimba and Matoane (2005:21) also confirm a change in livestock trends during seasonal changes. In New South Wales, Australia, Barclay et al. (2001:72) reported an increase of livestock theft before calving, lambing or shearing season. Viljoen (2019:2) also claimed that livestock theft increases considerably during periods such as the Easter Weekend in South Africa. The reporter conveyed that informants, assisting the SAPS STUs and farmers, often inform them that there might be increases of stock theft in this period.

6.3.1.3. Numbers of livestock

The numbers of livestock taken by perpetrators can vary. Within the region of KZN, the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) explained that, in most cases, two or three animals are stolen, while larger numbers of livestock taken can range between 12 and 30 animals. He also purported that sheep may be taken in larger numbers (80 or more), while it can be assumed that, if larger numbers of livestock (i.e. 15 or 18 goats) are taken, the perpetrators could easily fit the animals onto the back of a small utility vehicle. In his view, where one or two animals are taken (in KZN), it is mainly for the "pot" (to satisfy their hunger). He does not believe that the perpetrators carry out a test with the intention to steal larger numbers of livestock later.

As with the differentiation in method of operation from one area to another, so too does the number of livestock taken differ. In Pietermaritzburg, the investigator explained that one or two animals are taken, but in Vryheid, KZN, 20 livestock can be stolen at a time (Pietermaritzburg

SAPS STU WO, 2015). Ladysmith also reported larger numbers of livestock taken. The Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) stated, “recently we had a number of 25 livestock taken, and in a previous case we had 55 goats that were stolen”. In Bergville, cases emerged where one or two cattle were stolen, but according to the SC, this number tends to increase closer to the border of Lesotho (Bergville SAPS STU SC, 2015). The Utrecht SAPS STU SC (2015) explained that the numbers of stolen livestock can vary within the region from two to 10 cattle, depending on how many cattle the perpetrators are able to take at the time.

Posing the question as to why perpetrators take lower numbers (i.e. one to five) livestock, the SAPS STUs members gave varying opinions. The Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) stated that most perpetrators within the region steal for “business” purposes, whereas thefts for “pot” slaughtering occur on a smaller scale. A similar response was given by the Pietermaritzburg SAPS STU WO: “The perpetrators resell to make money. The reason for taking one or two livestock and not more depends on the transport. Most perpetrators use a ‘bakkie’ (small utility vehicle) which can only hold one or two types of livestock” (Pietermaritzburg SAPS STU WO, 2015).

In contrast, the Bergville SAPS STU SC (2015) contended that most of the time they are able to recover a small number of livestock but those (particularly on the farms bordering Lesotho) that are not recovered, end up being slaughtered for the perpetrators’ own consumption. The members of the Cullinan SAPS STU also confirmed that the number of livestock taken varies. In the case of one animal being taken, they were adamant that it is categorically a “potslagting” (slaughtering for the pot) and with assumed that they would find an abandoned carcass. If five or more animals are taken, these animals are loaded onto a vehicle and then transported to another place to be re-branded and sold. The Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) further stated:

“In our area, they would normally steal 10 cattle at a time and, in some cases, may slaughter the animals. You will then come across a slaughter scene where the meat would likely have been taken to an informal settlement. The perpetrators usually have a vehicle that waits while the animals are being slaughtered and, as the perpetrators slaughter the animal, the meat gets loaded onto to the vehicle. There is also no time to kill the animal first and they will hack the shins of the animal and cut out the meat from the animal while it is still alive. When the meat reaches the informal settlement, it gets sold at a very cheap price and all traces of it disappear”.

Confirming this, several studies (Clack, 2013a:82; Doorewaard et al., 2015:37) affirm that the number of animals stolen in one incident differs depending on the motive (i.e. slaughtering for the pot) and method.

6.3.1.4. Syndicates, repeat or individual offenders

With regards to syndicates operating in the areas of KZN, the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) confirmed that there are crime syndicates involved in several cases within the province. According to him, they were able to follow leads in pursuit of these syndicates, but when the syndicates already disposed of the livestock, the case eventually resulted in a dead end. He recalls:

“In 2014, people from the EC, Aliwal North drove through the night to Kokstad to steal 36 sheep. Fortunately, they drove into an unsuspected roadblock. However, if the owner did not immediately realise or realised the following morning that those sheep were missing, and only reported the case three days later, we would never have thought to start looking in Aliwal North, but rather in the surrounding areas. The perpetrators who steal for the so-called ‘pot’ usually steal closer to home, while the syndicates are more likely to travel”.

Except for Ladysmith that also confirmed the presence of syndicates operating in the area, Kokstad and Utrecht reported that they cannot really state for sure there are syndicates, since they have several suspects with different modi operandi. The SAPS STU members from GP similarly said that they have not experienced syndicates operating in their area. It is mostly groups that steal sporadically and that not one slaughtering scene looks the same as another. They mentioned that it is also difficult to identify or set standards, since the person may or may not be part of a syndicate. Syndicates may steal in one area today and move on to another area the next day. Hence, the difficulty in tracking them.

All the SAPS STUs members affirmed that most of the perpetrators, except for a few first-time offenders, showed a history of previous convictions for stock theft or had been arrested for livestock theft on previous occasions. Some perpetrators may have started with stealing one or two sheep and later escalate to more. Adding to this, the Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) mentioned that some of the perpetrators who are released on bail are often re-arrested for livestock theft.

This view is also consistent with other research, where criminals tend to escalate their crimes as they progress (Doorewaard, 2014:7). Supporting this view, Everson's (2003:190) findings show that there is a greater likelihood of offenders committing repeat offences as they become more prolific.

6.3.1.5. Recruited or own initiative

Following on the question of syndicates, the SAPS STUs members were asked whether individuals were mostly recruited by other persons or whether they stole livestock on their own initiative. The Utrecht SAPS STU SC (2015) and the Bergville SAPS STU SC (2015) believed it to be the perpetrators' own initiative, while the Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) and the Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) felt that it was a mix between individuals who are approached and asked by other people to assist with the taking of livestock and individuals who decide to steal livestock for their own personal gain.

In an opposite view, the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) explained that, in many of the cases, it was not the perpetrators own initiative, but that they would rather be instructed to go and steal livestock. He added that, "as time goes on, they may realise that they can make more (tax free cash) out of it and create their own market, gradually shifting the other party out to establish their own businesses".

Individuals who were not part of syndicates tended to work in groups, especially when higher numbers of livestock were concerned. Within the KZN region, the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) reiterated that they rarely arrested only one person for a crime. In cases where they arrested only one perpetrator the crime was mostly done "for the pot". Ladysmith (Ladysmith SAPS STU SC, 2015) found perpetrators to be working together in groups of four or five. In Bergville and Utrecht, two persons normally commit the crime together and they rarely found three or four accomplices working together. The size of the group could also be determined by the number of stolen livestock. The Cullinan SAPS STU Sgt (2015), Cullinan SAPS STU SC (2015) and the Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) confirmed that one person, for example, would find it difficult to carry 10 sheep thus they work together with at least one other person, but never alone.

International and African literature speculate on those involved in organised livestock theft (Barclay et al., 2001:124; Bunei et al., 2016:54; Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:10; Dzimba & Matooane, 2005:42; KZNDCSL, 2008:14). However, none of these studies addressed the

number of perpetrators involved in the commission of the criminal act. A study conducted on a sample of burglars in Pennsylvania, USA, examined the co-offending ties that are associated with offending careers (Lantz & Hutchison, 2015:659). According to Lantz and Hutchison (2015:660), co-offending in pairs was high for burglary and other property offences.

6.3.1.6. Involvement of other parties

Several parties, such as farmers and community members, were also directly or indirectly involved in the theft of livestock, some knowingly condoning the practice. The Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) posited that they have arrested farmers in the past, mainly those farmers who had financial difficulties. He mentioned one farmer who continually bought stolen livestock from informal settlements despite having no valid documentation. Other parties concerned included those who knowingly bought the meat from the perpetrators, such as community members, cafés and shops. The SC further affirmed that the SAPS STUs shared a good relationship with the abattoirs as well as the auctioneers who did not accept livestock to be sold without a registered brand mark. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) however mentioned that he did not want to say that auctioneers were involved in stock theft, but rather in some cases they displayed a lax attitude towards some of the livestock they received (i.e. that are not branded), therefore indirectly aiding and abetting livestock theft. He explained:

“For the auctioneer, it is not about the branding of livestock, but the amount of commission he makes upon the sale of that livestock. Thus, he does not care about the documents that need to be provided or that it is correctly filled in, if he has the document, should the authorities make an enquiry. This, in turn, creates an opportunity for livestock theft” (KZN SAPS STU PC, 2015).

Furthermore, the Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) noted that perpetrators hire vehicles from private owners. If the police found a vehicle with stolen livestock in it, the owner would claim that he did not know that the vehicle was used to commit a crime. He further explained that trailers were hired from companies who also denied any knowledge that the trailer was used to commit a crime. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) believed that some livestock traders were a lot more involved in these thefts than assumed. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) and the members of the SAPS STU in Cullinan (Cullinan SAPS STU Sgt, 2015; Cullinan SAPS STU SC, 2015; Cullinan SAPS STU WO, 2015) commented that traders often make use of runners:

“It is the runners’ task to round up the livestock before transport is sent for collection. The trader would later use the excuse that he did not know the livestock that he went to collect was stolen. Currently, there is no legislation in place to regulate the buying and selling of livestock or even in the regulation of trading. There is also no institution with which a trader needs to register with. The only existing legislations are the Animal Identification Act [no. 6 of 2002] and the Stock Theft Act [no. 57 of 1959] that regulate both the documentation and processes, excluding a register, for example, to regulate the trading of previously owned livestock”.

Adding to this, the Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) mentioned that, “the traders buy or obtain livestock and then re-sell it, but what happens is that once they have a market for the animals, they resort to stealing and re-selling the livestock”.

The above correlates with the KZNDCSL’s (2008:14) report on livestock theft, where it is speculated that some livestock traders have “runners” who steal for them. This is further confirmed in the case of participant 2 (refer to section 5.2.1.16.2 in Chapter 5 of this study) who knew associates who committed the crimes on his behalf with him being the main instigator.

In comparison to other studies, researchers and reports on livestock theft, such as Barclay et al. (2001:124), Bunei et al. (2016:54), KZNDCSL (2008:14) and Dzimba and Matooane (2005:42), confirm the existence of diverse parties in the involvement of livestock theft. Such parties may include community members, livestock traders, individuals who collaborate with perpetrators, such as business men and transporters, and members of the police.

Social learning theories affirm that crime and criminal behaviour are guided by social interaction. In relation to the accounts given by the SAPS STUs members, most of the perpetrators work in groups or are repeat offenders. Individuals (such as community members and some farmers) who condone the practice of livestock theft are indirectly party to the thefts. Thus, by associating with people privy to livestock theft, the perpetrators’ ties to these individuals are strengthened when interaction takes place on a continuous basis (Costello & Hope, 2016:6).

6.3.1.7. Type of perpetrator

All the SAPS STUs members agree that, most of the time, males were the perpetrators of livestock theft, but they also mentioned that female perpetrators have started to appear. The

Kokstad SC (2015) believes that females assist male perpetrators rather than being instigators themselves. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) feels that female perpetrators could also steal livestock of their own accord. He cited a case in this regard:

“We have a female here in the North of KZN; she is very popular among the community members and everybody knows her and knows about her. She is still an active livestock thief, but mainly sits on the sideline now and have her own runners who work for her”.

However, cases where females have directly been involved in livestock theft cases have occurred. The Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) once dealt with a case where females patrolled farms and despatched drivers to go and steal sheep. These females were eventually caught when they transported three sheep in their car. The Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) also investigated cases where females stole livestock of their own accord and were found to be the masterminds behind the crime. Females were mostly arrested for possession of stolen livestock. In Utrecht, one female was arrested in 2010 for possession of stolen goats (Utrecht SAPS STU SC, 2015), while in GP, a female was arrested for stealing her boyfriend’s livestock (Cullinan SAPS STU WO, 2015). She was angry with him for not paying maintenance and took revenge by taking his livestock.

Additionally, females may also be arrested for possession of stolen meat, but not necessarily for being part of the theft itself. The Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) explained:

“Where females might be involved in, is when perpetrators slaughter the animals and only take certain parts of the meat. Community members (including females) then collect the ‘leftovers’, thus they are inadvertently arrested for taking meat of stolen livestock. These persons are mostly unemployed and very poor. Hence, the purpose is not to re-sell the meat but take it for themselves”.

Such cases, where females are involved or suspected to be involved in livestock theft crimes, have been reported in the media. For instance, in 2014, a woman was arrested after a missing flock of sheep was found outside a room on her property (South-eastern Advertising Publishers Association, 2014:1). Dzimba and Matooane (2005:59) found that, among the arrested livestock theft perpetrators, only 1% were female.

In terms of the perpetrators' knowledge of livestock, all the SAPS STUs members believed that these perpetrators had some farming background. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) stated, "I do not know if they have knowledge on the farming industry, but I assume that, because the majority of these groups grew up with livestock, the interest is there". The Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) commented, "There are many of them [perpetrators] that are themselves livestock owners and know something about farming".

Smith and McElwee (2013:115) attest that perpetrators need some sort of insider knowledge to commit acts of farm crime. Bunei et al. (2016:56) concur with this and state that such thefts require specialised knowledge to occur. Barclay et al. (2001:124) also found that organised livestock theft in NSW, Australia, recruited people, such as stockmen, who had all the necessary equipment and local knowledge.

6.3.1.8. Movement and recovery of stolen livestock

According to the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015), it is rare to recover the same number of livestock that was taken. Cases where all livestock are fully recovered most likely occurred in situations where livestock wandered off. The PC further stated that, in many cases, the livestock were already sold or butchered. Livestock that were recovered are found in places, such as uninhabited grazing areas, making it difficult to link the case to a specific suspect. Adding to this, the Pietermaritzburg SAPS STU WO (2015) pointed out that perpetrators would not steal livestock close to where they reside, but they would rather steal from another area they know and feel safe in and then transport the livestock out of the area. They avoided stealing close to home because they knew that the community members would report them. According to the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015), in cases where livestock were found at the perpetrator's residence, the perpetrators could state that the livestock wandered into the camp together with his livestock during the night and that he intended to report it the next morning, which also linked the perpetrator to the actual theft.

In KZN, most livestock are transported rather than killed or slaughtered at the scene. However, the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) noted that there is a spot (more towards the south of the province) where between six and eight animals are slaughtered. He believes that this method is normally followed by the perpetrators to avoid being found in possession of a brand mark on the skin, hence the perpetrators may decide to leave the skin or other identifiable evidence at the scene instead of having to explain why it is in their possession.

All the SAPS STUs members explained that recovered livestock are often found some distance from where they were stolen, except for Utrecht who reported that perpetrators steal within their areas apart from one case where livestock was found in MP (Utrecht SAPS STU SC, 2015).

The Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) and the Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) dealt with similar cases where perpetrators transported livestock about 50 km away. These cases occurred where auctions were taking place. The perpetrators steal livestock in one area and drive more than 50 km to an auction (in another province) to sell the livestock. Livestock stolen in KZN have been found at auctions in provinces such as the FS, MP and even at the EC's communal land. GP also experiences these incidents and the SAPS STU members reported that they were often contacted by other provinces within South Africa due to the high volume of auctions in GP. The Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) reported that they were able to recover animals that were stolen from different provinces at auctions held in GP.

The Cullinan SAPS STU Sgt (2015), Cullinan SAPS STU SC (2015) and Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) further mentioned that when larger groups of livestock were stolen, they began searching at the nearest auctions taking place and often, they could recover the livestock within a radius of 50-70 km. The Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) reported that they recovered livestock from as far as Lesotho. For him, Lesotho remained a problem as livestock, such as cattle, horses and donkeys, are stolen from South Africa and then taken to Lesotho. In other instances, perpetrators hide livestock in nearby forests and monitor them from a distance. The reason for doing so, as the Pietermartizburg SAPS STU WO (2015) explained, is to hide the livestock until the perpetrators find a buyer.

With regards to the Lesotho border, the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) stated that the FS experiences problems with the movement of livestock across the border as about five to six percent of stolen livestock from KZN are moved across to Lesotho. According to the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015), the SAPS STUs have a good understanding with the Lesotho authorities should they require to cross the border.

The opposite is also true. Dzimba and Matookane (2005:25) note that livestock are transported from one village to another, making their way to local butcheries and market outlets in South Africa. Barclay et al. (2001:16) also held that stolen livestock are mostly sold at auctions as the primary means of disposing of them.

Rafolatsane (2013:15) also reports that physical structures (i.e. borders) that prevent free movement between the two countries (i.e. South Africa and Lesotho) are non-existent. The sentiment amongst the SAPS STUs members as to the perpetrators' motives is two-fold – those that steal livestock to financially benefit from the proceeds and those that steal for survival. The SAPS STUs members believe that some perpetrators steal due to unemployment which is a significant problem in South Africa, while others steal out of greed as supported by Doorewaard et al. (2015:38) and Onyango (2013:34). The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) believes that perpetrators are greedy, especially considering that livestock theft means tax free cash transactions. Moreover, according to the Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015), perpetrators who are unemployed sometimes steal because they have nothing to eat, but where large numbers of livestock are concerned, it is run like a business:

“Most of the livestock that are stolen gets sold. Individuals are very eager to buy livestock without the necessary documentation. People are using ‘back doors’ to acquire livestock or meat. It is very cheap and by the time they buy it, they already know that it is stolen (because no proper documentation has been provided)”.

The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) argued that perpetrators take advantage of traditional events, such as funerals, where it is culturally obligatory to slaughter an animal. Likewise, the Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) noted that livestock theft perpetrators tend to sell livestock to those who need it for funeral purposes. Although he has not experienced it himself, the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) specified that he heard that some funeral parlours give the “full package” where they provide the food and acquire the animal. Thus, the clients are not interested in how the animal was acquired or at what price. He also added that goats are more likely to be stolen for traditional ceremonies and that traders from KZN often drive up to Limpopo province to buy goats for around R500, because the same goat could cost R1 500 in KZN.

Livestock theft researchers regard financial gains to be the main motive for the occurrence of livestock theft and that poverty and greed are intertwined causes. Dzimba and Matooane (2005:57) report that one of the respondents explained that individuals who are poor resort to livestock theft to “get rich quickly”. The KZNDCSL’s (2008:11) report affirms that livestock theft is a “quick cash yield” where perpetrators can easily make R2 500 within a day.

In view of the rational choice theory, Siegel (2016:473) writes that people motivated by greed, rationally choose to take short cuts to get wealthy, thus they believe that the perceived punishment is far less than the potential profits in committing the crime. Need plays a role when people turn to crime when they have an overwhelming need to fulfil, such as finance (Siegel, 2016:473). In this case, people who are unemployed and live in poverty may commit livestock theft because they see no other means of getting out of their situation. It is therefore evident that unemployment, cultural dynamics and poverty are major causes that drive livestock theft, which can eventually lead to greed.

6.3.1.9. Victims and geographical areas

The SAPS STUs members commented that both emerging and commercial farmers fall victim to livestock theft although less so with commercial farmers. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) explained that, within KZN, there is a frequent occurrence of thefts on commercial farms in some areas, but it usually depends on the number of livestock the farmers have in reserve. In 80 to 98% of the cases, Black farmers are the targets of livestock theft in comparison to commercial farmers. The Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) commented that, “these farmers only have four or five livestock and when they are targeted, the perpetrators usually take all of them”.

Secondly, with regards to vulnerable areas, the Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) explained that “hotspots” often shift. In most cases within KZN, livestock theft occurs more prominently in rural areas. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) averred that the perpetrators use the mountainous areas to hide livestock, naturally increasing the occurrence of thefts in these areas. He also mentioned what they call a “cooling-off” place, which refers to a place where the perpetrator hides or keeps livestock for a while until he feels it is safe to proceed. Another geographical factor that impedes policing is dirt or gravel roads, which makes patrolling the roads difficult. The Utrecht SAPS STU SC (2015) also added that main roads leading out of the areas make it easy for perpetrators to get away.

Aside from the geographical area, the SAPS STUs members’ greatest concern was the livestock owners’ part in their vulnerability. In response to the question about what they thought made an area vulnerable to livestock theft, comments such as “farmers do not look after their livestock”, “they do not lock the kraals”, “cattle roam loosely beside the roads”, “there are no fences or herdsmen and the animals are not properly branded” were made.

It is also clear from the KZN SAPS STU PC's (2015) response that they do not intend to generalise and say that all farmers are like this but to show that such security mechanisms are missing. Policing farm crime is, by its very nature, a challenging task for law enforcement (Doorewaard, 2016:30). Donnermeyer and Barclay (2005:11) reported challenges police face when dealing with farm crime. Thirty-five percent of their respondents (police officers) concurred that the areas were large and diverse, making it nearly impossible to effectively patrol these areas. Their respondents also cited poor farm management practices that include farmers' failure to brand mark all livestock as the "greatest barrier" to control and prevent farm crime (Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:11).

In terms of the routine activity theory, most of the livestock owners have fallen victim to livestock theft due to their failure to properly guard their livestock. The theory contends that the opportunity for crime arises because of what happens on a day-to-day basis. If livestock owners neglect to lock the kraals, do not brand livestock or allow livestock to roam freely without supervision or guardianship, then the perpetrator, the livestock and the absence of guardianship lead to the crime (Case et al., 2017:334).

6.3.2. Investigating cases of livestock theft

The SAPS STUs members were also asked how they experience the process of tracking down the perpetrators and what type of hindrances they face in detecting livestock theft perpetrators.

6.3.2.1. Tracking down perpetrators

For some of the SAPS STUs members, the first point of tracking down the perpetrator is to interview the complainant. According to the Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015), the first thing he asks the complainant is whether he/she has a suspect in mind. This point is supported by the Utrecht SAPS STU SC (2015) who also stated that, when a complainant reports a case, the person often knows who the possible suspect is, for example, a worker who did not show up for work.

The Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) recalled a case where he managed to link a suspect to the crime scene via a receipt that was left by the perpetrator:

“The perpetrators bought a loaf of bread and ham from a garage. The receipt was found at the scene of the crime and from there we contacted the garage where the perpetrator also filled up his vehicle with fuel. We analysed the Closed CCTV [Closed Circuit Television] footage and were able to establish who the perpetrator was”.

Also, informants have a key role in the identification of perpetrators. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) commented that they make use of informants to provide them with information:

“They are not always accurate; a lot of factors play a role. Some of the informants come from the same areas as the livestock thieves, so the informants are sometimes afraid of being exposed and does not always get information. I can get the best evidence from the crime scene, but if we do not have information as to where we can start looking for the perpetrator ... so the informants’ work plays an important part to solve cases”.

The SAPS STUs also make use of cell phone networks. The Cullinan SAPS STU Sgt (2015) and the Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) stated that sometimes they are fortunate because the perpetrators do not know that they make use of cell phone networks or informants to track them down. Similarly, they also consult informants if they are unable to locate the perpetrators through cell phone networks. The Cullinan SAPS STU Sgt (2015) explained: “The informants will usually keep their ears to the ground and provide us with information for an incentive”. The Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) is also of the view that it is very difficult to catch a livestock thief:

“Going through the crime scene looking for evidence and any potential witnesses near the scene that might have seen something is a very time-consuming process. In addition, when stolen cattle become food, the evidence is literally eaten. It is not like a television set that is stolen, and it stays a television set. In cases, where animals are resold to auctions, you get there, and the animals might have already been sold.

You contact the buyer to identify the livestock but [he/she] may have also already resold it. Also, a perpetrator who has previously been caught never uses his identification, he hires a person that does the transport for him and then uses that person's name".

The above claim resonates with Donnermeyer and Barclay's (2005:11) findings, where one officer likewise stated that gathering enough evidence to prove that a case of livestock theft has been committed, is one of the police's most challenging tasks.

6.3.2.2. Hindrances in detection

The four major concerns for SAPS STUs members that impede the detection of perpetrators are late reporting of cases, proof of possession, control of stolen livestock (lack of evidence) and the leaking of information. The Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) and the Cullinan SAPS STU SC (2015) agreed that owners who do not immediately report livestock as stolen make it difficult to detect the perpetrator(s). For example, the Kokstad SAPS STU SC (2015) referred to the case where the perpetrator left a receipt at the scene. He added that, if the case was reported late and it rained, all the evidence could have been washed away, which would have made it more difficult to track down the perpetrator.

The Cullinan SAPS STU Sgt (2015), Cullinan SAPS STU SC (2015) and the Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015), clarified that the complainants sometimes take a week to a month before reporting a case. The complainants' reasoning is that they first want to look for the livestock. The SAPS STUs members felt that if complainants notice that their livestock are missing and know that their livestock do not stray, they need to report it. The SAPS STUs members also noticed that, because livestock theft cases first need to be reported to the SAPS, some of the police stations advised complainants to first search for the animals before reporting a case. Additionally, information or leads can leak out. The Utrecht SAPS STU SC (2015) know that some of the informers trust certain people in the area and share information about the investigation, which can include informing the perpetrator directly.

Another challenge for the SAPS STUs is proof of possession and control of stolen livestock. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) explained:

“In one case, we used a helicopter to search the area. We found the stolen livestock which were contained in a communal grazing field. Thus, we were unable to prove who was responsible for the possession and control of the livestock. No one in the area was willing to give a statement as to who placed the livestock there out of fear for their lives”.

Adding to the above challenges in detecting livestock theft perpetrators, the SAPS STUs members gave the following methods that are used by perpetrators to avoid detection:

Getting inside information: The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) stated that there have been prior cases where some of their own members were involved. Perpetrators would contact these members and source information on, for example, roadblocks in the area.

Hidden strategies: Perpetrators try to avoid keeping the livestock with them. According to the Utrecht SAPS STU SC (2015), perpetrators transport the livestock to a different location until they find a buyer or transport it to an already identified buyer. In Bergville, perpetrators use the mountains to hide. Where perpetrators cut wires to gain entry, they will mend the wires which makes it difficult for investigators to determine where perpetrators gained entry to the property. Other cases included perpetrators covering or sweeping their tracks or disguising their identity. The Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) cited such a case:

“A few years ago, I had a case where a guy disguised himself as a woman. While doing enquiries, we approached a man and his acquaintance whom we thought to be a woman. Upon arresting the male, he told us that the woman is a man. The supposed woman then started to run, and we saw how the dress and wig came flying off as he ran”.

False aliases: The perpetrators are also known to provide false names and documentation to mislead investigators. As the Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) explained, “They provide false invoices, they fabricate names and places where they allegedly bought the livestock from and livestock that were not initially branded, get branded. At other times, they will have someone else steal the livestock for them”.

6.3.3. Convicting perpetrators

The SAPS STUs members gave their views on the conviction of livestock perpetrators. This includes responses on limitations when it comes to sentencing of the perpetrators and what evidence is needed to secure a conviction.

6.3.3.1. Sentencing limitations

The most notable responses from the SAPS STUs members in the sentencing of livestock theft perpetrators were not necessarily the length of sentences perpetrators received, but more in terms of the type of sentences and the magistrates' and prosecutors' knowledge of livestock theft. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) feels that sentencing does not serve any purpose in terms of deterrence, especially considering that suspended sentences are often meted out, as he illustrates:

“Say an individual is found guilty and receives two years imprisonment or a fine of R2 000. The person can easily pay such a fine because livestock thieves are smarter nowadays. Secondly, the perpetrator would think twice of getting caught the same way and might change his modus operandi. Every time a perpetrator gets apprehended, he learns from his mistakes and knows that he cannot use the same method again if he wants to avoid being caught again. I believe it is the same with other types of crimes as well, but this makes the investigation so much harder to prove. These crimes are often committed in circumstances, such as during the night, where there are no eye witnesses and if witnesses were present, they are not willing to come forward and testify, so you literally have to start from the beginning to reach a positive result”.

The SAPS STUs members similarly found Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) controversial. The following scenario as purported by the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) illustrates this concern:

“A person gets caught after having stolen five cows and goes to court. The lawyer informs the perpetrator that there is too much evidence against him and advises the perpetrator to plead guilty to receive a lighter sentence or he proposes ADR. The lawyer and prosecutor reach an agreement where the perpetrator will give the complainant cows to replace the, for example, five cows which have already been

slaughtered. Even if the perpetrator receives a sentence of imprisonment or a fine, the victim cannot get the worth of those animals which were stolen, so the victim sees this as an opportunity to at least again have five cows and settles for the ADR option instead. Therefore, the perpetrator is not found guilty in a court of law because the process takes place outside of court. Afterwards, the perpetrator goes and steals another five cows which he uses for the settlement”.

The Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) also commented that ADR means that the case is resolved faster but the problem is that the case gets withdrawn and the person’s “conviction” is not captured on record. He further mentioned that they had a few cases where ADR was reached. The perpetrator was then exonerated, and his fingerprints were not captured on the system. Once the perpetrator was arrested again, there was no way for them to prove that he was previously apprehended.

The above concern was also addressed in the findings of the KZNDCSL report (2008:18) where it was stated that, after the livestock theft perpetrators compensate victims, the victims withdraw the cases. The investigating officers are then left with un-cooperative victims.

In response to the question as to whether the SAPS STUs members thought that the judge and prosecutor were skilled enough in trying livestock cases, the following views emerged:

“According to my observations, livestock theft cases are very tricky. They are specific types of crimes, needing a specific type of approach. Since it is a specific crime, perpetrators are charged in terms of the Stock Theft Act [no. 57 of 1995], but most prosecutors and judges are only familiar with the Criminal Procedure Act [no. 51 of 1997] and Criminal Law of the country. Thus, some of them are not clear on the Stock Theft Act” (Kokstad SAPS STU SC, 2015).

“Our prosecutors mostly come from urban areas and they never really grew up with farm animals. A person that grew up on a farm with animals knows how to differentiate between 50 or 100 animals, just like one would differentiate between any other person. These animals have names, their own unique behaviour and colour. The prosecutors laugh at such things, they do not believe such things because they grew up in an urban area. The same with judges, they do not have that animal behaviour background to understand that a person can identify his

animal from even the simplest description. On the other hand, the lawyer, not so much, because he progresses with the case and learns some of these things. The prosecutor does not often deal with these types of cases” (KZN SAPS STU PC, 2015).

“Prosecutors do not have enough experience; some of them are hired on contract and they do not always understand the law [in terms of livestock theft] very well. Sentences also vary from one court to the next. In one case, a court may give a perpetrator a four-year sentence, but the court next to it might give another perpetrator 18 months with a suspended sentence for a crime that may have been worse than the former mentioned” (Pietermaritzburg SAPS STU WO, 2015).

“I would say the prosecutor and the magistrate do not have a lot to do with livestock theft perpetrators, especially when it comes to livestock itself. I had a magistrate once that said he had served 20 years on council and this was his first livestock case and he said that he does not know how to go about sentencing this person” (Cullinan SAPS STU WO, 2015).

The investigator stated that it is therefore necessary for such persons to know how serious livestock theft is and the negative impact it has on the economy. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) purported that they have already begun training prosecutors particularly in terms of theory. According to the PC, they have started a project in KZN to simplify the description (i.e. colour and identifying characteristics) of livestock, as he explains:

“A Zulu farmer has the tendency when it comes to a description to associate it with something. For example, he will describe his cattle in his native tongue to mean that the animal is brown like ground. However, he might appear in front of a magistrate who is from the EC where the meaning of that specific word might mean ‘almost black in colour’. Thus, they will not be on the same wavelength; these things play a very big role when it comes to the description of animals. This is the type of shortcoming that comes into play when the magistrate or prosecutor are not talking about the same animal”.

Zwane et al. (2013:43) illustrated the value of using DNA technology as an effective tool for animal identification and prosecution of livestock theft. Yet, this method also has its own shortcomings, when taking into account that forensic investigations can take up to six months (KZNDCSL, 2008:18).

6.3.3.2. Evidence needed

In order to secure a possible conviction, the Cullinan, Utrecht, Bergville and Pietermaritzburg SAPS STUs members (2015) stated that exhibits, such as fingerprints, footprints, DNA and witnesses, are preferred. But, the brand mark of the animal is more important as, according to the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015), it is an absolute necessity to prove a case. He purported that 90% of the prosecutors discard a case if there is only a general description of the animal and no brand mark. In his view, DNA is also of use in these cases, but he felt that it also has its shortcomings. He explains that the DNA lab prefers the DNA of both parents of the animal but, most of the time, the DNA is only available of one parent, the mother. The results will therefore come back as inconclusive considering the absence of the father and, as a result, it makes such evidence ambiguous.

Challenges related to judicial matters involving livestock theft perpetration are similarly addressed in the findings of Donnermeyer and Barclay (2005:11) and the KZNDCSL (2008:6) report. Donnermeyer and Barclay (2005:11) found that most of the cases heard by magistrates are circumstantial in nature, where the animals are found on the accused's property without any evidence of how they got there and without an admission of guilt. The KZNDCSL's (2008:18) report supports the view that it is difficult for court officials to establish ownership of unbranded livestock and establish possession and control of such livestock.

6.3.3.3. Resources to combat and investigate livestock theft

The SAPS STUs make use of various other resources and experts during their investigations. Some of these include experts from the dog units, DNA laboratories, cell phone investigation experts and police patrols, to name a few. In previous sections, the use of informants by SAPS STUs members has also been alluded to.

6.3.3.4. Informants

Depending on the investigation and the case, the SAPS STUs members normally ask around in the area until someone comes forward with information. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) reported that, in most cases, informants reside within the same area as the perpetrator(s). Informants are in a better position to observe, socialise and listen to the stories and planning that perpetrators are likely to talk about. Where informants are from different areas, they have friends who pass on information to them. He also stated that some of their informants are housewives who can see what happens in the area and who keep an eye out while they are at home during the day. In other instances, informants may be livestock theft perpetrators themselves. The Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) stated that such informants may provide the SAPS STU with information out of revenge. He said that “a person and his friend might have committed livestock theft and the friend might have wronged him in some way. The person gets mad and decides to approach us and hand over his friend”. Doge (2006:236) affirms that informants are not only motivated to assist law enforcement for the incentive, but they may be motivated to do so out of revenge, fear, egocentrism and eccentricity.

Approaching potential informants depends on the nature of the situation. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) explained the process as follows:

“We will for example, investigate a case and do enquiries from house to house and speak to livestock herdsman. Through communicating with these individuals, we realise that they like to ‘speak’ and we will ask them a few questions such as how well they know the area. The more we communicate with them, the more at ease they become and are more likely to relay information to us”.

Having similar views, the Cullinan SAPS STU Sgt (2015), Cullinan SAPS STU SC (2015) and the Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) stated that a good informer is someone who knows the area well and who knows places where perpetrators go to “gloat about their crimes”.

Informants receive an incentive for true information they provide to the investigators as a type of reward. According to the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015), it is very important to know how to recruit and maintain an informant. Informants are reimbursed in the form of payments for various tasks, such as leading investigators to stolen livestock or where a suspect can be found. However, the Ladysmith SAPS STU SC (2015) cautioned that many of these individuals steal livestock

themselves and show investigators where to find the livestock only to receive the incentive. Although not personally experienced by the investigators, they have heard of incidences where individuals were eager to become informants only to acquire information on the case to use the information to inform perpetrators. In other cases, false information was provided by informers, such as the whereabouts of the perpetrator.

This brings into question how trustworthy these informants are. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) explained that the more trustworthy informants will give them information that leads to “something”. He also specified that providing false information is sometimes an informant’s way to test if the investigators are willing to follow-up on the information, he or she has given them. Informants also need to keep a low profile to avoid suspicion. The PC expressed that there is always someone watching and, if the investigators were, for example, going to the same house every day to speak to the informant, someone is bound to get suspicious or talk. He stated, “It does sometimes happen that an investigator inadvertently or unknowingly divulges an informant’s identity when speaking to someone. Therefore, it is necessary for any police officer that deals with any type of crime to receive adequate training in dealing with informants” (KZN SAPS STU PC, 2015).

According to the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015), a few years ago, there was a specific training course for law enforcement on working with informants. This has since been reduced to a section or chapter within the curriculum of the livestock theft training course. He averred that the training is not as in-depth and detailed as it was before as previously, there was a practical side to the course where the trainee was required to go into the field and accost an informant.

Doge (2006:235) supports the view that informants play a critical role in police investigations. However, the author warns that “an underlying distrust marks the relationship” between the informant and police officer. Thus, the police officer develops a symbiotic relationship with an informant, yet he or she remains cautious of the informant’s motives (Doge, 2006:236). Turcotte (2008:291) adds that informants can gain skills and knowledge from their relationship with police members and so can undermine the latter’s authority. In Turcotte’s (2008:300) research on police-informant relationships, one of the methods respondents (police officers) used to scrutinise the credibility of an informant is to corroborate the information provided by the person.

6.3.4. Difficulties in combating livestock theft

This section contains the difficulties the SAPS STUs members have experienced in combating livestock theft.

6.3.4.1. Community involvement and participation

Factors that hamper the investigation of livestock theft and make it easier for perpetrators to steal livestock range from a lack of livestock branding, community participation, reporting of crime and ineffective legislation. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) articulated that a lot of cases are lost in court because animals are not properly branded. According to the SAPS STUs members, the reason why some livestock owners do not brand their animals is associated with ignorance and fear of losing profit. The SAPS STUs members felt that some of the farmers do not know how to apply for a registered brand mark or do not know how to brand mark their livestock. Branding livestock is a time-consuming process, especially if the owner lacks the necessary infrastructure. In addition, the SAPS STUs members averred that some owners who sell the skins of the animals, for example, to car manufacturers, are fearful that the skin will show the brand marks after it has been processed into leather. In response to why some of the livestock owners do not consider freeze branding their livestock instead of the conventional iron branding, the Cullinan SAPS STU SC mentioned that it is a very expensive form of branding. "Most people only believe in hot iron branding; it is also a lot cheaper" (Cullinan SAPS STU SC, 2015).

The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) gives another reason why some owners do not want to brand their livestock,

"... some of them have prominently stated that they are not going to brand their animals, should it happen that the animals stray into a public road, for example, and an accident happens, they feel that they will be liable because they will be identified as the owner of the animal. Others have highlighted that branding livestock is just a ruse from government and they are afraid that they will be taxed on how many animals they own".

Barclay et al. (2001:126) also reported that the police officers interviewed identified the failure of farmers to brand their livestock as one of the greatest obstacles in preventing farm crime. The sentiment is also shared by the KZNDCSL (2008:13) that stated that it is more difficult to detect unmarked stolen livestock.

According to the Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015), there is no control over the registration of a brand mark,

“You can go and register a brand mark within 10 minutes. There is no system to verify if you own livestock. The perpetrator can easily obtain a registration card and a brand mark for the animal, so no one would have a reason to be suspicious and call the police if they suspect that livestock that have been branded are possibly stolen. There was one instance where I went to register a brand mark for someone else. The staff did not even query the fact that I was a White person with a Black person’s identification details. Thus, anybody can pick up someone’s identity book and use it to register a brand mark without that person even knowing it”.

Another concern emerged during the Animal Welfare Coordinated Committee (Red Meat Bulletin, 2014:1) meeting in 2014. It was proposed that the DAFF should be requested to remove all outdated brand marks from the record and to look at the possibility of obligating farmers to renew their brand marks every five years.

Furthermore, the laxity of some livestock owners is not only limited to branding itself but extends to basic care such as kraaling and monitoring of their livestock. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) stated,

“livestock owners send their animals to the mountains for three months and do not care to go and check on them. When we do patrols during the night, we often come across animals lying in the road and we have to drive around them just to be able to pass. They are not kraaled or taken home, that element of control is just not there”.

This view is supported by the Utrecht SAPS STU SC (2015): “The livestock owners do not stay on their farms, they depend mostly on their workers to look after their livestock. The perpetrators take the opportunity because they know the owners are not around”.

6.3.4.2. Reporting of crime

Second to the lack of branding livestock, all the SAPS STUs members agreed that complainants report crimes too late. According to the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015), there were at least two to three cases every day where an incident has been reported too late. Some of the individuals have the tendency to report a case only two to three months after the crime. This makes it difficult for SAPS STUs to follow up on such cases as clues go missing and evidence gets destroyed by environmental elements. Also, as previously mentioned, owners tend to first search for their animals, while others do not know how or when a case should be reported.

Concerning resources available to the SAPS STUs, all the SAPS STUs members reported that they do not have a shortage of vehicles and are able to make use of all types of resources that are available to the SAPS. One issue that came to the fore unanimously was a shortage of staff. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) stated that they do not have sufficient staff to assign a group of investigators to the prevention of livestock theft,

“We have a reactive group, which means that, after a crime has occurred, then only can we attend to the crime scene. One would like to assign teams to a specific task. Currently, one member has about five or six cases that he/she is responsible for. It is expected of such a person to work his/her office hours from 7 am to 4 pm and then do night patrol for the rest of the night until the next morning”.

The Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) added that, even though the police have for the past few years focused on livestock theft and made it a priority, more attention would be given to other crimes if they had to choose between the two. He conveyed,

“If you say you need 10 members to go and search for stolen livestock versus 10 members who are needed to search for a hijacked vehicle, the likelihood that the extra 10 members will be deployed to attend to the hijacked vehicle is more probable. Even though both are property crimes, livestock theft is not a contact crime and therefore we would just have to wait in line” (Cullinan SAPS STU WO, 2015).

Manganyi, Maluleke and Sandu's (2018:115) study on co-operative strategies towards policing stock theft in KZN also support this finding. Their interviews with the KZN SAPS STUs revealed a need for adequate resources, such as the procurement of high-performance vehicles and

equipment that can withstand the rural terrain of the province and improve their investigations. Barclay et al. (2001:134) heard a similar concern from police officer respondents during their research inquiry. One officer expressed that their resources only go so far. If the volume of crime in urban areas is compared to that of rural areas, then police cannot be expected to be sent out to a property if they are needed in the city.

6.3.5. Prevention of livestock theft

When it comes to livestock theft prevention, there seems to be little involvement from communities. The Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) stated that, “everybody complains about livestock theft, but if you look at the number of livestock roaming loose every day, then there isn’t really a sense of community involvement, in my opinion”. Having said that, the Ladysmith SC (2015) asserted that many of the individuals are scared. He reported that they had cases where perpetrators removed livestock from the kraals and when the farmers tried to intervene, the perpetrators fired shots at them. It should also be emphasised that the community’s apparent lack of involvement is not found across the board. The Ladysmith SC (2015) added that there have been cases where the community has intervened and stopped perpetrators from taking livestock. According to Dzimba and Matoane (2005:42), livestock theft can give rise to acts of vigilantism and increased conflict. Livestock owners reported feeling vulnerable and unable to protect themselves against perpetrators.

In response as to what the SAPS STUs members believed is the most important to consider in the prevention of livestock theft, several points were mentioned. The first point was that owners should look after their livestock. This includes registering a brand mark, branding their livestock and the monitoring and regular counting of livestock. According to the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015), the most successful prevention method lies in the policing and movement of livestock. He cited that they had an incident where there was a livestock disease outbreak within the province. Animals were placed under quarantine and all exit routes were closed. As a result, livestock theft in these areas significantly decreased because there was enough control over the movement of livestock. This concern also extends to legislation. According to the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015), a new Article 8 of the Livestock Theft Act of no. 57 of 1959, which regulates the movement of livestock has been enacted to improve the situation. He explained:

“A perpetrator will write out an Article 8 document. If it turns night and the perpetrator is not stopped on the road and asked for such a document, he will more likely steal again the following week using the same undated document. If he is approached by the police while on the road, he can quickly fill in a date. The documents are readily available; there isn’t a type of institution that regulates the control of such documents. These documents are available from auctioneers for a price and it has a serial number, but that is where it ends. There isn’t control, for example, if B sells book number with a 100 to 300 pages in it. The person only receives a receipt for the R20 or R50 that was paid for the booklet”.

What he would like to see is the return of previous laws within legislation. For example, in the past, livestock were only allowed to be moved during the day. He felt that if it could be regulated and controlled (referring to the restriction of movement of livestock between sundown and sunrise), individuals would not be able to move livestock as freely and should therefore give valid reasons if they are caught between these times.

In terms of security, he believed that the movement of livestock is also problematic, especially where prevention is concerned:

“If a case is reported we [the SAPS STU] are deployed to investigate, but prevention is also important, and this is where law enforcement comes in. At smaller rural police stations, you will find that enough attention is given to livestock theft prevention because it is the most prominent crime in that small rural area, but within larger areas, there are only so many uniformed staff available that also need to attend to other crimes in the town area itself. Hence, there is a lack of enough personnel to give attention to do patrols and to regulate the movement of livestock” (KZN SAPS STU PC, 2015).

To address some of the issues that were described in the previous section, the SAPS STUs are frequently involved in awareness campaigns within the communities. They believe these campaigns have a positive contribution by educating and informing owners on livestock branding, the reporting of crime and overall awareness amongst owners in taking care of their livestock. According to the SAPS STUs members, every SAPS STU has an awareness programme that runs in cooperation with the Community and Safety Liaison.

The campaigns frequently take place in areas that are most effected by livestock theft. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) does admit that sometimes the effects of the campaigns are short lived until the “newness” of it wears off. He clarified that,

“You will find after a week or two after a campaign that a few livestock owners will come forward and learn more about how to apply for their own brand mark or want to know more on the process of selling or buying livestock, but after that, it is back to square one. We see the same trend follow where livestock are left to their own devices to roam the streets” (KZN SAPS STU PC, 2015).

The Cullinan SAPS STU Sgt (2015), Cullinan SAPS STU SC (2015) and the Cullinan SAPS STU WO (2015) in turn stated that the community have high expectations from them as the SAPS STU, as reported,

“One person might have a problem and expect the SAPS STU to help him, but a few kilometres away from him, someone else has the same problem and the same expectation. Then you must try and explain to the one person that we are responsible for investigating the crime, not the guarding of the livestock. Thus, the person cannot expect us to drive around the whole of GP to see that his livestock does not get stolen, meanwhile another 20 km away, another person’s sheep are stolen. Yes, we are expected to provide safety, but we cannot watch over each person’s livestock. It is the same with livestock that stray. These animals stray because they are not supervised. When a complainant reports a case, he expects that we are the ones that must do everything, but the owners themselves do not want to take responsibility”.

Other SAPS STUs members were of the view that appropriate sentences should be given that act as an effective deterrent, in addition to the training of SAPS investigators.

The responses of the SAPS STUs members are summarised in Table 14 overleaf:

Table 14: Summary of findings from the Stock Theft Units members

Theme	Description
Methods modus operandi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Target livestock mainly from grazing areas and camps • Steal livestock after counting days or on the eve before an auction • Steal from camps or remove livestock from camps and slaughter it elsewhere • Use of threat or violence in some cases
Season and time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grazing fields during day / camps at night • Livestock stolen mostly during the night (and full moon) / daytime theft (sporadic) • During winter months, traditional ceremonies and leaving livestock to graze in mountains
Number of livestock taken	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Varies from smaller (i.e. two to three) to larger numbers (i.e. 12 to 30)
Syndicates, repeat/ individual offenders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livestock theft involves syndicates, repeat offenders and first-time offenders
Recruit/own initiative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mix between recruitment and own initiative
Involvement of other parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both direct and indirect involvement (i.e. farmers, community members, abattoirs, auctions and livestock traders)
Type of perpetrator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both male and female • Knowledge on livestock and farming
Movement and recovery of livestock	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rarely recover all livestock stolen • Recovered away from initial scene • Movement of livestock between provinces and the Lesotho border
Motives and causes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial benefit (motive) • Survival (due to unemployment and poverty) (cause) • Cultural dynamics (cause)
Victims and geographical areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emerging and commercial farmers • Some areas targeted more than others • Dirt and gravel roads • Mountainous area • Inadequate security measures (i.e. fencing and branding of livestock)

Tracking down perpetrators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview the victim • Use informants • Checking cell phone networks
Hindrances in detection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Late reported cases • Proof of possession • Lack of evidence • Leaking of information
Sentencing limitations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Types of sentences (i.e. imprisonment and suspended sentences) • Magistrates and prosecutors' knowledge of livestock theft
Required evidence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exhibits (i.e. fingerprints, footprints and DNA) • Witnesses • Brand mark of the animal
Resources to combat and investigate livestock theft	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Range of resources (i.e. dog units and DNA laboratories) • Informants
Difficulties in combating livestock theft	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community participation and involvement • Reporting of crime • Ineffective legislation • Shortage of staff members
Prevention of livestock theft	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Owners should look after their livestock • Policing and movement of livestock • Awareness campaigns

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

The summary of findings, as depicted in Table 14 is briefly clarified:

Perpetrators mostly target livestock in grazing areas and camps. Stealing from grazing areas is more likely to occur during the day, while stealing from camps is more likely to transpire at night. Informed perpetrators are also more likely to steal livestock a day or two after livestock has been counted by the farmer. Perpetrators will also take livestock on the night before an auction is to take place. They may steal livestock, for example, from camps for direct resale, while others may remove livestock from camps, but slaughter the animals at a different place.

In these cases, perpetrators will either herd the livestock on foot or transport the livestock on a vehicle depending on the situation. In some instances, perpetrators can or will use violence or the threat thereof to appropriate livestock. Livestock theft perpetrators prefer to steal livestock during the night when they cannot be easily spotted therefore there are fewer perpetrators who steal livestock during the day. Perpetrators utilising the full moon to their advantage have also been documented by the SAPS STUs members. Although livestock theft takes place throughout the year, the SAPS STUs members have noticed an increase in livestock theft incidents during the months when traditional ceremonies take place and when farmers leave their livestock in the mountain regions to graze during the winter months.

The number of livestock taken can vary in terms of the nature of the case, for example, whether the perpetrator's purpose is to resell the livestock and meat or use the animals and meat for his or her own consumption. The number of livestock that perpetrators take at a time also depends on how many animals they can herd on foot, whether they have a vehicle to transport the animals in and whether the vehicle is large enough to accommodate a certain number of animals.

Perpetrators of livestock theft are not only individual members, but they can form part of syndicates. The SAPS STUs members reported that syndicates have operated in their areas in the past. Arrests made by the SAPS STU included both repeat and first-time offenders of livestock theft. The responses from SAPS STUs members revealed a mix between those perpetrators who make their own decisions to steal livestock and those who are approached by other parties to steal livestock on their behalf. Perpetrators also tend to work together rather than on an individual basis. Individuals (i.e. farmers and members of the community) and organisations (i.e. abattoirs and auctions) have been found to be directly and indirectly involved in the theft of livestock. These parties are indirectly involved when they knowingly condone the practice of livestock theft, for example, by buying stolen livestock or meat from the perpetrators. In some cases, auctions may condone the practice of livestock theft by accepting unbranded livestock from potential offenders. Some livestock traders have also been implicated in cases of livestock theft where they recruit others to steal livestock on their behalf. Both males and females have been involved in livestock theft, albeit in the majority of the cases the perpetrators were male. The SAPS STUs members agreed that the perpetrators have some knowledge of livestock, since many of these individuals grew up with livestock.

It was also stated that some of the perpetrators arrested were livestock owners themselves. The SAPS STUs members noted that it was rare to recover the full number of livestock that were stolen. Livestock that are recovered are usually recovered away from the scene where the livestock were stolen. Perpetrators easily move stolen livestock across provinces and the Lesotho border. Concerning the perpetrators' motives, the SAPS STUs members conveyed that the perpetrators' main motives for stealing livestock are either to financially benefit from the stolen livestock or for survival. They also averred that perpetrators are often motivated by greed. Causes associated with livestock thefts include unemployment, cultural dynamics and poverty.

Victims of livestock thefts include emerging farmers as well as commercial farmers. According to the responses from the SAPS STUs members, some areas are targeted more often than others. This depends on the number of livestock reserves in each area. However, emerging farmers are more likely to be targets of livestock theft. These farmers are often unable to equip themselves with the necessary security features (i.e. security cameras and adequate fencing). The SAPS STUs members also attributed the vulnerability of the areas to factors such as dirt and gravel roads and mountainous surroundings, which makes policing these areas more difficult. Most livestock owners also fail to brand their livestock.

In tracking down perpetrators, the SAPS STUs members start by interviewing the victim to find out if they have any suspicion who the perpetrators might be. Another key factor used by the SAPS STUs members is the use of informants who often provide them with information on the possible suspects. The SAPS STUs members can also check cell phone networks near the crime scenes. According to Table 14, there are four major factors that hinder the SAPS STUs members' investigations into tracking down the offenders. The first is when victims do not report their cases immediately. Secondly, if livestock are not branded, the SAPS STUs members often find it difficult to link livestock to the rightful owner. Thirdly, if there is a lack of evidence, the SAPS STUs members are unable to link the stolen livestock to the perpetrator and ultimately make an arrest. Lastly, the SAPS STUs members mentioned that information about a case gets leaked to the suspect. In this case, informants can knowingly or unknowingly leak critical information to others in the area.

The type of sentences perpetrators received was cited as one of the contributory factors to the limitations in convicting perpetrators. For example, perpetrators who received suspended sentences or where Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) was initiated, were more likely to

reoffend. The SAPS STUs members also believe that prosecutors and magistrates need more knowledge on how to present and hear livestock cases, since cases are often thrown out of court due to the limited knowledge the legal fraternity has on livestock theft cases. According to the SAPS STUs members, concrete evidence, such as fingerprints, footprints, brand marks, DNA and the testimony of witnesses, such as the victims, and are needed to secure the conviction of the perpetrator. The SAPS STUs members have alluded that, in some cases, the magistrate acquits the perpetrator because the SAPS STU could not prove the true ownership of the animals.

Other than making use of resources, such as dog units and DNA laboratories, the SAPS STUs also make use of informants as part of resources to combat and investigate livestock theft. According to the SAPS STUs members, informants play a critical part in livestock theft investigations. These individuals can observe, socialise with and listen to unsuspecting perpetrators and pass the acquired information on to law enforcement.

Regarding community involvement and participation, the reporting of livestock theft cases and ineffective legislation were cited as major difficulties experienced by the SAPS STUs in their quest to curb livestock theft. In summary, livestock owners often fail to brand their livestock that makes it difficult for law enforcement to detect unmarked stolen livestock. Secondly, victims of livestock theft either report cases too late to the police or not at all. Law enforcement is therefore unable to gather critical evidence from the scene of the crime, which has probably been destroyed by the environmental elements. Other difficulties experienced by the SAPS STUs members included ineffective legislation to regulate livestock theft and a shortage of staff.

Lastly, the SAPS STUs members expressed that, in order to prevent livestock theft, the following factors need to be considered: owners should brand mark their livestock and make sure that their livestock is reasonably guarded. Awareness campaigns within the communities are often conducted and enforced by the SAPS STUs to provide and equip livestock owners with the necessary knowledge on how to properly take care of their livestock and what to do to prevent their livestock from getting stolen. The policing and movement of livestock were cited as main factors to concentrate on if livestock theft prevention strategies are to work. Here, a sufficient work force is needed – more members can be deployed to do patrols and regulate the movement of livestock.

6.4. ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM VICTIMS OF LIVESTOCK THEFT

The effect that livestock theft has on the farming community is both a financial and emotional. To obtain additional insight into the phenomenon of livestock theft, individuals who have been victims of this crime were also interviewed. Table 15 overleaf provides a summary of the particulars of the victims interviewed during this study.

Table 15: Details of livestock theft victims

Victim	Age	Race	Gender	Region
A	54	White	Male	Kokstad (KZN)
B	36	White	Male	GP
C	35	White	Female	GP

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

The interviewees included one farmer from KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), one farmer from GP and one victim who owned pet sheep. Each farmer represents each province (except for the EC where all potential interviewees were unavailable), while the third (non-farmer) victim, also from GP, was interviewed to demonstrate the emotional impact of livestock theft. Therefore, the aim of this section is to shed light on how livestock theft has affected those who have fallen victim to this crime and to gain a deeper insight and a more rounded understanding of livestock theft. What follows is an account of each victims' personal experience of livestock theft.

6.4.1. Victim A

The first victim is a 54-year-old male. He is a full-time farmer residing in Kokstad, KZN and he farms with both cattle and sheep. He experienced 10 cases of livestock theft within nine years. There were five cases of livestock theft reported between 2006 and 2011, and another five cases of livestock theft from 2013 to 2015. According to the KZN farmer (2015), at the time of the interview, the frequency of the thefts has doubled in the previous two years.

The number of livestock that the victim has lost in these cases amounts to a total of 122 sheep and 44 cattle. The largest number of livestock that was stolen in one incident was 23 sheep and 44 cattle. He explained that, since he had started farming, he only experienced one incident of

cattle theft that occurred in 2014. He managed to recover all of them but, out of the 122 sheep lost over the years, only 32 were recovered. The KZN farmer (2015) averred that once he experienced three incidents of theft within a single year. The first theft occurred in the month of April, the second theft in June and the third theft in July.

6.4.1.1. Reporting of cases

Counting his livestock every day, the victim stated that it was usually the following day (after a theft took place the previous night) that he noticed that his livestock were missing. He confirmed that he reports every single case to the police, but he added that he sometimes has one sheep that goes missing, hence there are times that he is unsure whether it has been an actual theft or a sheep that may have died. He further stated,

“you always have a difficult problem with stockmen (herdsmen) working for you, because we count every day, I am never sure if they count everything correctly. I sometimes pick up patterns where I find that something has gone missing that was not necessarily missing when it was reported. The stockmen normally notice immediately when five or more livestock are missing. However, if one or two livestock have been stolen, it may go unnoticed for a few days” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

He admitted that when one or two livestock go missing, he does not report it, since he is not sure whether it was theft or whether the sheep died. In the past, after noticing a bad smell, they found a sheep that was missing a week before lying dead in the long grass. Therefore, he does not report such cases, but where it is evident that a theft has taken place, he reports those cases.

Posing the question to the victim as to whether he reports cases of livestock theft directly to the police or the SAPS STU, he answered, “we generally report directly to the SAPS STU, but they do not open a docket. A case docket is opened at the police station” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015). The victim recalled that, in the past, the SAPS STU operated completely independently from the police stations. He stated,

“if you phone the SAPS STU, they would come out to the farm and open a docket, but that no longer happens. The uniformed branch of the station must open the docket. I can still phone the SAPS STU and report the case, which is the best way of doing it, because they can then start investigating immediately, but they are not supposed to start investigating until they have received a case number from the station” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

The victim noted that the aforementioned is a fault within the system that needs to be addressed since it can happen that a day or more can pass before a case is processed. He illustrates it with the following scenario:

“If I wake up, for example, in the morning and receive a phone call around 10:00 am from one of my stockmen who says that it looks like there are 10 sheep missing and the fence has been cut. The first thing I will do is to phone the SAPS STU and report it to them. I will also phone the local private security company of which I am a member, because they tend to react immediately whereas the police do not always react immediately. The procedure is that sometimes the SAPS STU will phone the police station and ask one of the uniform officers to come to the farm and take a statement and other times they will ask me if I can go to the station and make a statement. At the end of the day, the police station that takes the initial statement and opens a case, hands the case number over to the SAPS STU” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

The victim therefore reports a case of livestock theft directly to the SAPS STU before reporting it to the police station. He averred that the farmers’ experiences in reporting cases are that it takes a long time for responses to cases to take place. Thus, he felt it was important for every farmer to have the cell phone numbers of the members at their local SAPS STU.

To get more insight into the process of how livestock cases are reported and whether the procedure can be improved, the Cullinan SAPS STU SC (2018: telephonic interview) was questioned on this matter. He said that the reason why livestock theft cases should be reported directly to the SAPS and not the SAPS STU is that an incident report number is assigned to a complaint or case before the actual case number is issued. Once that incident report number has been issued, it is allocated to a certain time frame. The police officer is required to report the case to the SAPS STU within this specific period.

The Cullinan SAPS STU SC (2018: telephonic interview) further mentioned that, for example, GP has 22 SAPS STUs members (detectives) who service 300 police stations. These members are not always available to attend to a case immediately once it has been reported. They might be attending to another case or are present in court. The traveling distance is also a concern. The investigators must often travel long distances to the actual scene of the crime but the uniformed police (SAPS) can immediately react and go to the scene of the crime, get a statement from the complainant and, if the police officer is experienced, he can immediately despatch the dog unit even before the SAPS STU arrives at the scene to collect evidence. He also added that the SAPS STUs members do try and attend to cases that have been reported on the same day. According to him, approximately 98% of the cases that are reported are attended to on the same day that they were reported (Cullinan SAPS STU SC, 2018: telephonic interview).

In response to whether the victim felt that his cases received attention, he reported the following:

“I find cases that, if you report where there is no evidence and where there is no immediate suspect, do not seem to be attended to very well. The first question that the police asks you is if you have any suspects in mind, or if you might have an idea where the sheep may have been taken to and so on. This information can sometimes be useful because there are occasions when informants, the police or private security may have prior knowledge on livestock theft occurrences in the area and, in these cases, it is usually finalised quite quickly. However, I do find that if there are absolutely no suspects and no real evidence of where the livestock were taken to, things just seem to go awry” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

6.4.1.2. Nature of the livestock theft cases

The victim's livestock is often stolen close to the road. He explained that there are two possibilities involved here. The first is when someone who works on the farm may be involved and the second is when outsiders steal the livestock. In his view, the modi operandi differ in these cases. He demonstrated that,

“if an outside group steals livestock from the farm, they will usually steal sheep that are visible to them during the day. We have a district road that runs from the farm into Kokstad and I used to run sheep anywhere on the farm, including next to the road. As the thefts became more of a problem, I tried to hide the sheep more to the extent that we no longer run sheep next to the district road. This helps to keep the sheep hidden from outsiders, but I have had experiences of stockmen being involved” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

The victim further said that the three cases he previously mentioned that occurred one after the other were done by his stockmen. In these cases, livestock started to go missing when the victim was not present on the farm or was otherwise occupied. In the case of the 44 cattle that were stolen, a syndicate or group was involved. The victim felt that this was an outsider case, but that one suspect worked on a farm. The other two suspects were Lesotho citizens who pleaded guilty and the actual “king-pin” who was linked to a series of cattle thefts in the area worked as a correctional officer at the Maximum Correctional Centre in Kokstad. According to the victim, since the arrest of the main suspect, the cattle thefts in the area have ceased.

In one case where an employee was involved, the victim had travelled to Cape Town on the evening of the theft. The next morning, one of his employees phoned him to inform him that sheep had been stolen. The victim then became suspicious because, on the night that he left the farm, he had a feeling that one of his employees may be involved. Two years later, there were another three cases of theft. The victim became suspicious when the sheep were stolen from areas where he does not normally keep them. This was the middle of the farm and not visible from the road. The victim also received an anonymous phone call from a person who saw the sheep being loaded onto a vehicle several kilometres from his farm. After intensive investigation by both the SAPS STU and the private security company, the perpetrator eventually admitted that he was involved and turned state witness against the two other perpetrators who were employed by the victim (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

In another instance, the victim (KZN livestock farmer, 2015) related that sheep were moved one afternoon. They had friends over for the night. The next morning, his friend told him that, when they arrived the previous day, they had seen sheep next to the road. The victim said that those sheep were not supposed to be there and that somebody must have thought that he would not notice it.

The victim said that it is not always possible for farmers to keep livestock away from the roads, especially if they have a road going straight through their farm. The grazing areas next to the road need to be used. For added security, the victim moved the sheep to a kraal for the night and placed a herdsman with the sheep to keep guard. He explained that this has become a common practice within the area. Yet, this is not a solution, according to him. Guards can also be dishonest and give out information to other individuals (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

He recounted that Kokstad was a big sheep producing area 20 years before and that the number of sheep are declining because so many people have problems with thefts and decide not to replenish their livestock. He conveyed that sheep are much easier to steal than cattle. Cattle are difficult to steal because they have to be herded and cannot be pushed into a corner and taken like sheep. Thus, the theft of cattle in the area is not as big a problem as it is with sheep and therefore, he allows the cattle to graze near the fence beside the road while the sheep are more hidden.

The victim has been farming for 26 years after taking over from his father and he has seen a definite pattern in the way perpetrators steal livestock. He revealed:

“Going back to when I started farming, one sheep here and another sheep there would be stolen for the pot. Then it became a trend where a lot more sheep would go missing and the frequency increased” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

As the former chairman of the local Farmer’s Association and a member of the committee, the victim has extensive knowledge of the trends and patterns of livestock theft in the area. Thefts are likely to take place during Christmas, Easter and any big holiday events. They have also noticed that the thefts coincide with pay days. For example, many of the employees are paid on the 15th, 20th or 25th of every month. “Orders” are then placed during these times because perpetrators know that people receive their wages and will want to buy meat (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

The victim also experienced cases where sheep had been slaughtered on his farm. He stated that there does not seem to be a pattern though. For example, sometimes the sheep are slaughtered and the skins of the animals are left behind, while the carcasses are taken. In one case, he had 54 pregnant ewes slaughtered. The perpetrators only left the skins and fetuses (KZN livestock farmer, 2015). The following case confirms some of the speculation that

perpetrators will come back for livestock that they have left behind. In this case, the sheep of the victim went missing and the dog unit was sent out. The dogs managed to locate the scene where the carcasses were left. One carcass was found next to the road. That night, the private security decided to leave it there and keep it under surveillance. The perpetrators later returned for it and were subsequently arrested.

6.4.1.3. Vetting and recruitment of employees

On the question of whether he has a process or uses a vetting system when employing staff, the victim stated that there generally is, but that the process is difficult because it is usually done by word of mouth. He explains,

“When someone comes looking for work, the first thing I do is to ask them for the identification documents and also ask them a few questions such as where they come from. I also speak to my own staff members to find out from them if they know the person and if he can be trusted and where he has worked previously. If they are able to provide me with the name of the person he has worked for previously I will phone that person and find out if the previous employer had any problems with him before and why he has left that employment” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

The victim also employed a former police officer and a criminologist who was qualified in conducting lie-detection tests to interview three of his employees during the case of the sheep thefts that took place in 2013. Two of his employees failed the lie-detector test. One of the employees subsequently admitted to the crime and turned State witness against the others. Although this evidence could not be used in court, it nonetheless helped the victim to know who stole the sheep and what future precautions he needed to take.

6.4.1.4. Recovery of livestock

The victim managed to recover all 44 cattle through community vigilance. He said that the road next to where the cattle were grazing leads down to the Transkei. Members of the local community spotted the cattle and identified these as commercial cattle. At the time, the community members did not know the cattle belonged to the victim, nor did the victim notice that the cattle were missing, but because of the community members' swift actions, the perpetrators were apprehended.

He agrees that informants play a very important role in the investigation of livestock theft. In cases where he managed to recover some of his stolen livestock, it was usually as a result of an informant. On numerous occasions he received anonymous phone calls from individuals telling him what they know.

In terms of recovering livestock, the victim stated that he has recovered sheep on the farm next to his that had been herded there when the other sheep were being loaded. In other incident, he managed to recover sheep from a kraal in an informal settlement, while 23 of his sheep were recovered through a person who bought the sheep, at first, not knowing that they were stolen, but later became suspicious and reported it to the SAPS STU.

6.4.1.5. Impact of livestock theft

The victim also mentioned that it is becoming less viable for farmers to continue to farm with sheep in the area. He knows of two big sheep farms and one of his neighbours who farmed with over 4 000 sheep who sold all their sheep as a direct result of the thefts. The victim added that, “the area is getting depleted and I myself do not know how long I am going to be able to carry on” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

He highlighted a case where a person was convicted for livestock theft and received a R10 000 fine or two years imprisonment. The person opted for the fine. The victim specified that livestock theft is run like a business, once the “king-pins” are caught, the thefts stop for a long time. He further related that he can live with the “pot” thefts, but it is the big numbers that have serious adverse effects. He related that, “44 cattle that were stolen was worth R200 000 odd and, if I was not fortunate to get them back, economically, it would have been a real problem for me. One does not steal 44 cattle because you are hungry, but because you are greedy”.

In addition to the financial loss that the farmers experience, replacing livestock that were stolen is not like replacing an object that was stolen. The victim revealed that cattle adapt to the farm and, when acquiring cattle from other places, those cattle can get sick or diseased because they are not used to the environment. In his words, “breeding your own animals that adapts to your farm are worth more” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

6.4.1.6. Shortcomings in the regulation of livestock theft

The victim emphasised that individuals moving livestock must have the correct documentation that should be thoroughly checked. The biggest issue the victim has experienced was within the judicial system. He asserted,

“The magistrate’s office and the local Department of Justice seems to run very insufficiently. The experience that I have had whilst spending many days in court as a witness in livestock theft cases, is that time does not seem to matter. Cases are postponed – if something is not going to happen today, it will happen tomorrow. In the past, I have noticed people arriving late and when you inquire at what time court should start, they say 09:30, but it is way past 10:00. If court eventually starts and it is too close to lunch, then they postpone the case until after lunch. I have spent many hours just sitting and waiting for things to happen until being informed that, for example, the accused’s lawyer cannot make it” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

This revelation resonates with many other livestock farmers’ experiences with the criminal justice system. Clack (2018:V) writes that, over the years, farmers have raised concerns that they feel that prosecutors find reasons not to prosecute instead of the opposite.

6.4.1.7. Methods used to prevent livestock theft

As to what the victim feels is the most important when it comes to preventing livestock theft, he responded:

“First, having trust in one’s own employees is most important. Secondly, the regularity of checking livestock is also important. Checking your livestock daily develops a bit of a regulation. Thus, people will know that should they steal livestock from you that it is very likely that you will follow it up the next day. If you only check your livestock once a week, it gets stolen and you only find out the following week, that is a real problem. Thirdly, the vetting of the persons one employs is also very important and to have a good relationship with your neighbours. As I have mentioned earlier, informants are essential to the system. Our area has a livestock theft fund where a certain amount of money is paid in every year and made available to farmers to pay informants.

If anyone comes with good information on a theft that leads to an arrest or conviction, that person will be rewarded. I think without it [informants] a lot of crime will not be solved” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

6.4.1.8. Thoughts on technology advances in the prevention of livestock theft

As to the question whether the victim thought technology was necessary in the prevention of livestock theft, he noted:

“I think it [technology] is essential. For instance, the collars that sheep can wear that has a GPS [i.e. Global Positioning System] system and which detects if the sheep suddenly moves fast and send a signal to your cell phone is very beneficial. Although I make use of more traditional methods, I have been in conversation with the head of the private security company to look into systems we can put up in kraal areas at night” (KZN livestock farmer, 2015).

The last livestock theft the victim experienced was in September 2014 (a year before the interview). He stated that he does not think it is something he has changed that led to the decrease in thefts. In his view, it may have been two things that made a difference. The first was that they managed to find out who the perpetrators were (his employees) and eliminated them from the system. Once this was done, the sheep thefts ceased. The second point that the victim made, is that his last theft entailed 44 cattle and, after those perpetrators were apprehended, the cattle thefts in the area also ceased.

6.4.2. Victim B

The next victim is a 36-year-old male. He also farms full-time with cattle, sheep and horses. His farm is in GP, situated between the N17 and R550 highway. Both roads border the farm.

He has lost count as to how many times he has been a victim of livestock theft, but he said that it occurs at least twice a year. The highest number of livestock that he lost, not in one, but in separate incidents, was 15 weaned calves, five cows and 20 sheep. The victim indicated that there was not a specific time lapse between incidents but, during events such as Easter weekends and during the closing of traditional African schools, there are a noticeable increase in thefts, especially during the December festivities.

6.4.2.1. Reporting of cases

As with the first victim, the second victim only notices the next morning if livestock have been stolen the previous night. He does a walk through the farm each morning and can spot when a fence has been cut. The victim reports cases directly to the police station from where they are sent through to the SAPS STU.

The victim conveyed that, for each case of livestock theft, “in our area we have a campaign to report every theft that occurs. You can see the benefits of this because, within the area, livestock theft has since gone quiet – police are more vigilant as a result of the reported cases” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

In response to how he experienced the investigation of his reported cases, he replied: “I would say the police (SAPS) do not really understand what is happening or have no clue about the terminology and the things you are talking about, but at least the cases reach the SAPS STU on the same day” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

He added that,

“the SAPS STU in our region work themselves to death. They are understaffed and overworked, but they are very good. They give the impression that they know what they are doing. Unfortunately, there are too few of them to make an impact. They are there to listen to your complaints and they solve the big cases, but it is the small ones that never really get solved. I wonder if even 10% of the smaller cases in our area get solved. The perpetrators are just not caught. The bigger cases attract more attention, so they spend more time on those cases, but they would need a 100 people in each province if they really want to make an impact. They have to win the small cases to prevent the big ones” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

In reply to what he would classify as “small” cases, the victim stated that it would be one to three livestock. He mentioned that livestock that are loaded onto a vehicle and where hundreds are taken, that amounts to thousands of Rands, is regarded as organised crime. The victim also believes that there is a big organised crime factor within livestock theft and he added that perpetrators who steal one or two livestock eventually get involved with someone who steals livestock on a larger scale and therefore becomes part of the bigger problem. In his opinion,

“the person who used to be part of the smaller cases has never been caught and has no fear for the law because he knows he is not going to get sentenced. Thus, he is attracted to the prospect of money and goes and works for the ‘bigger’ guys – a salary increase, so to speak. It is those small guys that carry the knowledge whereas the ‘big’ guy just pays for the information” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

6.4.2.2. Location and control of livestock

According to the victim, his livestock are kept in a camp during the day and then transferred to a centralised camp where they are kept overnight. “They are not kept next to the highway, road camps or near the border to my neighbour during night” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

The victim does not keep a livestock register, but he counts his livestock on a regular basis. He explained, “We count at least once a month. The smaller groups are counted more often, at least once a week, whereas the larger groups are counted less often because they are locked up in grazing camps. Naturally, we also count them when we transfer them to another camp” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

6.4.2.3. Nature of livestock theft cases

The victim described that, “previously you did not hear of people stealing 100 or even 20 sheep. It was never this organised, but I think once a person hears of it and thinks, if they can do it, I can do it” (GP livestock farmer, 2015). Like the previous victim, the GP livestock farmer (2015) also purported that there have been cases where some of his employees were the perpetrators. He also found out through informants who approached him and informed him that livestock had been stolen. In one case, the victim found the skins of the animals lying on the bed of one of his employees who had worked for over 30 years on the farm.

The victim added that, a few years ago, before he had a barn on his farm, they herded the sheep to his father’s farm to be sheared. That night, they left the sheep on his father’s farm to avoid the sheep catching cold. The next morning, the sheep were gone, and he once again knew that it was someone working on his farm that conveyed to the perpetrators that the sheep had been moved. He also mentioned a case where a former police officer and one of his employees were implicated in a case: “I wanted to sell some of my calves and placed them in a specific camp.

The following Friday night, we had a function to go to and the perpetrators literally sat and waited until we left before taking the livestock” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

As to the methods mostly used by the perpetrators, the victim noticed that many of them herd the livestock. However, he also experienced cases where the perpetrators used trailers to load livestock. He knew that his livestock were loaded onto to a trailer by the way they had taken the animals.

“I could see from the camp where the animals were taken from that there were more than half of the livestock missing. The wires of the camp were extremely bent, and I could see an indentation in the fence where they carried the animals over, including the tire tracks that initially disappeared” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

He added that, if the perpetrators herd the livestock, they will herd it towards the informal settlement about 20 km away from the farm or to another town which is approximately 30 km away from the farm.

6.4.2.4. Recovering of livestock

The victim said that, when they still farmed with milk cows, they managed to recover them when they were stolen. The cows were recovered on the other side of the R17 highway where they were tied near dilapidated buildings.

6.4.2.5. Vetting and recruitment process of employees

According to the farmer, he does not employ many new employees. He noted that he contacts the applicant’s references first should he decide to hire the person. He added that the individuals usually approach him seeking employment. He also mentioned that he can easily spot when an individual has ulterior motives when he approaches him looking for work. He states, “the person does not even look at you, but scans the vicinity” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

6.4.2.6. Impact of livestock theft

The victim conveyed that he has never regained what he has lost as a result of livestock theft as, “if you lose your breeding livestock, it is an absolute loss and a future loss as well” (GP livestock farmer, 2015). He gave the example that,

“if I have 20 cows and 10 are stolen, then my business is instantly 50% smaller and to get to that 100% again would never be the same, because, during the time I am trying to get to that 100%, I could have had 40 cows already. Thus, I could have doubled what I had, which could have created more job opportunities to hire more people. I could have produced more food security for the country, but unfortunately these types of things are not taken into account” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

6.4.2.7. Prevention methods

The victim also detailed that they have a neighbourhood watch:

“I patrol at least once a week where I sit at the back of the vehicle with a spot light. The purpose of this is to look for porcupines and foxes, but it creates a visual perception. I have not come across any foot tracks on the farm since starting this” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

The last incident of livestock theft that he experienced was two years before the time of the interview. He confirmed that the last time that livestock was stolen from his farm, a considerable amount was taken. He lost five cows, 20 sheep and 15 calves within one year. He specified that he did not change anything that led to the ceasing of the thefts, but he mentioned that he erected a fence around his house with a cement foundation of a meter to keep the sheep in so that no one would be able to crawl under the fence.

He added however, that there is not much that they can do in terms of preventing livestock theft. The cattle, for instance, must have food and therefore they must graze in camps. To ensure the safety of the cattle, he does however move them to camps closer to the main house during the night and he has also added a donkey. He stated that the donkey acts as an alarm and that a person can hear the donkey miles away if there is a strange person near it, or a predator. The victim is also deliberating whether to obtain GPS collars but, considering the cost of them, the victim believed it is also theft, should the animal with the collar be stolen.

6.4.2.8. *Thoughts on technological advances in the prevention of livestock theft*

About the recent practice of using drones on farms, the view of the victim was that the drones that are available in South Africa may not yet be that efficient since it is a new concept. It might not be that economically viable to work with and, he felt that one must have a pilot licence to fly it. The victim also mentioned that one of his friends bought a thermal image camera to use at night when scouting for porcupines and foxes, which he found very viable and a valuable feature. Hence, he is “all for using technology” as a means of prevention, but the best prevention method in his opinion, is visibility, “people must know that you are active” (GP livestock farmer, 2015).

6.4.3. Victim C

The final person interviewed who was a victim of livestock theft, is different to the previous victims. The victim, a 35-year-old female, is not a farmer herself, but she kept 10 pet sheep which she raised by hand. Her story shows that livestock theft is not only an economical crime with a financial loss to the farmers and the country, but it is also a crime that can have a deep emotional effect on the victim.

The victim in this case lives in Pretoria. She housed her 10 sheep on a plot owned by an acquaintance of hers. She knew the property owner for more than 10 years and kept her sheep with the property owner for nine months before they were stolen. According to the victim, she visited her sheep every afternoon between 4:30 and 5:30 pm.

6.4.3.1. *The nature of the theft*

The victim referred to her sheep as her “children” and related that one morning she received a phone call from her acquaintance to tell her that her sheep had been stolen the previous evening. She further recalled, “When I arrived at the plot, she [the acquaintance] already decided to fix the fence where the sheep was taken” (GP livestock theft victim, 2015).

According to the victim, there was not a lot of security on the plot, but the sheep were kept in a kraal or sort of barn room every night together with the acquaintance’s horse, adjacent to the workers’ rooms. She further described the setup of the property, “the gate at the entrance of the property is very noisy when someone opens it.

The lady has one large dog that sleeps inside with her and another dog that is very aggressive that sleeps in the room where the sheep are kept” (GP livestock theft victim, 2015). The victim further stated that, on the night of the theft, the bedding of the dog and its sleep area was apparently moved outside the storeroom.

The perpetrators gained access by cutting the wires of the entrance gate. The victim was however unsure why the perpetrators also cut the fence after they gained access through the gate. Tracks were visible on the scene that showed that they came onto the property with a vehicle. A piece of rope was also found at the scene, which may have been used to tie the sheep together. According to the victim, the perpetrators herded the sheep directly past the acquaintance’s house, but everyone denied hearing anything that night. The victim stated the following in verbatim:

“She [the acquaintance] told me that sheep are dumb in the dark. I do not believe that, because I hand-reared those sheep. I sometimes stood at the main road with my horse and if I could hear my children [the sheep] as I entered the property, I immediately knew that something is going on. I have four sheep that are very noisy ... she was like a totally different person, she could not even look me in the eye. She told me that the perpetrators usually cut out 28 kg of meat and she also deleted me from her Facebook. I never said anything bad about her, but she just changed like that” (GP livestock theft victim, 2015).

6.4.3.2. The reporting of the crime

When the victim asked the property owner if she had phoned the police, she stated that she had not. The victim went directly to the police station to report the matter and she was advised that they will send it through to the SAPS STU. The victim could not wait and decided to phone the SAPS STU herself so that the SAPS STU could send out the dog unit in the meantime. When she phoned the SAPS STU, they told her that they knew nothing of the case, but that they would send someone out right away to question the property owner. The victim asserted that she found that, when reporting a case directly to the police station, it stays there forever, hence her decision to contact the SAPS STU directly after she opened the case at the police station.

6.4.3.3. Tattooing of sheep

The victim admitted that her sheep were not marked (tattooed) but, in retrospect, she was glad and she stated the following in verbatim:

“I have seen what they can do to sheep. Someone can easily rip out ear tags as well, particularly my one sheep could not handle the slightest bit of pain. I have also seen with some of my friends that are farmers, that perpetrators usually scratch out the marking or cut off the ear, so yes, it was perhaps negligent of me not to mark them, but on the other side, I think it is relatively easy to remove those markings or just slaughter them. It is not about me, but about them [the sheep] and their pain” (GP livestock theft victim, 2015).

6.4.3.4. The investigation process

The victim shared that she also hired professional people to investigate the matter and she professed that, “if you were a professional livestock thief you would definitely not have taken the route that was taken by the perpetrators, that leads from the road and steal sheep directly from under the nose of the owner’s house” (GP livestock theft victim, 2015).

The investigator questioned the workers of the property owner. The victim conveyed that the investigator also had his suspicions about them and found them to be untruthful. Although, the cell phone records of the employees were investigated, the victim feels that not much has been done to thoroughly investigate her case. She further explained the following in verbatim:

“Their cell phone records were apparently wiped out around the date when the sheep were stolen. In the wild game industry, if a person’s phone records are erased, that clearly indicates suspicion of guilt. The investigator also told me that there were not any suspicious times that calls were made and he also did not go through the property owner’s phone records” (GP livestock theft victim, 2015).

6.4.3.5. Possible perpetrators

The victim still suspects that it was the employees of the property owner and that she also knew something, as the victim explains: “What is a woman doing outside at 2:30 in the morning with a flashlight ... and her attitude towards me, she can’t even look me in the eye”.

According to the victim, the property owner is divorced and has no children. She previously managed stables before she bought the current property after things got difficult and the owners of the stables' children took over. The victim further specified that the property owner had some financial difficulties. She had a loan of R300 000 and, in the week before the sheep were stolen, the property owner seemed to be very depressed as a result of her financial situation.

As for the employees of the property owner, the victim noted that they are immigrants from Zimbabwe. She described the first employee as a relatively old man, possibly in his 60s, "I do not think he is the bad apple and he also does not get on well with one of the other workers" (Gauteng victim, 2015). The second employee is a family member of the older man. According to the victim, the latter is well versed in English. She stated that she never felt uneasy in their presence and were not scared of them, except for the third employee. She described him as follows: "He does not greet you and only looks at you. Of him, I was afraid. I felt very uneasy about him when she [the property owner] hired him" (Gauteng victim, 2015).

6.4.3.6. Impact of theft

The victim pleaded with the older employee to assist her and stated during the interview that she just wanted her sheep back. "I just want to know where they are ... to know nothing, is very bad" (Gauteng victim, 2015). She published an advertisement in the newspaper where she offered a reward of R10 000 for anyone who could help with information that may lead to getting her sheep back. The victim also claimed that she went to auctions and looked at every sheep she could see. She has since turned vegetarian and feels bad not knowing what happened to her sheep but that not being able to take revenge, is the worst of all. She noted that, "if I were to see my sheep tomorrow, I will buy them, I will not ask questions. I know if I see them, they will recognise me and even if they ask me R15 000 for each sheep, I will pay it. If I do not receive help like I expected to, what do I do?" (GP livestock theft victim, 2015). In retrospect, the victim maintained that she would have moved her sheep, even to her backyard, if she knew what would happen, but she thought they were safe at the employees' residence, because they were kept in a stable, together with a horse and a dog.

Table 16 below depicts a summary of the most notable data gathered from the victims in order to gain a deeper understanding of how the perpetrators operate. This includes how livestock cases are reported, the nature of the livestock cases, the modus operandi of the offender and what methods the victims employ to counter future thefts.

Table 16: Summary of the nature of the thefts (livestock theft victims)

Victim	Reporting of cases	Nature of livestock theft cases	Modus operandi	Recovery of livestock	Vetting/recruitment of employees	Other methods used to prevent livestock theft
A	Reports cases to SAPS once he notices livestock are missing (often the following day)	Perpetrators: Previous employees and unknown individuals	Livestock stolen next to road; livestock stolen from farm when farmer is absent; use of a truck to load livestock	Stolen livestock spotted by members of the community; informants	Done orally: Asks for personal documentation (i.e. Identity Document [ID]) and references (if possible)	Counts daily; trust in employees; use of informants; make use of a security company
B	Reports cases to SAPS once he notices livestock are missing (often the following day)	Perpetrators: Previous employees and unknown individuals	Use of a truck to load livestock; bent or cut wires of fence and herded livestock to nearby settlement	Livestock was left in a dilapidated building	Contacts references of potential employee; can see when a person "scans" the vicinity	Livestock kept in a centralised camp overnight (not next to the road or highway); counts daily; informants; weekly patrols; tries to move camps to the main house

C	Reported case immediately the SAPS	Perpetrators: acquaintance and her employees (suspects)	Livestock were loaded onto a truck; cutting of wires; possible use of rope to tie animals	Not applicable	Not applicable	Sheep were kept in a stable
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(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

As summarised in Table 16 above, all the victims reported their cases of livestock theft directly to the SAPS. However, they all found this procedure problematic due to how these cases are handled. They believe that the reported cases often do not reach the SAPS STUs in due course. This confirms that victims often find it difficult to report crimes committed against them to the SAPS, because of a delay in response and the feeling that the police officers are not adequately trained and equipped to deal with livestock theft cases. A study by Morris, Norris and Dowell, (2019:9) conducted in England on farm crime revealed similar findings with regards to the reporting of cases by victims to the police. Only half of the respondents who reported cases to the police were satisfied with the police's response. The remainder of the respondents cited "an apparent lack of interest" and "slow response times" as reasons for their dissatisfaction (Morris et al., 2019:9). Similar findings have been reported in other countries, such as Kenya. Bunei (2018:50) contends that Kenyan farmers are unwilling to report cases of livestock theft, because cases that have been previously reported to police do not end up in prosecution. The victims also find it costly and time-consuming to attend court proceedings.

The nature of the livestock theft cases of the victims interviewed for this study showed that the perpetrators knew the routines of the victims. This does not only tie in with the routine activity theory (as discussed in Chapter 3 of this study) but also the lifestyle theory that contends that individuals' lifestyles can increase their exposure to criminal offenders (Siegel, 2018:79). Although, the victims did not display any risky lifestyle behaviours (i.e. abusing drugs or being exposed to street life), the nature of running a farm predisposes a person to the vulnerabilities of crime. In all three cases, perpetrators were previous employees, except for unknown

perpetrators, in some incidences. The victims in this study relied on their farm employees to watch over their livestock while they were away. These employees knew exactly the movements of the farmers and how often the livestock were counted. The modi operandi used by the perpetrators consisted of loading livestock on to trucks (Victims A, B and C) with the occasional herding of livestock by foot to the nearest informal settlement (Victim B). Access to the livestock was gained by cutting the fence wires or bending it.

Situational crime prevention that stemmed from the rational choice and routine activity theories, contends that the environment and possessions (such as livestock) can be altered in a way to reduce the opportunity for crime (Case et al., 2017:335). This includes using locks on property, installing CCTV cameras and branding livestock. The victims in this study employed the following methods to counteract the potential theft of their livestock: counting livestock daily and using informants to inform them of any suspicious activity. Victim A hired the services of a private security company to watch over his farm, while victim B kept his livestock in a centralised camp at night and avoided keeping his livestock next to the road. He also tried to move his camps nearer to the main house and he also formed his own neighbourhood watch group to conduct patrols during the night. Victim C emphasised that her sheep were kept in a stable next to the main house. Despite these efforts, the livestock owners were still subjected to thefts. In relation to the crime pattern theory, most of these thefts occurred as a result of perpetrators' (i.e. employees) daily routines that directly intersected with the livestock. The perpetrators acted when they were faced with the knowledge (i.e. knowing the daily routines of the livestock owners) and opportunity (i.e. absent farmers) to engage in their desire to steal the livestock (Weisburd et al., 2016:45; Wortley & Mozerolle, 2008:80).

6.5. CONCLUSION

As part of this study's aim to compile a sample-specific profile of livestock theft perpetrators, additional data were gathered from police case dockets of perpetrators sentenced for livestock theft and interviews held with members of the SAPS STUs and livestock owners that were victims of livestock theft. The information obtained from these sources does not only add to the objectives of this study, but it also provides insight into the phenomenon of livestock theft. As such, the questions did not only focus on the perpetrators, the methods used by these perpetrators and the nature of the crime, but it also allowed for gathering knowledge on how livestock theft cases are investigated and what difficulties the authorities are faced with when

having to identify, pursue and apprehend perpetrators, in addition to gathering sufficient evidence to enable a prosecution. Moreover, the information gathered from the police case dockets acts as a supplementary source to the data from offenders interviewed, in the sense that personal details, such as biographical information, methods used and the overall nature of the crime, can be compared to formulate a well-rounded and comprehensive criminological profile. The opinions expressed by the SAPS STUs members about the type of methods that they have encountered that are used by perpetrators included stealing from grazing camps during the day and stealing from kraals at night, as well as stealing livestock on the eve of auctions or one or two days after the livestock owner has counted his or her livestock. The motives for the thefts were consistent with the findings from the offenders interviewed and other research findings that revealed money (i.e. finance), unemployment, poverty, revenge and cultural dynamics (i.e. traditional ceremonies) to be the driving factors for livestock theft. As for the victims' opinions, most of the thieving of their livestock occurred as a result of previous employees who worked for them. This type of behaviour was best explained following the routine activity and lifestyle theories.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This study aimed to compile a sample-specific criminological profile of offenders sentenced for livestock theft. The rationale of this study stemmed from the lack of research on livestock theft. During the literature review, a profile derived from direct interviews with offenders incarcerated for livestock theft conducted from a criminological point of view was not found (Clack, 2014a:57). The purpose of this study was to explore, describe and explain criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft from a criminological perspective. To achieve this, a sample-specific group of offenders sentenced for livestock theft, members of the SAPS STU and victims of livestock theft were interviewed. SAPS case dockets of offenders sentenced for livestock theft were examined to identify the *modi operandi*, motives and causes of the criminal behaviour for profiling purposes to guide crime prevention practices.

To reach the aim of this study, several research objectives and questions were formulated. The objectives of this study were to:

- determine and describe the *modi operandi* used by the perpetrators to commit livestock theft;
- identify and explore the motives and causes related to the crime;
- apply criminological theories to explain the crime and criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft.

The research questions asked were:

- When and where do these thefts occur?
- What methods do the perpetrators use to commit the thefts?
- Are the thefts committed spontaneously or are they planned?
- Are there different types of perpetrators?
- Do the perpetrators work in groups or individually?

- What shortcomings (i.e. loopholes) exist that make it easier for the perpetrators to steal livestock?
- Do cultural factors play a role in the commission of the thefts?
- What other motives and causes guide the perpetrators to commit the thefts?
- Which criminological theories best explain livestock theft and the associated criminal behaviour?

To answer the above research questions, a qualitative research approach was employed during which research questions could be added or followed up (Babbie, 2016:317; Creswell & Poth, 2018:163). The qualitative research approach also allowed the researcher to explore the nature of the problem and enabled the perpetrators to provide reasons for their involvement in the crime (Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault, 2016:7). The research design was further guided by a case study design to achieve the aim and objectives of this study. The case study method supported events and situations that were prevalent in a group of similar cases (Kumar, 2019:196; Swanborn, 2010:2). Ultimately, the sample of this study consisted of a primary unit of analysis and a secondary unit of analysis. The primary unit of analysis included the livestock perpetrators. Thirty-five face-to-face interviews were conducted with offenders sentenced for livestock theft. The secondary unit of analysis consisted of face-to-face interviews with 10 SAPS STUs members, three victims of livestock theft and a follow up telephonic interview with one SAPS STU member. This study also included the analysis of 28 SAPS case dockets (49 perpetrators) on offenders sentenced for livestock theft (refer to section 4.5.1 in Chapter 4 of this study).

The current chapter summarises the research findings, as outlined in Chapters 5 and 6 of this study and provides recommendations to the SAPS STU in the detection and possible apprehension of livestock theft perpetrators. It also includes recommendations to the DCS with regards to the treatment and rehabilitation of incarcerated livestock theft offenders. Lastly, recommendations that are relevant to the courts, livestock owners and to aid emerging livestock owners are also made. Matters for further research are discussed.

7.2. THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following information contains the research findings of this study that was guided by the research questions. The answers to the questions were derived from the information of the units of analyses as presented in Chapters 5 and 6 of this study.

7.2.1. When and where the thefts of livestock occur

The following information describes when and where the thefts were more likely to occur in relation to the time of day, location and how far the perpetrators were willing to travel.

7.2.1.1. Time frames

In most of the cases (64.2% n = 18), the crimes were more likely to be committed during the night or late afternoon. Least prominent times in which the crimes occurred included early morning (10.7% n = 3), while only two (7.1%) crimes were committed during early morning to midday. Concerning the case dockets, the exact time frames could not be established in all cases to draw a concrete conclusion.

The perpetrators also did not choose a specific day to engage in livestock theft; they only decided to steal sheep when they did not have money as participant 26 explained. This contrasts with what the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) expressed during the interview. He affirmed that, if a perpetrator knows that livestock is counted on a specific day, for example, a Monday, they would be more likely to take livestock on the Tuesday to give themselves more time until the next counting. Not all perpetrators follow these guidelines and the perpetrators within this sample often acted spontaneously rather than choosing specific days on which to steal livestock.

The SAPS STUs members also expressed that perpetrators preferred to steal livestock during the night, making it less of a risk for them to be spotted. The SAPS STUs members also affirmed that perpetrators will steal livestock when there is a full moon because it makes it easier for them to identify the livestock. This was confirmed by some of the offenders interviewed: participant 3 admitted that, when there is a full moon at night, they would use it to their advantage because they were able to see clearly.

Participant 26 concurred and stated that they would carry out their crimes during the evening, depending on the moon, because they could not see anything in the dark. Concerning the spike in livestock theft during particular seasons, the SAPS STUs members conveyed that, during the winter months of June and July, livestock theft tends to escalate. This may be attributed to when most traditional celebrations take place. During the summer months, however, emerging farmers leave their livestock in the mountains to graze until winter approaches. This was confirmed by participants 9, 10 and 12, who stated that the animals stayed in the mountains during summer and returned to the farm in winter.

In Victim A's view is that thefts are more likely to take place during Christmas, Easter and big holiday events. He has also observed that some of the thefts have coincided with pay days. He said that many of the employees are paid on the 15th, 20th or 25th of every month. "Orders" are then placed during these times because perpetrators know that people receive their wages and will want to buy meat. This further substantiates the findings that these perpetrators know the routines employed by livestock owners. Victim B articulated that he did not notice a specific time gap between the times when his livestock were stolen. However, he agreed that, during events such as Easter weekend and the closing of traditional African schools, he noticed an increase in thefts, especially during the December festivities.

7.2.1.2. Location

The primary findings revealed that livestock were taken from farming areas in 57.1% (n = 16) of the cases. These included camps (17.9% n = 5), grazing areas (17.9% n = 5), mountainous areas (10.7% n = 3) and open fields (7.1% n = 2). In one case, livestock were taken from a township. The secondary data findings (i.e. case docket analysis), showed similar results in that livestock were mostly taken from camps (42.8% n = 12) and grazing areas (21.4% n = 6). According to the SAPS STUs members, perpetrators frequently target grazing areas (open fields) and camps (kraals). It was also stated during the interviews that perpetrators are more likely to steal livestock from camps at night and grazing fields during the day in the denser rural areas. This corresponds with the findings from the primary data (see Table 7 in Chapter 5 of this study). Livestock were stolen from camps mainly between 4 pm and 2 am the next morning, while livestock stolen from grazing areas mainly occurred during the day time.

The organised group of perpetrators conveyed the following information pertaining to locations:

- Participant 6 explained that he drove approximately 400 km until he arrived at the scene of the crime. The perpetrators (participants 2 and 6) operated in the provinces of LIM, NW and GP, even though no specific reason was given for choosing these locations.
- Participant 20 stated that they did not prefer a particular province or area over another. They travelled to any province in the country to steal livestock and the perpetrator also admitted that they would steal livestock in one province and then travel to another province that had an auction. Hence, they did not steal livestock and go to an auction within the same province.
- Participant 32 said that they travelled approximately 60 to 80 km to the farm. He explained that they tended to avoid commercial farms because security “was tighter” and rather selected farms that had only one owner. Farms that were also hidden deep in the mountains where many people were not around were also preferred.

7.2.1.3. Travelling distance

According to the SAPS STUs members, the movement and recovery of stolen livestock is difficult to effect. They find that the perpetrators will usually steal livestock in an area which they know and feel safe in (not necessarily where they reside). Recovered livestock have been found quite a distance (for example, 50 km away) from where they were taken, especially in cases where livestock have been found at auctions. In other instances, the perpetrators will herd livestock on foot and drive the livestock (approximately 20 km) to the nearest informal settlement where they will slaughter or load the livestock. In this case, the main findings revealed that, in most of the cases, the perpetrators herded the livestock on foot (32.1% n = 9) or slaughtered (32.1% n = 9) the animals. Six (21.4%) perpetrators admitted to transporting livestock with a vehicle after access was gained to the premises. Thus, in many cases, the animals were either slaughtered or herded on foot, rather than being transported with a vehicle. This finding contrasts with that of the case docket analysis where most (38.5% n = 10) of the perpetrators loaded the livestock onto a vehicle, followed by herding the livestock on foot (30.8% n = 8). The occurrence of slaughtering livestock only emerged in 11.5% (n = 3) of the cases and, in one other case, the carcasses of sheep were taken from an abattoir. The perpetrators did not necessarily slaughter the animals at the scene from which the animals were taken.

Participant 32 admitted that they did not slaughter the animals at the scene but took the livestock to a place, such as a river bank, where no evidence could be found or someone could walk in on them. The distance these perpetrators are willing to travel is further confirmed by some of the responses received from the offenders interviewed:

- Participant 3 said that the distance between where the cattle were taken, and the perpetrator's residence was approximately 11 km.
- Despite denying any involvement in the commission of the crime, participant 7 admitted that he knew the area well and that the house was situated far away from where they picked up the two men with the slaughtered cows.
- Participant 26 confessed that they had committed livestock theft more than three times and each time at a different farm. The area was well known to them and that they would seek out sheep during the day and steal the sheep at night, especially when it rains "because no one is looking".
- Participant 29 also claimed that they travelled to the farm about 20 km from where they were.

SAPS STUs members also conveyed that they have recovered livestock in Lesotho and that livestock stolen from South Africa and taken to Lesotho remained a problem. This is evident in criminal cases (events) 8 and 10, where perpetrators from Lesotho crossed the border to acquire and take back livestock from South Africa to Lesotho. Moreover, the SAPS STUs members explained that perpetrators will hide livestock in nearby forests, for example, until they find a buyer. This was confirmed in cases (criminal events) 7, 8, 11 and 22, except for the fact that these perpetrators hid the livestock to avoid being detected and only intended to return for the livestock once they felt it was safe to do so. This type of method was also evident in this study's interview with Victim A (refer to section 6.4.1.2 in Chapter 6 of this study).

The findings confirm that livestock are mostly taken from camps and grazing areas during the night when perpetrators are less likely to be detected. The more organised groups of perpetrators did not choose a specific area or province, but rather selected these regions based on the travelling distance between the crime scene and their final destination to avoid detection. Hence, the livestock theft perpetrators are willing to travel distances in order to obtain or dispose of livestock.

7.2.2. Modus operandi of the perpetrators

The following section contains the results of the findings regarding the methods employed by the sampled livestock theft perpetrators in the commission of their crime.

7.2.2.1. Choice of victim or target

The SAPS STUs members affirmed that both emerging and commercial farmers fall victim to livestock theft, but more so with emerging farmers. However, during the interviews with the offenders, it was difficult to establish which type of farmers was targeted. As discussed in Chapter 5 of this study, the randomness or spontaneity in the perpetrator's choice when selecting a victim does not necessarily reside with the victim's characteristics (i.e. age or gender), but is mainly determined by the perpetrator's needs, for example, to acquire livestock (Bernasco et al., 2017:328). These factors also tie in with the security and vulnerability found on a farm (refer to section 7.2.6.4 in this Chapter).

Nonetheless, the findings of this study showed that, in 82.1% (n = 23) of the cases, the victims were unknown to the offenders interviewed, while in 17.8% (n = 5) of the cases the perpetrators either personally knew the victim or knew the victim through a third party. The case docket information mainly revealed the demographics of the victims or, in this case, the complainants. This included their race, age and current occupation. The majority (46% n = 14) of the victims were African, while 40% (n = 12) of the remaining victims were White. Six of the victims fell under the following age groups: 20-30 years; 31-40 years; 41-50 years and 60 years and above. Five victims represented the 51-60 age group. The youngest victim of the sample was 20 years old and the oldest was 84 years old. There were more male victims (73.3% n = 22) than female victims (16.7% n = 5). Nine of the victims were farmers or farm managers.

Concerning how the perpetrators (i.e. offenders interviewed) obtained their information to engage in the commission of the crimes, the offenders received inside information about the farm from others (32.1% n = 9) and had knowledge of the area (10.7% n = 3). Participant 32 admitted that it was a "good advantage" (i.e. acquiring information from the farm workers). In this case, the farm workers went to the township and gave out information about the farm. The farm workers were given an incentive (about R300) for the information they provided, as in this case where the farm worker told the perpetrators that the farmer would leave the farm for the weekend.

Similarly, participant 20 also paid farm workers between R2 000 and R5 000 to assist them to herd the livestock into a temporary kraal.

7.2.2.2. Use of equipment

The type of equipment the perpetrators utilised during the commission of the crimes consisted of tongs, cutters, pliers, knives, ropes and anything they could find, such as a broken bottle and a stone, to cut the wires of a fence or use it to slaughter the animals. Victim B said that, in one case, he could see the perpetrators bend the wires of the camp and load the livestock onto a trailer. Victim C mentioned that she found a piece of rope at the location where her sheep were taken, leaving her to suspect that the perpetrators tied the sheep before loading them onto a vehicle. Participant 29 revealed that he and his accomplices used equipment, such as binoculars, to carry out their crimes. They sat on a hill with (night vision) binoculars and watched the vicinity. They monitored the workers and waited until the end of the day and cut the fence using tongs to gain access to the farm.

In terms of other types of aids perpetrators used in the commission of their crime, participants 3 and 6 confessed that their accomplices would falsify documents, such as removal certificates and police affidavits, in case they were stopped by police while transporting livestock. Participant 3 indicated that his accomplice had a printing machine to print the necessary removal certificates. His accomplice also knew a police officer who would sign the documents to authenticate them. This officer also informed the perpetrators of any roadblocks and received R10 000 for his assistance. The findings also showed that other organised groups, as in the case of criminal events 2, 3, 20 and 25, used their own equipment and falsification of documents to carry out the crimes. The use of false identification has also been noted by the SAPS STUs members as perpetrators never use their own identification but they hire another person to transport the livestock and then use that person's identification. This may hold some truth when looking at the cases of participants 4, 15, 16 and 21 who allegedly were approached by other people to obtain livestock for them.

During the interviews with the SAPS STUs members, the use of threat and force was reported in some cases. The primary findings corroborated this when participant 3 stated that he and his accomplices did not use any weapons to intimidate herdsman watching over the livestock, they rather tied them up or bribed them. However, in another case, participant 12 carried a gun with the intention to threaten someone if he needed to. Hence, although the theft of livestock is less

accompanied with violence in South Africa when compared to other African countries where the theft of livestock is mostly wrought with violence, the main findings confirm that perpetrators are willing and able to use violence or the threat thereof to obtain livestock.

7.2.2.3. Type, number and disposal of livestock

The type of livestock stolen consisted of cattle, sheep and goats, except in one case, where a pig was slaughtered. The case docket analysis showed that most livestock that were stolen included cattle (50% n = 13), goats (30.8% n = 8) and sheep (26.9% n = 6). The findings showed that the number of livestock perpetrators steal at a time varies from one to two animals to larger numbers of livestock (i.e. six and more) (see Table 6 in section 5.2.1.13).

The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) believed that, where one or two animals were stolen, it was to satisfy hunger and not necessarily to “test the waters” with the intention to steal larger numbers of livestock. The main findings of this study also did not confirm nor refute that these perpetrators started with stealing smaller numbers of livestock in order to familiarise themselves and escalate to larger numbers of livestock.

The SAPS STUs members gave varying opinions as to why they thought perpetrators stole smaller numbers of livestock. The Kokstad SAPS STU SC was of the view that perpetrators within the area steal for business purposes (i.e. to re-sell), while others tend to steal for their own consumption. When comparing the findings from the perpetrators who stole smaller numbers of livestock, this confirmed the view of the SC. Where one or two livestock were stolen, the purpose was either to sell the meat (see criminal events 6, 21, 22, 27 and 28), used it for own consumption (see criminal event 13) or for ritual purposes (see criminal events 4 and 9). The SAPS STUs members also explained that the reason perpetrators take one or two livestock at a time depends on the transport (i.e. a small utility vehicle that can hold only one or two animals). This belief is corroborated by the main findings of this study, for example, participant 26 who articulated that they would use a vehicle when they had larger numbers of livestock, while participant 20 explained that the number of livestock they stole depended on how many livestock they could transport. Other reasons for taking a specific number of livestock at a time also emerged. Participant 28 alleged that he and his accomplice decided to take one sheep because the other sheep had lambs with them.

The victims of this study also gave their views on the matter of the increase in the number of livestock stolen by perpetrators. Victim A said that, when he started farming more than 10 years before, only one or two sheep would go missing, but that the increased numbers of livestock being taken has become a trend. Victim B believes that there is an organised crime factor within livestock theft.

In terms of disposing of livestock, participant 29 described that they took the sheep to the township and locked them up in a small house until they phoned people the next day who wanted to buy the sheep. In other instances, the perpetrators would leave the stolen livestock at a certain place only to return for it later to avoid suspicion. For example, participant 8 admitted to leaving the sheep on a “flat open ground” before he returned to the (Lesotho) border. His intention was to return for the sheep during the night. Participant 12 confirmed this and stated that they herded the cows during the night when no one could see them and hid during the day should someone be searching for them. Participant 28 also conveyed that they chased the sheep inland, slaughtered the animal and left the carcass in the field to return for it later, while participant 26 explained that they climbed over the fence and carried the sheep (alive) and slaughtered the sheep in another camp. He furthermore stated that, when they stole the sheep, they walked about 10 km away from the main house to slaughter the sheep. Table 17 overleaf provides a summary of the main findings related to the *modi operandi* of the offenders.

Table 17: Summary of the modi operandi

Choice of victim or target	Use of equipment	Type, numbers and disposal of livestock
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most victims are unknown to the perpetrators • Selection based on information received and knowledge of the area • Most victims were male • More Africans were targets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tongs, cutters, pliers, knives, ropes and other items (i.e. broken bottles) • Printing machines to falsify documents • Branding equipment • Weapons (i.e. guns) • Other equipment: night vision binoculars • False aliases (i.e. use another person's identity documents) • Use of violence or threat of violence 	<p>Type of livestock:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cattle • Sheep • Goats • One pig <p>Numbers of livestock:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Smaller numbers (one or two livestock) • Larger numbers (six or more) <p>Disposal of livestock:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hide livestock to return for it later • Resell • Own consumption • Ritual purposes • Moving livestock away from camp to be slaughtered at a different camp

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

Table 17 contains the main findings related to the methods employed by the perpetrators of livestock theft. Most of the victims in these cases were unknown to the perpetrators. The perpetrators selected their targets based on the knowledge they received from others, such as farm workers, whereas some perpetrators knew the area. According to Clack (2015b:97), the distance a perpetrator is likely to travel depends on the type of crime and the environment. The author contends that not much is known about the geographical profile of the livestock perpetrators, despite researchers (Smith & McElwee, 2013:114) claiming that rural offenders have greater mobility than urban offenders. Weisburd et al. (2016:38) emphasise why certain places are repeatedly burglarised. One factor refers to an offender's first visit to the initial target (i.e. passing by a farm). The offender could then decide to return at a later stage, knowing that there is an incentive to return (i.e. livestock).

Although it is difficult to state if more emerging farmers were targeted by the perpetrators than commercial farmers, the case docket data revealed that more African livestock owners were targeted than White farmers, as were men compared to women. The findings of this study also reveal that the perpetrators used an array of equipment to gain access to the livestock to facilitate their crimes. Equipment such as tongs, cutters, pliers, knives and ropes were used to cut fences. Perpetrators also utilised their own branding equipment to mark livestock and their own printing machines to falsify documents. In rarer cases, the perpetrators used night vision binoculars to scour the vicinity, whereas one perpetrator carried a gun to use as a threat. Perpetrators may also use false aliases to avoid detection and, in other instances, perpetrators have used violence or the threat of violence to appropriate livestock.

In terms of the type of livestock stolen by perpetrators, this study showed that cattle, goats and sheep are preferred, except for one case where a pig was stolen. The number of livestock perpetrators are willing take in one incident depend on the circumstances and reasons for taking them. Findings reveal that smaller numbers of livestock stolen are not necessarily for own consumption, as purported by Clack (2013a:82), Manganyi, Maluleke and Shandu (2018:97), but also to re-sell or to use for ritual purposes. The perpetrators also take as much livestock as they can herd or the vehicles can accommodate. They also dispose of the livestock by selling it to community members, for own consumption or ritual purposes (i.e. funerals). This study also showed that perpetrators tend to hide the livestock and return for it later.

7.2.3. Spontaneity versus planning

In 17.9% (n = 5) of the cases where the thefts allegedly occurred from a spontaneous decision and where no plan was set in place, the offenders saw livestock next to the road as they were travelling in search of work, visiting an acquaintance or searching for wood. In instances where the offenders denied any involvement in the crime, the events leading up to the crime followed a similar pattern of being at the place at the wrong time or being approached by someone offering them the prospect of work. For example, participant 7 claimed to have visited a friend and, while driving with this friend, they stopped the car and two men approached the car and loaded what seemed to be two slaughtered cows into the car, while participant 21 claimed that he was approached by a man who promised to give him money to transport his workers, which led to the perpetrator collecting the workers together with stolen cattle.

Participant 27 similarly claimed that he was approached by people asking him to transport them to a farm. Participant 22 also denied knowing that the cattle he helped to gather with his friend were stolen. Not all the cases were of a spontaneous nature. In 57.1% (n = 16) of the cases, the crimes were premeditated. For instance, Participants 20 and 32 admitted to their crimes being more organised. Participant 20 stated that he and his accomplices would do “research” by sending out two members of their group (usually Zimbabweans) who would approach White farmers, because they believed White farmers to be more willing to take on foreign workers. Whereas participant 32 would plan the operation (i.e. obtain information and gather equipment) before proceeding to the farm. Once they arrived, they would first assess the security and other factors on the farm.

After the crime had been committed, the other members of the group would arrange for transport, branding equipment and any (fake) transportation documentation that may be required. The farm employees would sometimes assist the perpetrators to herd the livestock into a temporary kraal. The perpetrators would wait for traffic to start in the morning before proceeding to the auctions. To avoid suspicion, upon arriving at the auctions, they would sign in and wait for the auction to start then split the proceeds made at the auction. The perpetrator admitted that they carried out this modus operandi at least four times before he was caught.

Both the members from the Ladysmith SAPS STU and from the Cullinan SAPS STU observed a similar trend. First, the perpetrators would take livestock on the evening before an auction, they would leave the livestock at the auction and return later to collect the money after the auction. The element of planning is further corroborated by the victims’ own experiences. The victims’ employees were implicated in the thefts (refer to sections 6.4.1.2 and 6.4.2.3 in Chapter 7 of this study) and Victim C suspected that the employees who worked on the farm where she kept her sheep took part in the theft (refer to section 6.4.3.2 of this study). Thus, livestock theft perpetrators are more inclined to plan the commission of the crime rather than doing it opportunistically and spontaneously.

7.2.4. Types of perpetrators

According to the interviews conducted with the SAPS STUs members, several persons, including farmers and community members, were either directly or indirectly involved in cases of livestock theft.

These parties knowingly bought stolen livestock or meat from the perpetrators. This was found to be true in criminal events 2, 3, 5, 18 and 20 (see Chapter 5 of this study), where the perpetrators sold the livestock or the meat of the livestock to members of the community. The SAPS STUs members believed that perpetrators of livestock theft have some farming background, through being livestock owners themselves, growing up with livestock or having knowledge about farming although they could not confirm this. From the main findings, it was established that 75.3% of the offenders interviewed indicated that they grew up with animals and livestock, while the remainder (25.7%) did not give any indication of this. Those who grew up with livestock stated that they mostly looked after their families' animals, learned how to take care of them and herded them to the fields for grazing. This finding confirms that the perpetrators have knowledge or interest in livestock.

The primary findings of this study are that those perpetrators who were employed as farm workers or who had a previous history working on a farm did not necessarily steal livestock from their places of employment. However, in the cases of participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 18, 19, 23, 25 and 28, their current occupation either placed played a direct or indirect role in the commission of their crimes (refer to section 5.2.1.16 in Chapter 5 of this study). In support of these findings, the three victims interviewed also indicated that farm employees took part in some of the thefts. The inside knowledge that some of the livestock perpetrators displayed is shown below for each relevant offender interviewed in this study.

Participant 1 had his own cattle farm and allegedly intended to acquire livestock for his farm for which he was arrested. Participant 2 was a livestock trader, participant 23 provided sheep to butcheries while participant 25 was a self-proclaimed cattle breeder. This placed the perpetrators in a position of knowledge about the livestock industry that they could use to their advantage (i.e. knowing who to sell stolen livestock to). Participants 3 and 6 worked as employees on the farm of their accomplices (participants 2 and 23), participant 4 stole a goat in his capacity as an employee at a mortuary (see criminal event 4, in sub-section 5.2.1.15.4) and participant 28 stole sheep from his brother-in-law's employer. This perpetrator also admitted working for the victim previously. Participant 19 also abused her position as a domestic worker by using her inside knowledge of the farm to steal from her employer. In addition, participant 18 was working on the farm where he slaughtered a cow while the owner (his employer) was away and lastly, participant 22 revealed that his friend, whom he assisted to gather the livestock, was employed as a farm worker at the time by the owner.

Other than those who were self-employed and did piece jobs, the rest of the perpetrators' occupations consisted of bookkeeping, driving a taxi, wood work and working as a police officer. In addition, findings from the case docket analysis confirmed a direct link between the employment and the commission of the crime. In one case, two of the perpetrators were employed as a farm labourer and a farm manager.

The involvement of other parties, such as abattoirs and auctions, could not be directly established, except where they failed to act as proper guardians of the livestock by allowing, for example, unmarked livestock into the auctions. According to the SAPS STUs members, individuals (i.e. farmers and members of the community) and organisations (i.e. abattoirs and auctions) have been found to be directly and indirectly involved in the theft of livestock. These parties are indirectly involved when they knowingly condone the practice of livestock theft, for example, by buying stolen livestock or meat from the perpetrators. In some cases, auctions may condone the practice of livestock theft by accepting unbranded livestock from potential offenders.

In criminal event 3, a police officer was implicated as an abettor to the perpetrators by signing official documentation and informing the perpetrators of roadblocks, while participant 20 was employed as a police officer in the SAPS. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) corroborated that he experienced prior cases where some of their own members were involved. Perpetrators would contact these members and source information on, for example, roadblocks in the area.

The SAPS STUs members also shared that perpetrators hire vehicles from private owners to use in the commission of their crimes. These owners denied that they knew their vehicles were used during the commission of a criminal act. The SAPS STUs members also speculated that livestock traders are much more involved in these thefts although this statement cannot be supported with proof. The main findings of this study confirmed that at least two perpetrators (participants 2 and 23) were livestock traders who used their knowledge of the industry to appropriate stolen livestock.

Some of the perpetrators can also be classified as random opportunists as inferred from participants' 5, 8, 16, 18 and 24 modi operandi as they spotted livestock next to the road while travelling to their destinations. Participant 18 also claimed that they did not plan to slaughter his employer's cow, but that it was a spontaneous decision. Even though they considered selling the meat, they consumed it themselves.

The findings from this study reveal that it is not only farm workers or livestock owners that are involved in acts of livestock theft, but that a wide range of individuals from diverse occupational backgrounds are also present. Many of these individuals have some form of background or knowledge on the farming or the agricultural industry. This finding confirms what other researchers have stated (KZNDCSL, 2008:14, Smith, 2013:127; Smith & McElwee, 2013:115), that a crime, such as livestock theft, is mostly committed by persons who have insider knowledge and who are able to take advantage of this knowledge. Table 18 below summarises the above findings related to the individuals involved in livestock theft.

Table 18: Summary of the types of perpetrators involved

Livestock background (childhood)	Farm worker / employed on a farm / owner	Involvement of other parties (indirect)	Random opportunists
Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 32	Farm workers / employed on a farm: Participants 3, 4, 6, 14, 16, 18, 19, 24, 26, 27, 33 and 35 Farm owners / traders: Participants 1, 2, 23 and 25	Community members: criminal events 2, 3, 5, 18 and 20 Police officers: criminal events 3 and participant 20	Participants 5, 8, 16, 18 and 24
Total: 26	Total: 16	Total: 7	Total: 5

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

In summary, all perpetrators interviewed had some knowledge or background of livestock. Over 75% (n = 26) of the perpetrators indicated that they grew up with livestock. According to Table 18 above, 45.7% of the perpetrators were employed on a farm, were farm workers or managed their own farms and traded in livestock. Only five perpetrators could be classified as random opportunists according to their crime events. The data of the perpetrators interviewed also showed that other parties, such as members of the communities and police officers, were connected to the thefts.

7.2.5. Committing livestock theft on an individual and group level

The primary findings of this study showed that, in 60.7% of the cases, one to four perpetrators committed the crime together. In 14.3% (n = 4) of those cases, only one perpetrator was involved (although more could have been working together). In 39.3% of the cases, perpetrators worked in groups of four or more. Case docket information revealed that in the majority (38.4%) of the cases, two offenders worked together. In six cases, perpetrators worked on their own or in groups of three. However, the presence of four or more perpetrators working in a group was less evident (15.3%) in the case docket findings.

Where the crimes were more organised in nature, the groups worked together as follows: Participant 20 and his accomplices worked in groups of five members. Each member in the group had his own task, for example, branding the livestock. Furthermore, several groups existed hence one group of people did not remain static. This means that the groups worked on a rotational basis; individual members would alternate between groups. Specific groups worked on certain days and a group was not bound to one specific area. This confirms the SAPS STUs members' sentiments that syndicates may steal livestock in an area one day and move on to another area the next day. Although rotation seldom took place among the groups, the perpetrator could not say why the groups rotated. These groups originated from Gauteng and had no hierarchy. This also substantiates the fact that the SAPS STUs members found it difficult to identify whether perpetrators were part of a syndicate. Participant 32 stated that he worked in a group of eight individuals and they knew the area in which they wanted to work. Six members would collect the carcasses, while the remaining two members of the group would phone customers. The perpetrators stayed in communication with each other by using cell phones.

Arrests made by the SAPS STU included both repeat and first-time offenders of livestock theft. The responses from the SAPS STUs members revealed a mix between those perpetrators who make their own decisions to steal livestock and those who are approached by other parties to steal livestock on their behalf. The SAPS STUs members believed that individuals were more often approached and asked by other individuals to assist them with stealing livestock, rather than doing it on their own initiative.

The primary findings of this study revealed that nine of the offenders interviewed claimed to have been approached by someone who wanted assistance with collecting livestock (participants 4, 15, 19, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 35), while eight offenders (participants 1, 2, 8, 18, 23,

24, 26 and 34) were the instigators of their own crimes. Corroborating this, Victim B said that potential livestock perpetrators often work for the masterminds of the theft to earn money. He stated that the masterminds recruit individuals who have the knowledge of when and where to get the livestock and how to carry out the thefts.

Table 19 below provides a summary of the main findings discussed above.

Table 19: Summary of individual and group networks

Individual	Group	Organised groups	Recruitment	Own initiative
Criminal event 7, 18, 19 and 27	Criminal event 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26 and 28	Criminal event 2, 3, 15, 20, 25 and 32	Participants 4, 15, 19, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 35	Participants 1, 2, 8, 18, 23, 24, 26 and 34
Case docket 7, 11, 13, 25, 26 and 27	Case docket 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 10, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 28			

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

As depicted in Table 19, the perpetrators either worked alone or, in most cases, in groups. Six of the cases were identified as organised groups where members had their own task to carry out as part of the crime. Some of these groups worked on a rotational basis and the group remained dynamic. There was no hierarchy within these groups. Perpetrators were either recruited or instigated the thefts out of their accord. These findings confirm that livestock theft is both an individual and an organised crime which corroborates with other research (Bunei et al., 2016:46; Clack, 2013a:80; Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:10; Doorewaard, et al., 2015:38; Dzimba & Matookane, 2005: 22; KZNDCSL, 2008:14) and reports (Hofmeyr, 2013:11; Saner, 2014:4) that allude to livestock theft as an organised crime.

7.2.6. Shortcomings contributing to the ease of livestock theft

Findings show that there are certain shortcomings that make it easier for perpetrators to commit livestock theft. These are:

7.2.6.1. Negligence in branding and control of livestock

Participant 1 said that the livestock were not branded. In criminal event 3, participant 23 used his own brand marking equipment and logo to avoid detection. As participant 3 affirmed, "Some of the cattle were easy to steal because they were not marked, especially some of the younger livestock". The advantage of livestock that are not branded was provided by participant 20 who said that if the perpetrators were stopped by the police, they could state that the livestock belonged to him (participant 20), since the livestock were, by then, branded with the perpetrator's own brand mark that he obtained from the DAFF.

The SAPS STUs members also raised concerns that livestock owners fail to properly monitor and supervise their livestock. As one respondent mentioned, livestock owners move their livestock to the mountains for three months and do not check on them. This gap has been noticed by the perpetrators. Participants 9, 10 and 12 admitted that they knew that the livestock were sent to the mountains during the summer months and only returned to the farms during winter time.

This finding has also been confirmed by Maluleke and Mofokeng (2018:328) who noted that key informants from the KZN SAPS STUs alluded to the challenge of dealing with rural livestock farmers who practice livestock farming in the mountains and leave their animals unfenced or without being kraaled. The SAPS (2019:157) also confirmed that more cases of livestock theft occur in rural areas where most of the gates are not locked. Victims A and B who are both livestock farmers confirmed that they always brand mark and count their animals regularly. However, Victim C who only kept her sheep as pets, admitted that her sheep were not tattooed, but that she was glad that she did not do so because she has heard of many cases where the animals' tattoos are forcefully removed, and thus she believed she spared her stolen sheep the potential pain.

7.2.6.2. Falsification of documents and registering of brand marks

The findings of this study confirm that official documents, such as the removal certificate (Article 8 of the Stock Theft Act of no. 57 of 1959), can easily be falsified by perpetrators, especially with the aid of corrupt police officials as found in criminal events 2 and 3. In addition, perpetrators can easily register their own brand mark with the DAFF and brand stolen livestock (see criminal event 3, for example). This matter is further discussed in section 7.4.3 below.

7.2.6.3. Avoidance of detection

The reason that participant 2 only sold livestock to community members and abattoirs and not to auctions lies in the risk of being detected at auctions. In other cases, the perpetrators tried to avoid detection while they were engaging in the commission of the crimes. For example, participant 5 declared that they tried to “look innocent” when a car passed them by. Participant 20 also admitted that, to avoid detection, they would, for example in the case of goats, remove the identifying tattoos or ear tags.

Participant 32 allegedly committed livestock theft on an organised scale more than 50 times from 1998. He averred that they were never caught before because “everything was well planned”. They would disguise themselves as football players, for example, in order to check the vicinity for any risk or dangers (i.e. security measures). This method has also been noted by one of the SAPS STUs members who described that once a suspect disguised himself as a woman to avoid detection. The SAPS STUs members also noted that perpetrators often use false names and documentation to mislead investigators. In such instances, perpetrators provide false invoices, use aliases and fabricate names of places where they allegedly acquired the livestock.

7.2.6.4. Security on and vulnerability of farms

Participant 5 admitted that, although he did not find it easy to steal cattle, some of the farms did not have a lot of security. Participant 14 and his accomplices gained access through an unlocked gate. He articulated that the sheep were situated far from the main house and that there was no security on the farm. Participant 26 also explained that they would go through the unlocked gates or climb over the fence to gain access. He furthermore conveyed that the sheep were grazing some distance away from the main house and did not make any sound.

Participant 26 also stated that it was easy to take the sheep because “no one was watching”. He explained that some farms had cameras and others not. They knew which farms had cameras because they could see the cameras and therefore decided to go to farms which they knew did not have cameras. Participant 24 asserted that the area in which the cattle were grazing was not surrounded by any fencing, while participant 31 indicated that it was easy gaining access to the farm because there was no one who could see them.

Added to this, is the SAPS STUs members’ concerns surrounding the dirt and gravel roads, which makes them very difficult to patrol. The main roads leading out from the areas also make it easier for perpetrators to escape. The main concerns among the SAPS STUs members were that farmers do not look after their livestock or lock kraals, farmers allow cattle to roam freely beside the roads and there are no fences or herdsman to look after the livestock. This was confirmed by participant’s 10 response when he stated that it was easy to steal livestock because there was no one looking after the cattle.

The SAPS (2019:158) crime statistics for 2018/2019 showed that, in 29 694 reported cases of livestock theft, the perpetrators opened the gate and removed animals from where they were housed. Looking at the number of reported incidents and the nature of how the animals were taken, it clearly indicates that simple security measures, such as locking a gate, are not followed. The victims of this study also expressed that simple security measures, such as vetting employees, counting livestock and the use of technology, such as GPS collars for livestock and CCTV cameras, can make a difference in securing livestock.

7.2.6.5. Weak border control between Lesotho and South Africa

According to participant 9 (a Lesotho national), the nearest and easiest way to steal cattle was to cross the border from Lesotho to South Africa. Participant 12 concurred by stating that they did not go to the border post directly, but he went “where there was no security”. Participant 17 also averred that he and his accomplice easily crossed the border since “there was no security”. Adding to this, participant 14 admitted that they chose South Africa because it is easy for them to hide there and that they are less likely to get caught. He and his accomplices gained access through the border by what he described as “loopholes”.

In view of the SAPS STUs members, the movement of livestock across the Lesotho border remains a problem. The FS particularly experiences problems with the movement of stolen livestock across the Lesotho border. According to the KZN SAPS STU PC (2015), approximately five to six percent of the stolen livestock in KZN Province are moved across to Lesotho, however the SAPS STUs have a good understanding with the Lesotho authorities should they (the investigators) need to cross the border.

According to Rafolatsane (2013:6), some of the border posts between Lesotho and South Africa are “not manned due to unknown bureaucratic issues”. Maluleke and Dlamini (2019:125) also assert that livestock theft remains a problem as a result of the number of people in Lesotho who rely on livestock for subsistence and therefore provides a market for criminal activity.

7.2.6.6. Ready market

The SAPS STUs members believed that people are very eager to buy livestock without the required documentation as it is very cheap to buy stolen meat. These sentiments have been confirmed in the following cases, which show that perpetrators sell livestock and the meat at very cheap prices to willing individuals and community members:

- In criminal event 2 (as outlined in Chapter 5 of this study), the perpetrators sold the livestock only to members of the community and abattoirs, some of who were permanent buyers. Participant 6 said that participant 2 never sold livestock to auctions, inferring that he viewed selling at auctions too much of a risk to be detected.
- Participant 3 stated that his accomplice (participant 23) knew livestock traders that may be interested in buying the cattle from him.
- Participant 5 explained that they were willing to sell the stolen cattle for R3 500 or any amount that they could get because they did not know the market price of the cattle.
- Participants 9, 10 and 12 mentioned that they already had a buyer who was a regular customer of theirs. They planned to sell the livestock for R5 000 a head.
- Participant 24 also knew someone to whom he could sell the cattle he stole and wanted R5 000 for each animal.

- As expressed in Chapter 5 of this study, participant 25 was not forthcoming about his criminal actions. However, he admitted to getting between R5 000 and R7 000 per head of cattle.
- Participant 26 revealed that they usually sold the meat from the sheep that they slaughtered to community members for between R450 and R500.
- Accomplices, participants 29 and 30, had different stories as to how much they sold the stolen sheep for. According to participant 29, it was R800 per sheep, while participant 30 said that they sold them for R500 each to people in the township.
- Participant 31 told a similar story and asserted that they sold the meat to many people within the community. In this case, the buyers liked to negotiate a price because they knew it was stolen. The perpetrators sold a sheep for approximately R500.
- Participant 32 explained that, after they slaughtered the sheep, they would phone their customers to come and collect the number that they had ordered. They asked about R500 for one whole sheep, depending on its size.
- Participant 33 also explained that they conversed with individuals who were interested in buying meat after they drove the sheep that they slaughtered to the township. They received R600 per sheep.
- After participant 34 carried the sheep that he stole back to his township, he walked to the shebeens to ask around if anybody was interested in buying the meat for R500.
- In participant 35's case, a man requested the meat of a pig, which he sold for R500.

The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) said that perpetrators take advantage of traditional ceremonies, such as funerals, because funeral parlours acquire the animal to provide food. This is confirmed by criminal events 4, 11 and 18.

7.2.7. The role of cultural factors in the occurrence of livestock theft

Over 25% (n = 9) of the perpetrators believed in the African tradition of paying lobola (i.e. giving cattle to the father of the woman the man intends to marry) and practice some form of cultural religion. The participants did not explicitly admit that their cultural beliefs played a part in their crimes, but in some cases, it was found that cultural factors did play a role, either in the way the perpetrators viewed their lives or in the criminal cases.

Participants 1, 6, 9 and 10 said that they had another religion, for example Christianity, but they still believed in some of the African traditions, such as their ancestors, rituals where they used goat blood to wash a person or the slaughtering of cattle during celebrations or rituals. Participants 16, 17 and 24 expressed the cultural and financial value that livestock held during their childhood years, while participant 4 who worked at a mortuary was approached by his employer and a *Sangoma* to obtain a goat for the *Sangoma*. The perpetrator explained that the *Sangoma* required the goat for ritual purposes.

Participant 11 articulated that, during the months of June and July, the African people prepare a “pot” as part of their funeral ceremonies which requires a goat as part of the ritual process. This case confirms the SAPS STUs members’ view that they experienced a higher volume of reported cases during the winter when goats and cattle are targeted and they speculated that this may be due to ceremonial events, such as funerals, that occur within this period. Findings from dockets 13 and 14 also substantiate that livestock were taken as part of cultural traditions. The first, to pay lobola, and the second, to attain a goat as part of a traditional ceremony. The SAPS STUs members also supported the view that perpetrators take advantage of traditional events, such as funerals. In summary, these findings are consistent with other research findings (Mahangana et al., 2015:3; Rafolatsane, 2013:9) that stated that some African traditions require animals to perform rituals during ceremonies such as funerals. According to some of the SAPS STUs members’ responses, livestock theft incidents tend to increase during the traditional ceremony periods, likewise the victims also confirmed that they have noticed a spike in activity in livestock theft during traditional and festive events.

7.2.8. Motives and causes of livestock theft

The findings show that there were direct and indirect motives and the causes of the thefts. The main (direct) motive for the thefts were financial in 74.2% (n = 26) of the cases. Here, two factors were identified, one of greed and one of need. In terms of greed (37.1% n = 13), the offenders either viewed livestock theft as a means to make money for immediate gratification. On the other hand, 34.2% (n = 12) of the perpetrators’ intentions could be perceived as stemming from a place of need.

The nature of the thefts and the lucrative nature and value of the livestock further contributed to participants 2, 6, 20, 23, 25 and 32’s desire for wealth and self-enrichment, as could be seen in their organisational skills, the number of livestock they took and the fact that they continued with

their criminal operations until their arrests. Greed was also observed in the crimes of participants 2, 6, 23 and 25 reflected in the large number of livestock they have taken over the course of their criminal careers. Participant 2, for example, stole over R2 million worth of livestock. Participant 8 wanted his own farm without having to earn it in a conventional way, while livestock theft became a professional career for participants 20 and 32.

From the primary findings, other direct motives entailed substance abuse (i.e. to acquire the financial means necessary to maintain a drug addiction) (2.8%), revenge (2.8%) and wanting to own livestock for immediate gratification (11.4%) (participants 1, 8, 12 and 14). The case docket findings also revealed a financial (46.2%) and personal (15.4%) motive. In terms of the financial motive, livestock were stolen to sell the animals or the meat. Docket 2 revealed the perpetrators' need for meat (survival), while in dockets 13 and 14 the purpose was to steal cattle and use it for lobola (D 13), while goats were taken for the purpose of performing a traditional ceremony (D 14 and D 21). This illustrates that perpetrators are driven by the prospects of making money from members of society who practice their cultural traditions.

In terms of the underlying causes that guided the motives of the offenders, the following causes emerged from the findings: opportunistic behaviour (60%); a previous criminal history (57.1%); a negative peer association, influence and pressure (54.1%); a low or no formal education (45.7%); an unfavourable childhood development (i.e. conflict within family and an absent parent) (42.8%); unemployment (25.7%) and a large family size (17.1%).

The responses from the SAPS STUs members in relation to the motives and causes entailed financially benefiting from the crime or to steal for survival as a result of unemployment, cultural dynamics and poverty. They also averred that perpetrators are often motivated by greed. The victims (Victims A and B) noticed a definite change in the motive of the perpetrators over the course of their farming years. In the past, perpetrators often stole for the pot, but the thefts have escalated into larger numbers of livestock being stolen that, in their view, is a definite sign of greed. Motives and causes identified by the SAPS STUs members also included factors, such as revenge, unemployment and poverty and those who are driven to profit financially from the proceeds rather than stealing for survival. Table 20 outlines the motives and causes akin to each perpetrator.

Table 20: Summary of the motives and causes akin to the perpetrators

Participants / Dockets	Motives	Participants	Causes
P 2, 3, 4, 9, 6, 11, 15, 20, 21, 23, 25, 31 and 32	Self-enrichment and financial gain; immediate gratification	P 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 26, 33 and 34	Opportunistic behaviour
P 5, 10, 13, 18, 19, 24, 26, 29, 30, 33, 34 and 35	Financial need, desperation and difficulties; unemployment	P 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35	Previous criminal history
P 1, 8, 12 and 14	To own livestock (immediate gratification)	P 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 29, 31 and 35	Negative peer association, influence and pressure
P 26	substance abuse	P 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 18, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34 and 35	Low or no formal education
P 28	Revenge	P 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 19, 21, 22, 26, 29, 31 and 35	Unfavourable childhood development
D 2	Need for survival	P 5, 10, 13, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34 and 35	Unemployment
D 13 and 14	Traditional ceremony and lobola		
		P 1, 6, 9, 16, 25 and 28	Large family size
D 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 18 19, 22 and 26	Financial gain	P 32, 34 and 35	Substance abuse (underlying factor)

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

In summary, the most prominent motives and causes identified in this study included a financial motive, either as a result of self-enrichment (immediate gratification) or as a result of financial difficulties and desperation. Other motives included revenge, substance abuse and to own their own livestock. Causes guide the motives to commit a crime. The motives and causes can also overlap. In this case, peer pressure, where the perpetrators felt pressured to live up to what

society demanded of them, or where they were influenced by others who influenced their decisions whether to engage in livestock theft also contributed to the crimes. Other causes entailed unemployment, an opportunistic attitude, a previous criminal history (learned behaviour), negative peer association, low or no formal education, an unfavourable childhood and a large family size. The case dockets also revealed that the perpetrators were driven by the need to acquire livestock for traditional ceremonies and cultural dynamics, such as lobola.

In the cases of participants 32, 34 and 35, the element of substance abuse was also an underlying cause in need of addressing, since research has shown that economic crime is often committed for drug money (Felson & Staff, 2017:381; Felson et al., 2019:1296). These findings corroborate the belief that perpetrators come from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds where the motives include both a greed and need element (Doorewaard et al., 2015:37-49).

7.2.9. Applied criminology theories

Numerous criminological theories have emerged to explain crime and criminal behaviour (Case et al., 2017:321). One of the objectives of this study was to explain livestock theft, in terms of how and why it occurs, using criminological theories. The theories most relevant to this study were applied, which resulted in the formulation of a criminological matrix to explain livestock theft and the associated criminal behaviour (refer to section 5.2.1.18 in Chapter 5 of this study).

The first set of theories, the routine activity, crime pattern and rational choice theories, focused on how the thefts occurred. It was averred that livestock theft is a rational choice that is guided by a decision-making process. This was evident in all criminal events, despite some perpetrators denying any involvement in the commission of the crimes. The second set of theories consisted of the general strain, social learning, the neutralisation and the general theory of crime. These theories focused on why the thefts occurred and also showed that the decision-making process is guided by factors such as target selection and attributes, such as strains, learned experiences and traits (i.e. impulsiveness and low self-control) (Siegel, 2016:202). These theories were extensively discussed in Chapter 3 of this study. Hence, the criminology theories that were applied to explain livestock theft and the associated criminal behaviour of the perpetrators are summarised overleaf:

- **Rational choice theory:** The perpetrators all displayed an element of rationality in their decision to commit the crimes. They personally sought to gain maximum benefit and avoid punishment, whilst weighing up the costs and benefits of the crime. In effect, the perpetrators' decisions were guided by the strains (i.e. unemployment and limited education) that they experienced.
- **General strain theory:** The perpetrators experienced different strains (i.e. unemployment, financial desperation/need, self-enrichment, greed and need for wealth and status) that may have given way to negative states such as frustration, desperation and disappointment. For example, participant 19 thought she could take some sheep for herself because she did not have food in the house. The potential driving force behind the perpetrators' decision-making process and offending behaviour entailed: unemployment, financial desperation/need, self-enrichment, greed and need for wealth and status, a desire for drugs and a need to take revenge.
- **Routine activity theory:** Once the perpetrators were motivated, they identified the livestock as a suitable target due their high monetary value and profitability (i.e. financial and consumables). The animals were easily accessible (i.e. through unlocked gates) and movable (i.e. herded or could be loaded onto a vehicle). The absence of capable guardians (i.e. livestock owners, herdsman and other security measures) made it possible for the perpetrators to engage in the thefts.
- **Crime pattern theory:** The perpetrators based their selection on targets that they were familiar with. The perpetrators' activities often intersected with the paths of the targets. For example, some of the perpetrators drove around in search of potential targets, while other perpetrators passed livestock on their way in search for work. This created opportunities for the perpetrators to act on their motivations. The characteristics of, for example, a farm (i.e. its remote location and easy accessibility from main roads) also attracted the perpetrators.
- **Social learning theory:** During the decision-making process, the perpetrators also considered what they have learned from their past experiences (such as previously committed crimes or learned behaviours derived from interacting with peers). This reinforced their criminal behaviour and enabled them to weigh up the cost (i.e. punishment) against the rewards (i.e. financial incentive) of the crime.
- **General theory of crime:** The perpetrators' decision-making processes are also influenced by their individual traits and characteristics, such as low self-control and impulsivity.

The perpetrators displayed low self-control in that they were guided by engaging in risky behaviour (i.e. taking the risk to steal livestock, knowing that they could be caught) and immediate gratification of obtaining the livestock without having to work for them. For example, participant 3 admitted that he thought to himself that he could make fast money if he engaged in livestock theft.

- **Neutralisation theory:** The techniques of this theory suggest that Perpetrators justify their criminal acts by rationalising their behaviour. The perpetrators provided a series of justifications that ranged from admitting to livestock theft being a serious crime to feeling remorseful. The perpetrators described how they felt about the sentences they received for their crimes and the risk the crime posed to them. The perpetrators also denied any responsibility for their actions, for example, by blaming others or purporting that there are worst crimes committed than livestock theft.

In summary, the above findings answered the research questions of this study in relation to the objectives. As a result, the following aim of this study is achieved and a criminological sample-specific profile is compiled.

7.3. PERPETRATOR PROFILE

The data derived from the primary (offenders interviewed and assessed) and secondary (the SAPS STUs members, victims and case dockets) units of analyses revealed the following profile on the perpetrators of livestock theft:

7.3.1. Gender

The findings revealed that the majority of the perpetrators were male. The offenders that were interviewed consisted of 34 males and one female, while the case docket analysis had 48 perpetrators that were male and one female who have been convicted for livestock theft. These two data sets show that 97% of the perpetrators were male, while the remaining 3% were female. These findings were corroborated by the SAPS STUs members who conceded that most of the perpetrators that they apprehended were male but that females' involvement in livestock theft was gaining momentum, either through assisting male perpetrators to steal livestock or through direct (i.e. loading and driving off with livestock) and indirect (i.e. purchasing stolen meat) involvement.

This is evidenced by participant 19 (a female perpetrator) who confessed that she was approached by an acquaintance to take him and his accomplices to her employer's farm and aid them in stealing sheep. As alluded to throughout this study, a dearth of research exists on the profile of the perpetrator. However, the findings are consistent with that of Dzimba and Matookane's (2005:59) case docket analysis of Lesotho offenders, which showed that 1% of the sample of livestock theft perpetrators were female (refer to section 6.2.2 in Chapter 6 of this study).

7.3.2. Age

With regards to age groups of the perpetrators, the majority of the offenders interviewed were between the ages of 35 and 39 years old (25.7%). The remaining number of offenders fell within the following age groups:

- 40-44 (20%)
- 45-49 (14.3%)
- 25-29 (14.3%)
- 30-34 (11.4%)
- 50-59 (11.4%)
- 60-70 (2.9%)

From the secondary sample set of perpetrators, the age groups between 19 and 25, and 26 and 30 years represented the majority of the sample, making up 24.5% (each) of the total. This is followed by the age groups 31 to 35 years (18.4%) and 36 to 40 years (14.3%). It was found that, as the age groups increased, the number of perpetrators falling within these age groups decreased:

- 41-45 (10.2%)
- 50-55 (10.2%)
- 56 and above (4.1%)

The youngest perpetrators of the interviewed group of offenders were 28 years old, while the oldest perpetrator of the sample was 70 years old. The secondary sample set (i.e. case dockets) revealed that the youngest perpetrator was 19 years old while the oldest perpetrators of the sample were between 60 and 77 years old, corresponding with the eldest age group of the sample of offenders interviewed.

Dzimba and Matoane's (2005:59) docket analysis study showed that the perpetrators from Lesotho were between the ages of 16 and 25 years, followed ages 26-35 and 36-45 years. The desktop study conducted by Doorewaard (2015a:53) revealed similar findings. Almost half of the perpetrators were between 17 and 25 years old, followed by those between 36 and 48 years old and 27-34 years old (refer to section 6.2.2 in Chapter 6 of this study).

7.3.3. Nationality, race and ethnicity

With regards to nationality, race and ethnicity, the majority (80%) of the offenders interviewed are of African descent, followed by Coloureds (11%) and Whites (9%). The case docket information revealed all 49 perpetrators to be of African descent. Xhosa was the most common ethnic group among 26% of the primary sample followed by Sotho (23%), Afrikaans (20%), Zulu (11%), Ndebele (6%), Tswana (6%), Venda (3%) and Pedi (3%). In comparison, in the secondary set of data, many of the perpetrators were Zulu (65.3%) followed by Sotho (8.2%), Xhosa (6.2%) and Ndebele. Fourteen-point-two percent of the sample's ethnicity were unknown.

With regards to the secondary unit of analysis, majority ethnic groups among the perpetrators were Zulu (65.3%), followed by Sotho (8.2%) Xhosa (6.2%) and Ndebele (2.1%). The nationality of the perpetrators was not only confined to South Africa, but also consisted of perpetrators from Lesotho, Malawi (2.1%) and Zimbabwe (2.1%). As expected, most of the perpetrators are South African (80% for the primary unit and 91.8% for the secondary unit). This was followed by perpetrators from Lesotho, making up 20% of the primary unit and 4.1% of the secondary unit.

Empirical research on nationals and foreigners' involvement in crime in South Africa is scarce (Maluleke & Dlamini, 2019:126). In 2018, the Justice and Correctional Services Minister [Michael Masutha] revealed that only 7.5% of the prison population consisted of foreign nationals (Newham, 2018:2).

7.3.4. Marital status and dependants

In the first data set, most of the perpetrators were married (66%), while in the second data set, more than half of the perpetrators were either single or never married (71%). On average, most of the perpetrators had two children (49%). The second data set revealed that 71.4% of perpetrators were either single or never married and only 16.3% of perpetrators were married. In six cases, perpetrators had children (between one and five in total).

The findings from the perpetrators interviewed in relation to their marital status are consistent with other perpetrator profiles conducted in South Africa where it was found that more perpetrators were unmarried compared to those were married. For example, Zinn's (2002:163) profile on vehicle hijackers showed that more than half of the sample was unmarried. Thobane's (2014:125) research on cash-in-transit robbers revealed that only 27% were married, while more than half of the sample was single.

7.3.5. Childhood development and family dynamics

The assessment furthermore documented the childhood developmental and family dynamics of the perpetrators interviewed. As noted in Chapter 5 of this study, parental communication and discipline are important factors in determining future misbehaviour (Siegel, 2016:222). In this case, 22.8% of the offenders' reported a difficult childhood and family life. Family variables, such as the family's socio-economic status, its structure, including parental supervision and parent and sibling criminality, also significantly influenced their propensity to criminal behaviour (Eriksson, Hjalmarsson, Lindquist & Sandberg, 2016:254; Kotlaja, 2018:12).

The main findings of this study showed that three perpetrators (participants 3, 10 and 29) interacted with antisocial friends and did not get along with others during their school-going years. Other perpetrators reported having friends who were rebellious and truant from school (participant 28), who stole things, such as chickens, and who engaged in delinquent behaviour (participant 26). According to Siegel (2018:237), the chances of becoming involved in crime is greatly increased when a person associates with delinquent peers. The author further contends that these peer effects can follow a person into adulthood.

7.3.6. Educational background and employment history

With regards to the educational status of offenders interviewed, the majority (40%) of the offenders only obtained a basic education at primary level, while 17.1% received no formal education. Thirty-one percent of the perpetrators did not complete secondary school. Those perpetrators, who completed secondary school and received a tertiary education, made up 14.3% and 8.6% of the sample, respectively. Thirty-seven percent acquired some form of training in trade skills. Four of those offenders obtained formal training in skills, such as mechanics, electrical work and welding, while nine participants were self-taught in trades that included windscreen glazing, bricklaying, building, plumbing and shoe-making. In comparison, the case docket revealed that 38.7% of offenders had moved on to secondary school, whereas only four perpetrators received education at primary level and two perpetrators received tertiary education. The case docket showed that most of the perpetrators (38.7%) went to high school compared to 8.1% who only received primary education. Two (4.1%) perpetrators received higher education.

The employment history of each offender interviewed revealed that 8.5% (n = 3) perpetrators were unemployed at the time of their arrests and 17.1% (n = 6) were self-employed. Seven (20%) perpetrators were mainly doing piece jobs (i.e. non-fixed work). The case docket information showed that more than half (55.1% n = 27) of the perpetrators were unemployed, whereas 32.6% (n = 16) were employed. Those who were employed included an electrician, accountant, taxi driver/conductor, farm labourer, farm manager and a traditional healer. The findings also showed that four other perpetrators were labourers, but it was not specified for what type of work, nor could it be established whether two perpetrators were employed on a farm.

These findings are consistent with the research of Dahl (2016:120), Jonck et al., (2015:144), Ramakers et al., (2017:1795) and Rocque et al. (2017:596) who studied the relationship between education, employment history and crime (refer to sub-sections 5.2.1.9 and 5.2.1.12 in Chapter 5 of this study).

7.3.7. History of prior offences

The majority (60%) of the sample of the perpetrators who were interviewed had convictions for prior offences. Seven (20%) of these perpetrators had been previously convicted or arrested for livestock theft. Prior convictions and arrests could not be verified in 14 of the remaining cases. Prior convictions and arrests included:

- Livestock theft
- Assault
- Housebreaking
- Shoplifting
- Theft
- Grievous bodily harm
- Selling of dagga (prior to law enactment)
- Aggravating robbery
- Rape

Results from the case docket analysis showed that only 36.7% (n = 18) of the perpetrators had previous convictions. Two percent (n = 6) of the perpetrators had previous convictions for livestock theft, while 6.1% (n = 3) were suspected of being involved in prior livestock theft cases. Other previous convictions included:

- Theft
- Housebreaking
- Malicious damage to property
- Robbery
- Assault
- Drug related offences

- Rape
- Escape or attempting to escape
- Domestic violence
- Intimidation
- Trespassing
- Abduction

These findings support the SAPS STUs members' views when they affirmed that most of the perpetrators arrested had a history of previous convictions for stock theft. Thus, it is imperative to consider these perpetrators' prior criminal records. Research (Bushway et al., 2011:28; Hester, 2018:2; Kurlychek et al., 2007:80) has established that a person's history of criminal convictions is a good indication of future criminal behaviour. Table 21 depicts the profile of the perpetrators from the findings above.

Table 21: Sample-specific perpetrator profile

Variables	Offenders	Case dockets
Gender	Male (total 34) Female (Total 1)	Male (Total 48) Female (total 1)
Age	35-39 (25.7%) 40-44 (20%) 45-49 (14.3%) 25-29 (14.3%) 30-34 (11.4%) 50-59 (11.4%) 60-70 (2.9%)	41-45 (10.2%) 50-55 (10.2%) 56 and above (4.1)
Nationality	South African (80%) Foreign nationals: Lesotho (20%)	South African (91.8%) Foreign nationals: Lesotho (4.1%) Malawi (2.1%) Zimbabwe (2.1%)

Race	African (80%) Coloured (11%) White (9%)	African (100%)
Ethnicity	Xhosa (26%) Sotho (23%) Afrikaans (20%) Zulu (11%) Ndebele (6%) Tswana (6%) Venda (3%) Pedi (3%)	Zulu (65.3%) Sotho (8.2%) Xhosa (6.2%) Ndebele (2.1%)
Marital status and dependants	Unmarried (71%) Married (66%) Children (average two) (49%)	Married (16.3%) Unmarried (71.4%) Children (range from one to five) (12.2%)
Childhood development and family dynamics	Difficult childhood and family life (22.8%)	-
Educational background	Basic (primary school level) (40%) Secondary school level (dropout) (31%) No formal education (17.1%) Secondary school level (completed) (14.3%) Tertiary education (8.6%) Trade skills (37%)	Secondary school level (38.7%) Primary school level (8.1%) Tertiary education (4.1%)
Employment history	Non-fixed employment (20%) Self-employed (17.14%) Unemployed (8.5%)	Unemployed (55.1%) Employed (32.6%)
History of prior offences	Previously convicted (60%) Previously convicted for livestock theft (20%)	Previously convicted (36.7%) Previously convicted for livestock theft (2%)

		Previously arrested for livestock theft (6.1%)
Modus operandi	<p>Selects targets based on gathered information</p> <p>Use various equipment and provide false aliases</p> <p>Possibility of violence or threat of violence</p> <p>Small and larger numbers of livestock are taken</p> <p>Disposes of livestock: Hide livestock to return for it later, resell it, personally consumes it, resell it for ritual purposes, moves livestock away from camp to be slaughtered at a different camp</p>	
	<p>Herds livestock on foot or slaughters the livestock (32.1%)</p> <p>Loads livestock onto vehicle (21.4%)</p> <p>Livestock taken from camps (17.9%), grazing areas (17.9%), mountainous areas (10.7%) and open fields (7.1%)</p> <p>Thefts committed during night (64.2%) and day (7.1) or early morning (10.7%)</p> <p>Plan crimes (57.1%)</p> <p>Spontaneous decisions (17.9%)</p>	<p>Herds livestock on foot (30.8%)</p> <p>Slaughters the livestock (11.5%)</p> <p>Loads livestock onto vehicle (38.5%)</p> <p>Livestock taken from camps (42.8%), grazing areas (21.4%)</p>
Types of perpetrators	<p>Knowledge or background information of livestock (75%)</p> <p>Employed on a farm, were farm workers or managed their own farms and traded in livestock (45.7%)</p> <p>Random opportunist (14.2%)</p> <p>Community members (indirect involvement) (14.2%)</p> <p>Police officers (5.7%)</p>	<p>Employed on a farm (4%)</p>
Individuals / groups	<p>Group of one to three or four perpetrators (60.7%)</p> <p>Groups of four or more perpetrators (39.3%)</p> <p>Individual perpetrators (14.3%)</p>	<p>Group of two perpetrators (38.4%)</p> <p>Groups of three perpetrators (21.4%)</p> <p>Individual perpetrators (21.4%)</p>

	Recruited (25.7%) Own initiative (22.8%)	Groups of four or more perpetrators (15.3%)
Motives and causes	<p>Motives</p> <p>Financial (74.2%)</p> <p>Greed (37.1%)</p> <p>Need for survival (34.2%)</p> <p>Substance abuse (2.8%)</p> <p>Revenge (2.8%)</p> <p>Own livestock (11.4%)</p> <p>Causes</p> <p>opportunistic behaviour (60%); a previous criminal history (57.1%); a negative peer association, influence and pressure (54.1%); a low or no formal education (45.7%); an unfavourable childhood development (i.e. conflict within family and an absent parent) (42.8%); unemployment (25.7%) and a large family size (17.1%).</p>	<p>Motives</p> <p>Financial intent (resell meat and livestock) (46.2%)</p> <p>Need for survival</p> <p>Livestock for traditional ceremony and lobola (7.1%)</p>

(Researcher's illustration, 2019)

The final research findings indicate that the sample of livestock theft perpetrators is mainly male, apart from a few females who are also implicated in livestock theft. As depicted in Table 21, most perpetrators fall within the mid-30s to mid-40s age range. However, the ages of perpetrators can fall anywhere from mid-20s to over 60 years. It was also found that foreign nationals are also responsible for some of the thefts occurring in South Africa.

The perpetrators emanate from diverse social backgrounds. These include different race and ethnicity groups. It was also concluded that there are more perpetrators who are unmarried than perpetrators who are married. Yet, most of the perpetrators have children irrespective of their marriage status. Concerning their educational background, many perpetrators only have basic education and many failed to complete secondary level education.

The employment history of the perpetrators indicated that most of them are either unemployed, have non-fixed jobs or are self-employed. The findings also concluded that a high percentage of the perpetrators have previous convictions, some that included previous convictions for livestock theft. The findings also revealed different types of modi operandi used by the perpetrators. This ranged from herding livestock on foot to slaughtering them, sometimes at a place other than where they stole the livestock.

Perpetrators are also inclined to hide livestock in bushes or buildings to return for them later or when they have found a buyer. Both smaller and larger numbers of livestock are taken, depending on the perpetrators' intentions. They are more likely to select a target based on information that they have received or gathered rather than stealing from a victim that they are acquainted with. The perpetrators themselves were found to have knowledge or a background in dealing with livestock. Some of the perpetrators in this study included farm workers, livestock owners and traders, while others were classified as random opportunists, that is, taking livestock when the opportunity presented itself without any formal planning or knowledge. Other members of society, such as members of the community and police officers, were also implicated in some of the thefts.

The findings also revealed that perpetrators are more inclined to work in groups, with relatively few who decide to work alone. Perpetrators are also more likely to be recruited by other parties to steal livestock. In terms of the motives for livestock theft, the findings confirm that the lucrative nature of the crime is the biggest driving factor behind the thefts. But the results also showed that the financial intent is not only one of greed, but perpetrators were also driven by a need for survival. Other motives included substance abuse, revenge, a need to own livestock and to have livestock for cultural traditions. The causes that guided these motives ranged from an opportunistic behaviour, negative peer associations and influence, peer pressure, a limited education and unemployment to childhood development factors, such as an unfavourable childhood and large family size.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH STUDIES

This section contains recommendations to the criminal justice system (the SAPS, the DCS and the judiciary) and for the livestock owner on the prevention and control of livestock theft, followed by future research possibilities.

7.4.1. Recommendations to South African Police Service Stock Theft Units

As noted in Chapter 6 of this study, the gathering of enough evidence to prove that a case of livestock theft has occurred is a challenging task for police (Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005:11). The following challenges experienced by the SAPS STUs members in the detection and apprehension of livestock theft perpetrators included the following:

- Loss of evidence (i.e. where livestock are consumed);
- Identifying the main perpetrators (i.e. instigators);
- Reporting of cases by victims;
- Leaking of information by corrupt police officials;
- Proof to link a suspect to the stolen livestock;
- Community participation and involvement.

It is evident that these issues need addressing. Recommendations are therefore made in relation to awareness campaigns, training of SAPS members and the recruitment of informants and the SAPS STUs members.

7.4.1.1. Awareness campaigns

It is important for community members to be informed and to be aware of livestock theft and how they can play a part in its prevention. In nine of the cases (criminal events 2, 3, 5, 8, 20, 23, 25, 26 and 27), this study found that livestock theft perpetrators sold the livestock meat to community members who knew that it was stolen. Therefore, stronger procedures and regulations, such as updated legislation and regulating documents, need to be put in place to deter potential buyers from pursuing illegal avenues to obtain meat. The SAPS STUs members also mentioned that many livestock owners do not brand their animals out of ignorance, fear of losing profit or fear of being fined if their livestock is found wandering on a public road. Neither do these owners monitor and control their livestock. As such, awareness campaigns held within the communities by the SAPS STU yielded positive results. It was, however felt that the effects of these campaigns are short lived and, after a week or two, the livestock owners revert to their old habits. Maluleke et al. (2015:118) recommended that the SAPS should develop a multi-faceted strategy together with livestock farmers and community structures to lessen the challenges (for example, illegal butchery operations, leaving livestock unattended or lack of branding livestock) experienced by the community. It is recommended that, in order to instil the

necessary awareness and to transfer knowledge to members of the community and livestock owners, these campaigns should at least be conducted one or two times a month as resources and time allows. These campaigns should also provide a detailed layout of the functions of the SAPS and SAPS STU, as many owners and members of the community are still uncertain to whom they should report their cases (also refer to section 7.4.1.2 in this Chapter).

Information should also cover the type of service they expect from law enforcement in preventing and dealing with cases of livestock theft. The findings of this study also revealed that there is a considerable lack of security on the farms. Here, basic crime prevention needs to be addressed. Morris et al. (2019:8) propose that there is an opportunity to create awareness of crime targets using campaigns that address situational crime prevention techniques. Therefore, campaigns conducted by the SAPS STUs should also focus on situational crime prevention techniques, such as target hardening and encouraging visible guardianship.

7.4.1.2. Reporting of livestock theft cases and training of South African Police Service members

Livestock cases first need to be reported to the SAPS before they are handed over to the SAPS STU. This might cause difficulties for both the complainant and the SAPS STU. It has been reported that some of the police stations advise complainants to first search for the livestock before coming to report a case. This can create a further delay in tracking down suspects and gathering vital evidence. Moreover, the victims interviewed in this study affirmed that they first reported their cases to the SAPS before the cases were handed over to the SAPS STU. All three victims experienced some difficulty with reporting cases directly to the SAPS.

Victim A stated that he informed the SAPS STU and a private security company first that a case of livestock theft has occurred before reporting it to the SAPS. He explained that the farmers in the area found that reporting cases directly to SAPS caused a delay in response. Hence, their reasoning was that, if they inform the SAPS STU first, then the possibility exists that members can be despatched before the case is officially opened. Victim C had a similar experience with her case. She reported the matter to the SAPS, but she found that her case was not being given attention. As a result, the victim decided to contact the SAPS STU herself and report the matter. She also found out that her case was never reported to the SAPS STU by the SAPS. In their defence, the SAPS STU cannot open a case directly. As the SC of the Cullinan SAPS STU explained, they have 22 investigators that service 300 police stations. These investigators are

not always available to attend to cases immediately if they are directly reported to them. The travelling distance is also of concern. Yet, once a case has reached them, they usually try and attend to the case on the same day.

These processes and procedures (i.e. reporting livestock theft cases first to the SAPS) are feasible in order to make sure that the matter is properly recorded and that a case can receive the necessary attention. However, the execution needs to be investigated. Victim B conveyed that, in his experience, when dealing with the SAPS directly, the officers do not really understand how to deal with cases of livestock theft, especially when they are unfamiliar with the terminology. Maluleke et al. (2016:270) concur that the SAPS in rural areas should have a better understanding of the causes and consequences of livestock theft. Acquiring knowledge and understanding in relation to the causes of livestock theft, including insight of first-time and chronic livestock offenders and the risk factors that guide their offending behaviour, are essential to intelligence-led operations (Maluleke et al., 2016:270).

It is therefore recommended that the official SAPS members who frequently deal with the reporting of crimes within the rural areas should receive basic training on livestock theft cases. This should include basic crime scene training (in cases where they might be called out to the scene of the crime) and training in the basic terminology (i.e. branding and identifying characteristics) used by livestock owners, so that all relevant and essential details are recorded during note taking phase and to ensure that vital evidence is gathered timeously.

7.4.1.3. Continued use of informants

Tracking down livestock theft suspects can be a very time-consuming process. In this case, the SAPS STUs members rely on the use of informants, if other avenues fail. Although the use of informants can be controversial (i.e. informants providing false information or misleading police) (refer to section 6.3.6.4 in Chapter 6 of this study), the SAPS STUs members found that, in many of the cases, informants play an important part in the identification of livestock theft suspects. According to one of the SAPS STUs members, a specific training course for law enforcement on working with informants existed. However, it was understood this has since been reduced to a section or chapter within the curriculum. In support of the use of informants, Manganyi et al. (2018:118) support the idea of establishing an intelligence function that consists of an operational and tactical intelligence within the SAPS STUs. This includes closer co-operation with stakeholders, including community patrols and the use of informants, in order to

provide detailed information of the crime. It is therefore recommended that all the SAPS STUs members should be adequately trained on the use of informants. This can possibly include training on techniques, such as building rapport with informants, what to do in instances when an informant is uncooperative and how to identify when an informant is being misleading in order to prevent challenges that an investigator may encounter when working with an informant.

7.4.1.4. Recruitment of Stock Theft Units investigators

The shortage of SAPS STU investigators is also problematic. The SAPS STUs employ a reactive group of members that only reacts once a crime has been committed. They would like to assign teams to specific tasks but they are unable to do so because of staff shortages. It was further expressed that five or six cases are assigned to one person who is expected to work normal office hours from 7 am to 4 pm and then to conduct patrols during the night. This places unnecessary strain on the officers and their productivity. By assigning more manpower to the SAPS STU, cases can receive more attention and members can be assigned specific tasks and placed in strategic places where livestock theft is known to occur. It was also found that not enough members are allocated to police stations to be deployed for patrolling purposes, especially in the rural areas. Therefore, more attention needs to be given to livestock theft and rural crimes by providing the resources that are needed to conduct patrols and regulate the movement of livestock. Maluleke and Mofokeng (2018:332) propose that the SAPS STU should regard the input of all relevant stakeholders. As a result, it is recommended that all relevant stakeholders (i.e. farmer unions, anti-stock theft associations, SAPS officials, SAPS STUs and Community Police Forums -CPFs) should collaborate to find solutions to the problem of staff and other resource shortages. Issues that need to be considered during these discussions are financing options and the recruiting and training of new members. The issue of staff shortages and manpower can also be relieved by community groups who can form part of crime patrols (refer to section 7.4.5.3 in this Chapter).

7.4.2. Recommendations to the Department of Correctional Services

One of the responsibilities of the DCS is to correct offending behaviour of those sentenced for crimes (Department of Correctional Services, [sa]:6). According to Herbig and Hesselink (2012:29), needs-based offender treatment is essential to the rehabilitation of offenders. Hesselink (2012a:203) concurs and posits that, for rehabilitation to succeed, the offender's risks

(i.e. possibility of future offending), needs (i.e. substance abuse treatment) and responses to treatment should be considered in the rehabilitation process. This study identified numerous motives and causes that guide the livestock perpetrators' offending behaviour. This included a financial intent associated with a desire for self-enrichment and immediate gratification and an element of financial desperation. Other motives and causes consisted of a need to sustain a drug addiction, to take revenge and to comply with certain societal expectations, while some perpetrators were more susceptible to peer pressure (refer to sections 5.2.1.17.1, 5.2.1.18.1 and 7.2.8 in this Chapter for a detailed discussion and explanation of the criminal behaviour). In this case, it is recommended that the DCS align its rehabilitative programmes to address the motives of these offenders. Offenders should also be made aware of the roles that the causes and motivations for the crime played in their offending behaviour (Hesselink, 2012a:204). By addressing the specific risk and needs, motives and causes, including the *modi operandi* of the livestock theft perpetrators, relevant role players, such as psychologists and social workers will be in a better position to address the risk of re-offending and correct distorted thinking patterns.

7.4.3. Recommendations in relation to the regulation of legislation

The findings presented under section 7.3.4 in this Chapter found that livestock traders have been implicated in cases of livestock theft in the past. During the interview with the members of the SAPS STUs, it came to light that there is currently no legislation to regulate the trading of livestock. There is also no regulatory board to regulate livestock traders. It is therefore recommended that the regulation of livestock traders and trading as a profession be investigated. The regulation of livestock trading and traders in the form of legislation can act as a potential mechanism to control livestock theft.

Another matter that needs to be explored is the issue of brand mark registration by the DAFF. It was conveyed that anyone can register a brand mark. Accordingly, there is no system to verify if a person owns livestock or not and anyone can easily register a brand mark on behalf of someone else (refer to section 6.3.7.1 in Chapter 6 of this study). Following these concerns, the regulation and procedures of obtaining and registering a brand mark need to be examined. In addition, the proposal from the Animal Welfare Coordinated Committee (Red Meat Bulletin, 2014:1) for the DAFF to remove all outdated brand marks from the record and to explore the possibility of obligating livestock owners to renew their brand marks every five years should also be taken into consideration.

The movement of livestock regulation should also be considered. From the findings of this study, it seems that the new Article 8 document, which regulates the movement of livestock, has room for improvement. The KZN SAPS STU PC (2015) highlighted an important point, that these documents are readily available and unregulated. Thus, a perpetrator can easily re-use such a document when needed. It is recommended that legislation be revisited and realigned to international standards. According to Maluleke and Dlamini (2019:141), legislation should address the uncertainty surrounding relationships with neighbouring countries. Hence, amending legislation to international standards can improve South Africa's partnership with bordering countries, such as Lesotho, to combat livestock theft across the border of South Africa and Lesotho.

7.4.4. Recommendations in terms of livestock theft prosecution

The magistrates and prosecutors' knowledge of livestock theft remains a concern among the SAPS STUs members (refer to section 6.3.6 in Chapter 6 of this study). It is therefore recommended that specific training (i.e. terminology related to livestock, identification and type of evidence) be provided to magistrates and prosecutors who deal with these types of cases. If prosecutors and magistrates are better equipped to handle cases of livestock theft, farmers will be in a better position to trust the criminal justice system. Victims need to be kept informed on the progress of their cases and they should also be part of the process, rather than being excluded from it. The testimony of the victims in the form of victim impact statements can contribute to vital information about the crime and the prosecution of the criminal.

The matter of ADR is another concern highlighted by the SAPS STUs members (refer to section 6.3.6.1 in Chapter 6 of this study). They have noticed that those perpetrators who received ADR reoffended once the matter was resolved. During a conference on Child Justice and at Risk Children (11 September 2019, Pretoria), it came to light that there is a need for a restorative justice mediation within the criminal justice system. It was also explained that no mechanism exists for the setting and ensuring of standards for training courses or licensing of practitioners. At the time of writing, a task team is being established that will work on processes and procedures to establish a South African Restorative Justice Accreditation body (Batley, 2019:1). It is therefore important for criminal justice practitioners to revise the way in which they implement ADR in cases of livestock theft. As a result, it is recommended that the criminal justice system revisit ADR cases of livestock theft to ensure that offenders become fully aware

of the consequences of their actions, that punishment will follow with certainty and that victims are fully compensated.

7.4.5. Recommendations for livestock owners

The following recommendations in relation to this study's findings are relevant to livestock owners:

7.4.5.1. Branding and monitoring of livestock

The branding of livestock not only helps the authorities to prove cases of livestock theft, but as some of the perpetrators in this study alluded to, they are more likely to take and brand livestock that are not marked. Hence, to reduce the challenges faced by law enforcement to establish ownership of unmarked livestock and for possession and control of livestock, owners should brand all livestock according to the specifications of the law. The SAPS STUs members also recommended that owners should look after their livestock. This includes registering a brand mark, branding the livestock, monitoring and regularly counting their livestock. The victims in this study, who counted their livestock on a regular basis, have proven that it not only helps them to keep track of their livestock, but it also helps them to identify missing livestock immediately.

7.4.5.2. Report cases as soon as possible

The (early) reporting of livestock theft cases is also an issue that needs to be addressed. The SAPS STUs members found that farmers report cases too late, sometimes two to three months after the crime occurred. This impedes the investigators from gathering important evidence. Owners should therefore report missing livestock as soon as possible. Owners who suspect that their livestock has strayed and has not necessarily been stolen, should not delay in reporting the matter to the authorities if they have not recovered the livestock within a few days of searching.

7.4.5.3. Forming community patrols

As expressed above, the SAPS STUs are understaffed and it is not always possible for them to take a proactive approach to combat livestock theft. In this case, the farming community can also be encouraged to form its own patrol groups to formulate a proactive stance in the prevention of livestock theft. This study's findings (i.e. the primary analysis) indicated that, in

14.3% of the cases, the perpetrators were arrested and detected as a result of community members and farm workers and informants. The value of community involvement and cohesion is further illustrated in the findings from the interviews with victims A and B. Victim A was able to recover his cattle before he even knew they were missing due to the community members' quick and vigilant reaction, while in Victim B's area, regular (at least once a week) patrols are carried out during the night. It is therefore recommended that community members should conduct patrols in their areas as frequently as possible to prevent livestock theft and to deter potential offenders. In addition, a hotline should be established where farmers can report and notify law enforcement of any suspicious activity and trends.

7.4.5.4. Vetting of farm employees

The victims interviewed in this study felt that most of their cases of livestock theft occurred as a result of persons working for them. Hence, it is important for farmers to build a trusting relationship with their farm employees. It is recommended that employers should ask for and check references of the applicant. Maluleke (2018:127) is in support of this and recommends that contact should be established with the applicant's previous employer to enquire as to the reason why the applicant had left the previous employer's service and to enquire from the SAPS whether the individual has a criminal record. In this case, it is recommended that a clearance certificate be obtained from the SAPS. A Police Clearance Certificate (PCC) is an official document issued by the Criminal Record and Crime Scene Management that states whether or not a person has any criminal convictions recorded against him/her (SAPS, 2019b:1). However, the employer cannot request the certificate on the applicant's behalf, it is therefore recommended that the employer should require the applicant to apply for his/her own clearance certificate from the SAPS. The behaviour of these individuals should also be monitored, as the findings have shown that the perpetrators often enquire about possible employment at farms under false pretences in order to observe the surroundings and gather information.

Maluleke, (2018:127) agrees and adds that persons on the farm should heed against careless talk that can lead to livestock losses. It is therefore recommended that employees should be advised against speaking about the activities of the farm in the presence of unknown individuals.

7.4.5.5. Enforcing security on farms

The findings of this study have also revealed that perpetrators are more likely to target farms where security is minimal or non-existent. Perpetrators indicated that they avoided the farms that had cameras and instead accessed farms where the gates had no locks on them. Therefore, farmers should make sure that gates to the farms and camps are properly equipped with security measures. It is recommended that livestock owners should establish a visitor control system. Maluleke (2018:127) suggests noting all the particulars of visitors to the farm, such as the reason for their visit, and documenting the entering and leaving times of the visitors. In addition to such a control system, farmers should also keep records of livestock buyers as soon as discussions start (Maluleke, 2018:127). In addition, Maluleke (2018:141) affirms that the use of different technologies, such as DNA and Livestock Radio Frequency Identification (RFID), are becoming an important part of the criminal justice system, but that the value of utilising these technologies is still unknown to livestock owners who prefer to use conventional methods such as branding and tattooing. In light of this, it is recommended that livestock owners should consider implementing or at least explore the possibility of using technology, for example microchipping, virtual fencing (i.e. applying sensors on fences), electrical fencing, GPS collars and drones, if they have the means to do so.

7.4.6. Recommendations to aid emerging farmers

This study's findings found that many of the farmers who neglect their livestock and who have no security on their farms are in need of aid. In an interview conducted with a SAPS STU member, Maluleke and Mofokeng (2018:328) found that livestock theft poses a bigger challenge to rural livestock farmers than to commercial farmers who have electric fences, security guards on the farms and who conduct farm patrols. The interviewee in the authors' study explained that he grew up among the Zulu people where livestock farming was practiced in the mountains and where communal grazing was common. Thus, the owners did not always kraal their livestock, nor were the animals surrounded by fencing. Considering this, it is recommended that livestock owners should be educated in establishing community programmes that contain information on how to care for and supervise livestock, in addition to informing livestock owners on the realities of livestock theft and what they can do to minimise the possibility of their livestock being stolen. It is recommended that, where possible, government or NGOs should assist new farmers with the necessary skills (i.e. how and why branding livestock is important) and the equipment (i.e.

branding equipment) to take care of their livestock.

7.4.7. Recommendations for further research

Possible future research on livestock theft and its perpetrators include:

- Exploring the possibility of youth offender involvement in livestock theft cases;
- Interviewing prosecutors and magistrates to gain their insight and opinions in relation to the prosecution of livestock theft cases;
- An in-depth study on the treatment and rehabilitation that perpetrators of livestock theft receive within the correctional environment.

7.5. CONCLUSION

This study's aim was to conduct an assessment and compile a sample-specific criminological profile of livestock theft perpetrators. During the research, interviews were conducted with 35 offenders convicted for livestock theft at several correctional facilities situated in the provinces of GP, KZN and the EC. As an additional source of information and to gain a deeper insight into livestock theft and the perpetrators, interviews were also conducted with members of the SAPS STUs and livestock owners who have been victims of livestock theft. SAPS case dockets on sentenced livestock theft perpetrators were also examined. As a result, a well-rounded criminological profile was compiled and a theoretical matrix was developed to explain the criminal behaviour. The aim and objectives of this study were achieved and the research questions answered. The summary of findings revealed that the perpetrators fall within various age groups ranging from young to mature, but that most of the perpetrators are between their mid-30s and mid-40s. It was found that perpetrators rarely acted on their own or conducted their crimes individually. Often, perpetrators work in groups, where some operate on a highly organised level that consists of a criminal network. The findings also confirmed that livestock theft perpetrators come from diverse socio-economic backgrounds and that the crime is not limited to one particular race, class or gender. Although, the results confirm the lucrative nature as a main driver (motive) to engage in livestock theft, other factors, such as status, revenge and peer pressure, also contributed to the perpetrators' decision-making and thought processes. It was also established that, in some instances, cultural factors play a role in the commission of livestock thefts. Chapter 7 of this study further outlined factors (or shortcomings) that

contributed towards the ease with which perpetrators can carry out their crimes. The last objective of this study was achieved by applying several criminological theories that best explain how and why livestock theft occurs and what drives the perpetrators to commit such acts. A number of recommendations also emanated from the findings. Recommendations were proposed to enable the criminal justice system and livestock owners to make sound decisions as to the control and prevention of livestock theft and the treatment of the perpetrators. This study therefore contributed to the understanding of livestock theft and its perpetrators.

With regards to the rest of this study, the following information was discussed: Chapter 1 of this study introduced the nature and extent of livestock theft in South Africa. An historical overview was discussed, followed by the impact, nature and the consequences of livestock. The chapter also included the rationale for this study, the aim, purpose, objectives, research questions and the anticipated contribution of this study. Key concepts were also addressed, while an overview was given on the methodological processes and procedures to be followed during the research endeavour. Chapter 2 of this study contained a review of the literature on the past and current trends in livestock theft. Research gaps within the literature on livestock theft were identified that focused on the perpetrators of livestock thefts. Emphasis was also placed on the seriousness of the crime, while looking at the *modi operandi*, the characteristics of the perpetrators and the associated motives and causes behind the thefts derived from the existing literature. Chapter 3 of this study defined the criminological theories that explain the occurrence of livestock theft. A number of theories were identified during this process and grouped according to two perspectives, an environmental perspective to explain how livestock theft occurs and a sociological perspective that explained why livestock theft occurs, focusing on the perpetrators' predisposed propensity to commit crime. Chapter 4 of this study discussed the methodological processes of this study. A qualitative research approach was followed with a case study design coupled with exploratory, explanatory and descriptive research objectives. Non-probability; purpose sampling was applied as a recruitment strategy and to clearly indicate how access was gained to the selected participants of this study and its locations. The data collection methods consisted of in-depth interviews using a semi-structured interview schedule and one telephonic interview. This study also employed a content analysis method to review case docket information. Moreover, ethical considerations were addressed and data analysis techniques explained. The reliability and validity of this study were also considered.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of this study presented the analysis of the data. Chapter 5 of this study comprised the analysis of data collected from the offenders interviewed, while Chapter 6 of this study contained the analysis of the data collected from police case dockets and the interviews with members of the SAPS STUs and the victims of livestock theft.

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ANNEXURE A: Ethical clearance form (University of South Africa)



Ref: CLAW2014/ST48

Applicant: C Doorewaard

COLLEGE OF LAW RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

2014/10/20

Dear Ms C Doorewaard

ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPLICATION: LIVESTOCK THEFT: A CRIMINOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT AND SAMPLE-SPECIFIC PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the College of Law Research Ethics Review Committee for the above mentioned research project. The ethical clearance application for the above mentioned research project has been approved with the understanding that the required gate keeper permission should be obtained from the **Department of Correctional Services and the South African Police Service**.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

- 1) The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics, which can be found at the following website: http://www.unisa.ac.za/cmsys/staff/contents/departments/res_policies/docs/Policy_Research%20Ethics_rev%20app%20Council_22.06.2012.pdf*
- 2) Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Chair of the College of Law's Research Ethics Review Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.*
- 3) The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.*

Yours Faithfully,


Prof Marelize Schoeman
Chairperson Research Ethics Review Committee
College of Law


Prof S Songca
Executive Dean
College of Law



University of South Africa
Pretorius Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

ANNEXURE B: Research approval (South African Police Service) (Head Office)

G.P.-S. 002-0222

SAP 21

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS



SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Privaatsak/Private Bag X94

Reference Nr Verwysing	3/34/2
Navrae Enquiries	Col J Schneller Lt-Col GJ Joubert
Telefoon Telephone	012-393 3177/3118
Faksnommer Fax number	012-393 3178

**STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT COMPONENT
HEAD OFFICE
PRETORIA**

- A. The Divisional Commissioner
DETECTIVE SERVICE (Attention: Lt Col Stassen)
- B. The Provincial Commissioner
KWAZULU-NATAL (Attention: Col van der Linde)
- C. The Provincial Commissioner
GAUTENG (Attention: Brig Pheto)
- D. The Provincial Commissioner
EASTERN CAPE (Attention: Col Tengisile)

**RE: RESEARCH REQUEST: LIVESTOCK THEFT: A CRIMINOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT AND
SAMPLE-SPECIFIC PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS: MASTERS DEGREE: UNISA;
RESEARCHER: C DOOREWAARD**

- A-D 1. The research proposal of Cecili Dooreward, pertaining to the above mentioned research proposal, refers.
- 2. The aim of the study is to explore, describe and explain the criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft from a criminological perspective. The goal of the research is to assist relevant role players, including the SAPS, to combat livestock theft by developing a profile of perpetrators of this crime.
- 3. The researcher requests permission to:
 - 3.1 analysis between 50 and 60 case dockets (closed dockets) pertaining to sentenced livestock perpetrators and
 - 3.2 interview SAPS Stock Theft Prevention Unit commanders and members in Kwazulu-Natal, Gauteng and Eastern Cape.
- 4. The proposal was perused according to National Instruction 1 of 2006 by this office and it is recommended that permission be granted for the research subject to the final approval and further arrangements by the offices of the Provincial Commissioner: Kwazulu-Natal, the Provincial Commissioner: Gauteng, the Provincial Commissioner Eastern Cape, and the Divisional

**ANNEXURE C: Letter of approval (South African Police Service)
(Kwazulu-Natal)**

<i>South African Police Service</i>			<i>Apelisaanse Polisie</i>	
Private Bag Privaatsak	X302 Pretoria	Fax No:	012 393 2193	
My reference/My verwysing:	3/34/2	Faks No:		
Enquiries/Navrae:	Lt Gen V Moonoo Maj Gen PP Ramatsoele		THE DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONER DIE AFDELINGSKOMMISSARIS DETECTIVE SERVICE SPEURDIENS PRETORIA 0001	
Tel:	012 393 1826/7 012 393 1836			
E-mail:	<u>divcomm.det@saps.gov.za</u> Stassen Karin – Lieutenant Colonel			

The Head
STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT

RESEARCH REQUEST: LIVESTOCK THEFT: A CRIMINOLOGY ASSESSMENT AND SAMPLE SPECIFIC PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATOR: MASTERS DEGREE: UNISA: RESEARCHERS C DOOREWAARD

1. Your email dated 11 December 2014 has bearing on this matter.
2. This office studied the proposal. From the content of the proposal it is clear that the research will contribute to prevention and detection in livestock offences.
3. There is also a possibility that the research findings might be able to contribute in identifying profiles of perpetrators of livestock crimes.
4. Due to the reasons stated above, the conducting of the research is approved.


: MAJOR GENERAL
P.P. RAMATSOELE


DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONER: DETECTIVE SERVICE
2014 -12- 12

ANNEXURE D: Letter of approval (South African Police Service) (Gauteng)



PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE SAPS

RESEARCH TOPIC: LIVESTOCK THEFT: A CRIMINALOLOGY ASSESSMENT AND SAMPLE – SPECIFIC PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS

RESEARCHER: MS DOOREWAARD

Permission is hereby granted to the researcher above to conduct research in the SAPS based on the conditions of National Instruction 1 of 2006 (as handed to the researcher) and within the limitations as set out below and in the approved research proposal.

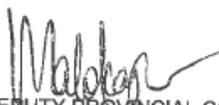
This permission must be accompanied with the signed Indemnity, Undertaking & Declaration and presented to the commander present when the researcher is conducting research.

This permission is valid for a period of Twelve months after signing.

Any enquiries with regard to this permission must be directed to SAC Linda Ladzani at Ladzanim@saps.org.za.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS / BOUNDARIES:

Research Instruments:	Case Dockets analysis Interviews (Semi-structured)
Target audience / subjects:	Stock Theft Units
Geographical target:	Vereeniging and Cullinan (Vereeniging Cluster and Bronkhorspruit Cluster)
Access to official documents:	Yes Case dockets of sentenced livestock perpetrators


DEPUTY PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER: HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
TM MALOKA

MAJOR GENERAL

ANNEXURE E: Letter of approval (Department of Correctional Services) (Head Office)



correctional services

Department:
Correctional Services
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Private Bag X136, PRETORIA, 0001 Poyntons Building, C/O WF Nkomo and Sophie De Bryn Street, PRETORIA
Tel (012) 307 2770, Fax (012) 328-5111

Ms. C. Doorewaard
P.O Box 914
Wingate Park
Pretoria
0153

Dear Ms. C. Doorewaard

RE: FEEDBACK ON THE APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON: "LIVESTOCK THEFT: A CRIMINOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT AND SAMPLE-SPECIFIC PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS"

It is with pleasure to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services on the above topic has been approved.

Your attention is drawn to the following:

- The relevant Regional and Area Commissioners where the research will be conducted will be informed of your proposed research project.
- Your internal guide will be **Dr F. Louw, SCO: Remand Policy Analysis & Research, Head Office.**
- You are requested to contact her at telephone number **(012) 305 8398** before the commencement of your research.
- It is your responsibility to make arrangements for your visiting times at Correctional Centres.
- Your identity document and this approval letter should be in your possession when visiting the Correctional Centres.
- You are required to use the terminology used in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (February 2005) e.g. offenders not prisoners and Correctional Centres not prisons.
- You are not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during your visits, however the audio recorder is allowed.
- You are required to submit your final report to the Department for approval by the Acting National Commissioner of Correctional Services before publication of the report.
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact the Directorate Research for assistance at telephone number (012) 307 2770 / (012) 305 8554.

Thank you for your application and interest to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services.

Yours faithfully


ND SIHLEZANA

DC: POLICY CO-ORDINATION & RESEARCH

DATE: 31/03/2015

ANNEXURE F: Letter of approval (Department of Correctional Services) (Kgoši Mampuru II)



correctional services

Department:
Correctional Services
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: (012) 307-2770 Fax: (012) 328-5111

INTERNAL MEMO

DATE:	30 MARCH 2015	FILE NR:	4/7/4/1/150
TO:	AREA COMMISSIONER: KGOŠI MAMPURU II	FROM:	RESEARCH DIRECTORATE
SUBJECT:	RE: APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON: "LIVESTOCK THEFT: A CRIMINOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT AND SAMPLE-SPECIFIC PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS"		

AREA COMMISSIONER: KGOŠI MAMPURU II

1. This is to inform you that the application on the above-mentioned research has been approved.
2. You are therefore requested to grant permission to the following researcher to conduct the said research Ms. C. Doorewaard, ID NO.8802 17015 1089. The researcher intends visiting Kgoši Mampuru II Correctional Centre.
3. Please take note that:
 - 3.1 The researcher is not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during her visits to the Correctional Centre, however the audio recorder is allowed.
 - 3.2 The researcher's internal guide is Dr F. Louw, SCO: Remand Policy Analysis & Research, Head Office.
 - 3.3 It is the researcher's responsibility to make arrangements with the Correctional Centre for the visiting times. The researcher has been informed of this arrangement.
 - 3.4 The security measures are still applicable and must be adhered to by the researcher.
4. Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact the Directorate Research for assistance at telephone number (012) 307 2770 / (012) 305 8554.

Your co-operation is highly appreciated.

D. Sihlezana
ND SIHLEZANA

DC: POLICY CO-ORDINATION & RESEARCH

DATE: 01/04/2015

ANNEXURE G: Livestock theft offender semi-structured interview schedule

- A) Participant:
- B) Date of interview:
- C) Correctional Centre:

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

- 1) Gender
- 2) Age
- 3) Nationality
- 4) Race/Ethnicity
- 5) Marital status
- 6) Home language
- 7) Dependants Children (age/gender):
- 8) Socio-economic status:
- 9) Religious / cultural / traditional beliefs:
- 10) Accommodation / Place where lived before arrest:

FAMILY BACKGROUND

- 11) Father and Mother (alive / deceased) (relationship good/bad):
- 12) Age
- 13) Highest qualification
- 14) Occupation:
- 15) Employment / Unemployment history:
- 16) Criminal record:
- 17) History of substance abuse:
- 18) Religious beliefs:
- 19) Marital status

- 20) Relationship with each other (i.e. abuse, conflict, divorce, separated, death):
- 21) Siblings (number + gender) (ages):
- 22) Highest qualifications:
- 23) Offender's relationship with them:
- 24) Criminal records:
- 25) History of substance abuse:

MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

- 26) Age of partner:
- 27) Ethnic group:
- 28) Highest qualification:
- 29) Employment history:
- 30) Occupation:
- 31) Criminal history:
- 32) Religious beliefs:
- 33) Conflict within marriage:
- 34) Relationship with children:

EDUCATIONAL / SCHOOLING BACKGROUND

- 35) Highest qualification:
- 36) Courses completed (i.e. trade skills):
- 37) Reading, writing, numeracy skills:
- 38) Hobbies:
- 39) Sport participation:
- 40) Academic / sport achievements:
- 41) Leadership positions:
- 42) Antisocial / criminal peers:
- 43) Gang involvement:

- 44) School failure:
- 45) Learning problems:
- 46) Special schooling:
- 47) Expelled from school:

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY

- 48) Place / province where grew up / grew up with parents or guardian:
- 49) Attachment to parents:
- 50) Parent-child relationship:
- 51) Parental supervision (i.e. strict):
- 52) Childhood abuse (emotional, physical, sexual, neglect):
- 53) Cruelty to animals / what role did animals play in growing up:
- 54) Growing up with livestock:

EMPLOYMENT

- 55) Type of employment:
- 56) History / record:
- 57) Relationship with employer / manager:
- 58) Relationship with workers:
- 59) Performance problems:
- 60) Termination of service:

OFFENCE ANALYSIS

- 61) Problems:
- 62) Drugs (types) (current + prior):
- 63) Short / long-term goals:
- 64) Individual therapy and counselling:
- 65) General impressions (co-operation, body language, communication):

ANNEXURE H: Semi-structured interview schedule for the South African Police Service Stock Theft Units

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. Date of interview and place: **Interview record no** *i.e.SP01*:
2. Province:
3. Stock Theft Unit:
4. Interviewee Rank:
5. Years' experience in livestock theft cases:
6. Age:
7. Gender:

NATURE OF CRIME INCIDENT

8. Methods used by perpetrator to steal livestock i.e. gunpoint:
9. Season / time of day theft mostly occur / prefer to steal:
10. How many livestock stolen at a time:
11. Operation of crime syndicates / repeat offenders / own use:
 - 11.1 Recruitment of perpetrators / own initiative:
 - 11.2 The type of perpetrator – females? / ethnic background / culture / religion / type of knowledge or occupation
12. Stolen livestock recovered i.e. how many recovered of stolen livestock:
 - 12.1. Place found (geographical area, veldt, “stoor”, “kraal”):
 - 12.2. Where (kraal, veld) highest number of livestock taken:
 - 12.3. Condition animals found in i.e. tied, harmed and opinion why:
 - 12.4. Movement of livestock i.e. across borders:
13. Loopholes / opportunity to steal:

14. Purpose of livestock i.e. sell, slaughter, own use:

14.1. Other parties involved:

14.2. Why steal – unemployment, greed:

14.3. How is the worth of livestock determined / not the price:

APPREHENSION OF PERPETRATOR

15. Apprehension / arrest of perpetrator i.e. how, tracked down:

16. Problems experienced tracking down offender:

17. Methods used to avoid detection from police:

18. Group / accomplices / individual / gender / age group involved:

CONVICTION OF PERPETRATOR

19. Sentencing of perpetrator i.e. limitations:

20. Evidence needed to secure conviction:

VICTIM ANALYSIS

21. Type of victim i.e. commercial or emerging farmer

22. Geographic area – vulnerability:

23. Vulnerability of victim i.e. lack of branding, improper prevention:

RESOURCES TO COMBAT LIVESTOCK THEFT

24. Use of informants:

24.1. Who:

24.2. Where found:

24.3. How found:

24.4. Trustworthiness:

24.5. Incentive:

25. Training of officers:

26. Other resources:

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED IN COMBATING LIVESTOCK THEFT

27. Communication:

28. Resources:

29. Community participation:

29.1. Branding:

29.2. Reporting of crime:

29.3. Sentencing of offender:

OTHER COMMENTS

30. Other beneficial prevention methods:

31. Additional comments:

ANNEXURE I: Semi-structured interview schedule for victims of livestock theft

- A) Participant (VCT):
- B) Date of interview:
- C) Province of interview:

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

- 1) Age:
- 2) Gender:
- 3) Occupation:
- 4) Type of livestock (owns):
- 5) Geographical area of residence:

VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS

- 6) Number of times been a victim of livestock theft:
- 7) How many livestock stolen (at a time):
- 8) Time lapse between crime incidences:
- 9) Noticed when livestock was stolen (i.e. time of day):
- 10) Reporting of theft (reported each case and to whom i.e. SAPS / GPF / Tribal leader):
- 11) Identification of livestock (i.e. branding / tattooing):
- 12) Livestock register (i.e. regular count / who keeps register):
- 13) Where is livestock held during night / day (grazing, kraal, veldt):
- 14) Employees (including vetting / recruitment):

NATURE OF CRIME INCIDENT

- 15) Direct contact with perpetrator (i.e. threats of violence / use of force to steal livestock):
- 16) Methods used by perpetrator:
- 17) Season / time of day of theft occurrence:

18) Stolen livestock recovered:

19) Where recovered (geographical area, veldt, "stoor", kraal, condition of animals, which animals were found):

PREVENTION

20) Methods used to secure livestock against theft:

21) Thoughts on use of technology advances (i.e. Closed Circuit Television [CCTV]):

ANNEXURE J: Livestock theft offenders informed consent form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Department of Criminology & Security Science – The University of South Africa

Title of research study:

LIVESTOCK THEFT: A CRIMINOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT AND SAMPLE-SPECIFIC PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS

Purpose of the research study: As part of a Master of Arts in Criminology at the University of South Africa, the purpose of the study is to explore, describe and explain criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft from a criminological point of view. The aim is to compile a sample-specific criminological profile of livestock perpetrators in order to explain the criminal behaviour. The objectives of this study are to determine what modus operandi the perpetrators employ when committing livestock theft, to identify the motives and causes of the crime and to determine which criminological theories that best explain the crime and criminal behaviour. The intended outcome of this study is to assist the South African Police Service (SAPS) in preventing livestock theft and to guide the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) on how to best address such offenders' specific risks and needs for effective rehabilitation. Your participation will assist in the recommendation of producing offender- and crime-specific programs aimed to address the individual needs and risks of these offenders and determining the causes of this crime (as explained above). The intended outcome is thus to determine and provide recommendations to the DCS in the assistance of offender rehabilitation and preparation for future release.

Procedures: The researcher will ask you a series of questions. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You can choose whether or not you would like to be interviewed. You can also withdraw from the research study at any time up to the point when the findings will be published in the researcher's Master's degree dissertation. The information you provide will be treated in a confidential manner. Your name or any other form of identification will not be printed on the interview form. Your anonymity will thus be ensured by indicating you only as the respondent. There will be no imbursement and participating in this study will have no influence on your sentence should you decide to participate. However, your participation in this study will contribute to the individualisation of your specific needs and risks and provide you with the opportunity to share your view on this type of crime. You are welcome to contact the researcher (via the head of the correctional centre) should you have any enquiries.

I..... (name and surname) hereby agree and give permission to be interviewed as part of the research study as explained above. The purpose and aim of the research study has been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the interview at any time if I so wish (up to the point of publication). I understand that my identity will not be revealed in the study and will not be published. I have read and understand the above and all my questions have been answered and I therefore agree to participate.

Signature of participant..... Date..... Place.....

Signature of researcher..... Date..... Place.....

ANNEXURE K: South African Police Service Stock Theft Units and livestock theft victims consent form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Department of Criminology & Security Science – The University of South Africa

LIVESTOCK THEFT: A CRIMINOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT AND SAMPLE-SPECIFIC PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS

Purpose of the research study: As part of a Master of Arts in Criminology at the University of South Africa, the purpose of this study is to explore, describe and explain criminal behaviour associated with livestock theft from a criminological point of view. The aim is to compile a sample-specific criminological profile of livestock perpetrators in order to explain the criminal behaviour. The objectives of this study are to determine what modus operandi the perpetrators employ when committing livestock theft, to identify the motives and causes of the crime and to determine which criminological theories that best explain the crime and criminal behaviour. The intended outcome of this study is to assist the South African Police Service (SAPS) in preventing livestock theft and to guide the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) on how to best address such offenders' specific risks and needs for effective rehabilitation. Your participation will assist in determining how livestock offenders operate in terms of identifying their victims, the type of modus operandi they follow and the identification of factors that affords them the opportunity to steal livestock. The intended outcome of this research study is to alleviate the problem of livestock theft and provide effective prevention measures.¶

Procedures: The researcher will ask you a series of questions. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You can choose whether or not you would like to be interviewed. You can also withdraw from the research study at any time up to the point when the findings will be published in the researcher's Master's degree dissertation. The information you provide will be treated in a confidential manner. The researcher and her supervisor, Prof. Anni Hesselink will be the only people to have access to your raw data interview forms. Your name or any other form of identification will not be printed on the interview form. There will be no imbursement should you decide to participate in this study. You are welcome to contact the researcher on 083-324-8299 should you have any enquiries.¶

I.....(name and surname) hereby agree and give permission to be interviewed as part of the research study as explained above. The purpose and aim of the research study has been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the interview at any time if I so wish (up to the point of publication). I understand that my identity will not be revealed in this study and will not be published. I have read and understand the above and all my questions have been answered and I therefore agree to participate.¶

Do you consent to this interview being voice recorded (for research purposes only)? YES / NO ¶

Signature of participant..... Date..... Place.....¶

Signature of researcher..... Date..... Place.....¶

ANNEXURE L: Editor's letter

Barbara Shaw

Editing/proofreading services

18 Balvicar Road, Blairgowrie, 2194

Tel: 011 888 4788 Cell: 072 1233 881

Email: bmsshaw@telkomsa.net

Full member of The Professional Editors' Guild

To whom it may concern

This letter serves to inform you that I have done language editing, formatting and reference checking on the thesis: **LIVESTOCK THEFT: A CRIMINOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT AND SAMPLE-SPECIFIC PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS** by CECILI DOOREWAARD



Barbara Shaw

26th January 2020.

ANNEXURE M: Summarised Turn-it-in originality report

ORIGINALITY REPORT SPECIFICATIONS:

Livestock theft: a criminological assessment and Sample-specific profile of the perpetrators

ORIGINALITY REPORT

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